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The American Historical Review

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Cover illustration: "Larik, chief of the Romanzoff island group [Wotje island group], Ratak Chain, Marshall Islands." Larik, or Rarik, impressed the Franco-Prussian man of letters and scientist Adelbert von Chamisso as the epitome of nobility. Chamisso met him in January–February 1817 while serving as naturalist on the *Rurik*, a Russian voyage of exploration under the command of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue.

From Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, avec des portraits de sauvages d'Amérique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des îles du Grand océan; Des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d'histoire naturelle; Accompagné de descriptions par m. le baron Cuvier, et M. A. de Chamisso, et d'observations sur les crânes humains, par m. le docteur Gall . . .* (Paris, 1822), Iles Radak, plate 1. Photograph courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, the Newberry Library, Chicago.

See the article in this issue by Harry Liebersohn, "Discovering Indigenous Nobility: Tocqueville, Chamisso, and Romantic Travel Writing," pp. 746–66.



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In This Issue

We begin this issue with a reconsideration of Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. **Michael S. Roth** seeks to place the work in recent debates among intellectual historians. Roth argues that those who reviewed Schorske's book at the time it first appeared failed to note its reflexive aspects and therefore to see how these aspects are tied to its modernism and contextualism. Schorske's study offers no theory of history, but it reenacts the story with a reflexiveness that allows historical consciousness to come to terms with the current turn away from history. For example, Schorske writes in juxtapositions because this reflects the aesthetics of the period. He rejects conclusions because they would be unfaithful to a period that rejected homogeneity. Roth suggests that the debate between textualists and contextualists would benefit from a decoupling of contextualism from naïve realism and a rethinking of the interaction between the objects or events we study and the arenas in which we consider their emergence.

The French Revolution transformed the descriptions that elite European travelers made of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Oceania. According to **Harry Liebersohn**, even as the revolution ended the Romantic discourse of a primordial nobility in Europe, travelers and writers Alexis de Tocqueville and Adelbert von Chamisso were able to displace this discourse onto the New World "other" and experience it abroad. Instead of seeing American Indians as exemplars of natural reason, the "noble savage" of prerevolutionary writing, upper-class Europeans now described them as embodiments of honor and warrior valor, a kind of indigenous nobility or "savage noble." Liebersohn understands Tocqueville and Chamisso as ambivalent liberals who believed in commerce and democracy but lamented their destructive impact on non-Europeans. He contends that their writings contributed to a travel literature that revived noble values in nineteenth-century Europe.

In Italy of the Enlightenment, it was not unusual to find women with an interest and even some special training in science and mathematics. It was unusual for a woman to make a career in science and to act as a leader in the paradigm shift from Cartesian to Newtonian ideas. **Gabriella Berti Logan** recounts the life of such a woman, Laura Bassi Verati, who resisted the limitations on her sex and succeeded in breaking through some, if not all, of the barriers to the participation of women in scientific research institutes and higher education. In addition to Italian society's unusual receptivity to female scientific achievement, Bassi was well served by her

exceptional talent and scientific daring, her willingness to make compromises when required, and well-placed political patrons.

Richard Kieckhefer challenges the notion advanced in a recent work by Valerie Flint that people in medieval Europe recognized and tolerated magic as a nonrational practice and that they even encouraged and took magic over into official usage with this understanding. Kieckhefer argues that people who used the term “magic” in the Middle Ages thought of it as neither irrational nor nonrational but as rational; they believed magic could work and that its workings were governed by principles that could be coherently articulated, even if these principles were not always fully articulated or articulated in exactly the same way. In reviewing the rational foundations for the concepts of demonic and natural magic, Kieckhefer shows that conceptions of magic varied in their degree of specificity and in the types of principle they invoked. Even so, he concludes, basic principles of magic were widely shared in medieval culture.

Scholars have usually treated the southern code of honor and religion as common to the entire region. **Christopher Waldrep**, however, points to an important regional variation, which he believes was characteristic of a discrete border state society. The South’s Great Revival (1797–1805) originated in Kentucky when James McGready launched an assault against the profane language associated with masculine assertiveness, and evangelicals thereafter kept pressure on grand jurors to initiate prosecutions of the profane, a campaign that posed a continuing challenge to southern codes of honor and masculinity. Waldrep contends that revivalism in Kentucky succeeded in mitigating these codes and modifying them from the pattern in the Deep South. And he goes further to state that this change produced a climate of opinion in which abolitionism did not challenge the manly spirit of white voters and force them to draw a line between submission and manly resistance, as was the case farther south. Kentucky voters favored political leaders committed to sectional compromise, and in 1861 they rejected secession.

David Joravsky asks us to be wary of the complacency with which many scholars describe the collapse of communism as the disappearance of a system inherently at odds with the truth. This type of ideological thinking prevents scholars from seeking generalizations on the level at which they are usefully explored, for example, questions about why communist revolutions failed in some places and succeeded in others or about why

communism took a revolutionary form in some places and a parliamentary form in others. Joravsky counsels against dividing the world into “us” and “them” and assuming that “we” have the truth toward which others ought to strive. In reviewing some of the leading writers on communism, Joravsky points out their tendencies toward ideologizing, and he criticizes the current urge for us to help the former communist countries make their history usable. Only they can do this, he advises, and only with attention to the political culture of their countries before the turn to communism.

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Performing History: Modernist Contextualism in Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*

MICHAEL S. ROTH

But if one were to strike through the masks of historicity that concealed
modern man, what would one find?

Carl Schorske

IT IS DIFFICULT FOR HISTORIANS to imagine a topic that *a priori* would be off-limits to them. Some people or events or institutions are not naturally more historical than others. Inquiry in the present renders any object historical by configuring its meaning (at least in part) in relation to its development over time. Only convention delimits the range of what can be so configured. Over the last few decades, these conventions have been changing greatly, as historians (particularly those from groups hitherto under-represented in the profession) have created and developed topics that would have seemed excessively marginal to their former graduate advisers. The proliferation of topics and of approaches to them is one of the reasons for the sense (bemoaned or celebrated) that the center will not hold, that we lack a unifying narrative of our past, or as Peter Novick has put it, that there is no king in Israel.¹

When historians think about the new topics and methodologies, they usually consider social or, more recently, cultural history as the engine of innovation. Intellectual history, on the other hand, has recently played an important role in bringing theoretical discussions into the historical profession, but it is not usually associated with the proliferation of topics and methodologies. After all, intellectual history until a short time ago (when it was refitted as cultural history) has concentrated on mining the canon, not particularly on undermining it or adding new works to it. According to almost any set of professional criteria, Carl E. Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1980) would be called a strong example of intellectual history. It focuses on figures who defined culture and politics for turn-of-the-century Vienna and, in some cases, for the West in the twentieth century. The book is a magisterial historicization of these figures,

I would like to thank Dominick LaCapra, Allan Megill, and especially Charles Salas for their thoughtful comments on earlier versions of this essay.

¹ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988), 573–629. See my comments in "Unsettling the Past: Objectivity, Irony and History," *Annals of Scholarship*, 9 (1992): 171–80.

showing how each of them retreats from politics and society—from history as the field on which meaning and direction can be created. In addition to the informative and elegant essays on these *fin-de-siècle* modernists, Schorske's book presents us with a problem: how to historicize but not merely reject the development of anti-historicism. This is a problem that remains critical for historians concerned with the limits and possibilities of their ways of making meaning from the past. Modernism and postmodernism confront historians with new challenges. How can these be addressed within historical writing (in contradistinction to and perhaps in addition to being addressed in criticism or theory about historical writing), and how might they affect the forms of historical expression? Schorske's text asks us to consider the power and the danger that come with the rejection of history, and it helps us to consider these within historical narratives. Of course, this is not the manifest content of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. In this essay, however, I shall show that it is a deeply reflexive book, with form and content interacting in complex ways for specific purposes. From the aesthetics of the book itself to the substance of its specific arguments, Schorske's work helps us to consider how historical thinking can acknowledge its own capacities and limitations. Thus *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* remains an important text for those interested in the development of self-critical, reflexive forms of history writing. After briefly explicating the principal themes of the book, I shall situate it in relation to discussions about the value of historical knowledge in the humanities. Schorske's reflexive reenactment of the confrontation of modernism and historicism in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* constructs a new context for acknowledging our own connection to historical understanding.

THE BOOK CONSISTS OF SEVEN ESSAYS on the intersection of politics and culture in Vienna during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. "How are politics and the psyche related?" Schorske asks in the first essay on Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. The connection between (and separation of) psychological exploration and political engagement is one of the recurring themes of the book. The tension between politics and the psyche becomes an important issue in Vienna after the fragile ascendancy of a liberal culture, when the satisfactions offered by liberal power and aristocratic aestheticism were felt to be inadequate. Schnitzler diagnosed this situation with extraordinary acumen, and Schorske admires his insight. But the Austrian writer could not see his way past disillusionment; he could unmask the pretensions of society's values and the actions they inspired but was unable to generate any values of his own: "Schnitzler was a prophet without wrath. The scientist in him avenged itself on both the moralist and the artist. As social observer and psychologist he drew the world he saw as necessitous, but not—like the true tragedian—as justified . . . Schnitzler could neither condone nor condemn."²

How does historical science avenge itself on the moral and artistic concerns that bring one to the past in the first place? Is the price of understanding a culture the

² Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980), 14.

inability to judge or at least to participate fully in it?³ Hofmannsthal shared many of Schnitzler's insights into the psychological crises of modern man but attempted to imagine an art that would offer a communal possibility beyond these crises rather than only describe them. "Engagement in life, Hofmannsthal felt, demands the capacity to resolve, to will. This capacity implies commitment to the irrational, in which alone resolution and will are grounded. Thus affirmation of the instinctual reopened for the aesthete the door to the life of action and society."⁴

The dive into the psyche could still affect the surface of politics. It certainly affected the environment in which politics took place, as Schorske shows in the second essay of the book. There he examines the birth of urban modernism in the contrasting careers of Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner. Sitte built his critique of urban life on an appeal to the past, while Wagner espoused a modernist, functionalist approach to the city. Both rejected the rationalist historicist synthesis of late nineteenth-century liberalism, Sitte in the name of an archaic community and Wagner in the name of a fluid utilitarianism. Sitte saw himself as the spokesman for the ancients in their battle against the moderns, aiming for the spatial freedom and spontaneity of pre-modern cities and against the systematic grids of the new urban centers. Wagner, by contrast, wanted to liberate architects from a dependence on the past and to "revitalize the aesthetic function of the architect through his service to utility as a good."⁵ In ways akin to those of Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal, "both fed a new aesthetic of city building in which social aims were influenced by psychological considerations."⁶ In the end, however, these psychological considerations and the aesthetics connected with them only led these urbanists to become more isolated from modern political life and the cities in which it was centered. In the case of these architects, the descent into psychology did not reconnect understanding and action.

In the third essay, Schorske turns to the realm of *fin-de-siècle* politics, examining the new "keys" of anti-liberal political engagement explored by Georg von Schönerer, Karl Lueger, and Theodor Herzl. Schönerer led the German nationalists into a radical and violently anti-Semitic party that brought violent discourse and action into mainstream politics. Lueger succeeded in bringing this potent force into political power when his election as mayor of Vienna was ratified by the emperor in 1897. Treating the first two men, important influences on Adolf Hitler, in the same key as the father of Zionism surprised many readers, but for Schorske the three were "pioneers in post-rational politics."⁷ Crucial to their politics was a turn to the depths of psychology and to aesthetics as vehicles for the manipulation of deep and often violent passions. Why should politics aim at rationality, they asked, when there was so much power to be tapped from hidden desires and fears? "Each in his own way," Schorske writes, "utilized aristocratic

³ On this question, see Robert Dawidoff, "History . . . But," in *New Literary History*, 21 (1989–90): 395–406. The essays from this collection, some of which are cited below, are reprinted in Ralph Cohen and Michael S. Roth, eds., *History And . . .* (Charlottesville, Va., forthcoming).

⁴ Schorske, *Vienna*, 19.

⁵ Schorske, *Vienna*, 83.

⁶ Schorske, *Vienna*, 62.

⁷ Schorske, *Vienna*, 119.

style, gesture, or pretension to mobilize a mass of followers still hungry for a leadership that based its authority on something older and deeper than the power of rational argument and empirical evidence.”⁸ Schorske is fond of quoting Hofmannsthal in this regard: “Politics is magic. He who knows how to summon the forces from the deep, him will they follow.”⁹

At the core of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* is the question of how art and politics were changed by the turn to the forces of the psyche. Schorske acknowledges the power and the attraction of these forces, but he also insists on their political dangers. What happens to liberalism when its key figures begin to see the psychological as the most potent source of power and meaning? Indeed, how can the historian pursue these questions about the post-rational or the instinctive, given history’s own reliance on rationality? Does the pursuit of these questions—giving them a sort of analytic primacy—imply participation in the same movement toward the psyche? Moreover, who will be the guide in the depths?

At the center of the book is an essay on Sigmund Freud, an essay that uses psychoanalytic categories and strategies of interpretation to probe the historical boundaries and limitations of psychoanalysis. Schorske uncovers what he calls “the counterpolitical ingredient in the origins of psychoanalysis.”¹⁰ Faced with an intractable Viennese establishment, Freud retreated from overt political activity into a world of subversive intellection. The famous epigraph to the *Interpretation of Dreams* reads: “If I can not shake the higher powers, I will stir up the depths.” Freud gave up his political aspirations and, according to Schorske, through psychoanalytic work made politics itself epiphenomenal. “Having exhumed his own political past through dream analysis, he had overcome it by identifying his political obligations and impulses with his father, explaining them away as attributes of his father’s ghost.”¹¹ This “explaining away” was Freud’s letting go of his past and the political desires that had helped define it. Like many of his generation in Vienna, the founder of psychoanalysis was in retreat from history: “Freud gave his fellow liberals an ahistorical theory of man and society that could make bearable a political world spun out of orbit and beyond control.”¹² Psychoanalysis in this view was compensation for political impotence. In its displacement of concrete political problems, the science of the depths was conformist in relation to the status quo.¹³ There was a political wish at the beginnings of psychoanalysis, but that wish was given up in the face of reality. The retreat from the political in favor of either the psychological or the aesthetic is characteristic of the figures Schorske treats in the rest of the book. His comment

⁸ Schorske, *Vienna*, 145.

⁹ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, “Buch der Freunde,” in *Aufzeichnungen*, Herbert Steiner, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), 60. Schorske, *Vienna*, 134, 172.

¹⁰ Schorske, *Vienna*, 183.

¹¹ Schorske, *Vienna*, 202.

¹² Schorske, *Vienna*, 203.

¹³ As I discuss below, Dominick LaCapra has emphasized the ways in which Schorske’s reading of Freud neglects critical dimensions that are a deep part of the “retreat from the political.” For a reading of Freud that emphasizes the critical dimensions of psychoanalysis, see my *Psycho-Analysis as History: Negation and Freedom in Freud* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987). I have a different reading of some of the evidence Schorske uses in “Freud’s Use and Abuse of the Past,” in *Rediscovering History: Culture, Politics and the Psyche*, Michael S. Roth, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1994). See also William J. McGrath, *Freud’s Discovery of Psychoanalysis: The Politics of Hysteria* (Ithaca, 1986).

on Freud is applicable to the other figures he discusses. All “resolve the pain of general history by translating it into personal history.”¹⁴ For all, generational and political conflict are represented in private terms or are imagined as inevitable Oedipal combat.

By weaving the stories of his culture makers back into an account emphasizing their “formative political-cultural experiences,” Schorske shows how a multilayered contextual history can help us make sense not only of the personal pain of these figures but also of the cultural conditions we have inherited from them. In his hands, history fights back against modernist psychologization and aesthetization to claim legitimacy for itself as a mode of making meaning out of the radical crises of modernity. And history fights back with the tools of psychology and aesthetics, showing that even the modernist retreat from the historical can become a fertile field of reflection for the historian. Thus *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* presents modernist contextual histories that reenact the confrontation of modernism and historicism.

If Freud’s response to political frustration was creativity in science, Gustav Klimt’s response to political rejection was stylized innovation in an aesthetics divorced from social reality. Both figures focused on the instinctual as more fundamental than the historical. In his early work, Klimt confronted the establishment with images from the realm of instinct. After 1901, aestheticism and withdrawal reigned for an artist who had been spurned by a generation of patrons wanting to protect ideals of rationalism and progress. “From nature to stylized culture, from direct presentation of psychophysical experience to formal symbolization: thus the journey ran.”¹⁵ That journey became an important part of the experience of a generation frustrated with liberal culture and politics. Klimt “had passed irrevocably from the realm of history, time and struggle to that of aesthetic abstraction and social resignation.”¹⁶ By 1907–1908, portraits of the Viennese *haute monde* are a key component of Klimt’s work: art embraces decoration. Despite Schorske’s emphasis on the political costs of this journey, he makes no attempt to minimize the achievements made possible by the resignation to political impotence. Just as there was no reduction in Freud’s ambitions and capacity to fulfill them when he turned away from politics, there was no artistic decline in Klimt’s turn to pleasing portraiture.¹⁷ If Freud translated the pain of general history into personal terms, Klimt shifted from “public ethos to private pathos.” Schorske configures the elements that comprised these shifts so he can judge them critically, but he also pays close attention to, and conveys enormous admiration for, the insights and creations to which they led.

The penultimate essay in the book presents these elements and shifts on a broader chronological scale. By looking at how Adalbert Stifter, Ferdinand von Saar, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal use the metaphor of the garden throughout the nineteenth century, Schorske is able to recognize an increasingly sharp separation of the personal and social functions of art. In a culture in which art had

¹⁴ Schorske, *Vienna*, 206 n. 26.

¹⁵ Schorske, *Vienna*, 266.

¹⁶ Schorske, *Vienna*, 273.

¹⁷ Schorske, *Vienna*, 271.

assumed a central place by the late nineteenth century, the cultivation of aestheticism and inwardness occurred at the expense of engagement in politics. Narcissism took over as the ability to imagine effective change retreated. "By the very fact of standing for life, art separates us from it. That is why, when art became detached from other values and became a value in itself, it produced in its devotees that sense of eternal spectatorship which in turn nourished introversion . . . [D]esocialization accompanied internalization."¹⁸ Hofmannsthal acutely felt the separation of art from life and believed that poetry had the function of establishing relationships between the disparate phenomena of the social and the instinctual. He imagined poetry and perhaps the other arts redeeming society, not just fleeing from its constraints. But, Schorske notes, "the rifts in the body social had proceeded too far."¹⁹ The image of the garden would not suggest redemption, comfort, or harmony in the early twentieth century. Instead, it would be used as the scene for an explosion of forceful and fearsome dissonance.

The final essay of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* examines that explosion and dissonance in the work of Oskar Kokoschka and Arnold Schoenberg. The retreat from the social and political that had marked the modernism of late nineteenth-century Vienna became the substance of their art. In their pre-war painting and music, they displayed a profound alienation from the bourgeois world around them, and they destabilized the conventions of that world in powerful, direct explorations of the instinctual and psychological territories they had come to inhabit. Kokoschka's expressionist portraits developed a "desublimated psychological realism" in which the body manifested the inner tensions stirring beneath conscious life. Schoenberg created a new musical language that organized in sound the wilderness of the psyche.²⁰ As they appropriated and then exploded the garden as the image of order, they also appropriated and then exploded the ideals of liberal, cosmopolitan Viennese culture. The retreat to inwardness that led to a decorous aestheticism in Klimt became in his artistic successors the cultivation of alienation as the vehicle for liberating the artist from the hypocrisy of a civilized life divorced from the powers of the depths.

There is no conclusion to *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. With Kokoschka and Schoenberg, the journey from the political to the psychological became a new form of engagement; the *voyage intérieur* became a struggle to express the truths of the instincts without the mediations required by society. Indeed, the modernist artists gazing inward gave up on society and its history as fields from which meaning could be made. However, the modernist politicians who cut their teeth on the unstable liberalism of late nineteenth-century Vienna were prepared to use the powers of the depths not only to shake up surface society but to control it, to construct the meaning of its past and to direct its future. The lessons the "new key" leaders such as Schönerer, Lueger, and Herzl learned about the powers of the passions were not confined to the psychological but would change the face of politics for the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the artists and intellectuals were looking elsewhere.

¹⁸ Schorske, *Vienna*, 311.

¹⁹ Schorske, *Vienna*, 318.

²⁰ Schorske, *Vienna*, 364.

HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE HUMANITIES has taken various forms over the last fifty years. Between the two world wars, history was seen as a key to the sophisticated understanding of art, literature, and the social sciences. The value of historical understanding was often linked with the value of progress; and, as faith in progress declined, so did the prominence of history. By the mid-1950s, the comprehension of where we had been had come to seem irrelevant to where we were going (in science, in art, in politics), and historical understanding took a back seat to conceptually well-tooled synchronic analysis. Even within the discipline of history itself, new modes of systematic investigation displaced efforts to weave continuity and change into narrative forms. The notions of continuity and change themselves had come under attack from a variety of sources in linguistics, anthropology, and philosophy. The critics suggested that in constructing historical continuities (especially in narrative forms) the historian was not confronting social structures and functions. At least since Friedrich Nietzsche, historical understanding had already come under heavy fire as privileging continuity, progress, and conservatism. In the 1950s and 1960s, Nietzschean suspicions about historical consciousness were linked to social scientific complaints about the superficiality and fuzziness of historical thinking. With the decline of the idea of progress and concomitant rise of modernism's emphasis on the autonomy of particular modes of representation, faith in a general account of the meaning and direction of change over time was deeply shaken. The notion that understanding was achieved through an account of how things were and how they had changed faded in a culture that no longer assumed that changes were moving in the same direction.²¹ What was the point of understanding how things had changed if this understanding bore no relation to how we might alter our own lives?

Schorske has described his project on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as the product of his resolve "to explore the historical genesis of modern cultural consciousness, with its deliberate rejection of history."²² Vienna provided the combination of a circumscribed historical context with many examples of diverse and powerful cultural expression ready to emerge. "The modern mind has been growing indifferent to history," Schorske writes, "because history, conceived as a continuous nourishing tradition, has become useless to it."²³ This is the central theme of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. Schorske is the historian of de-historicization. On the one hand, he has deep respect for some of the ideas and productions created in the struggle to be free from history, but, on the other, he also believes this struggle to be dangerous and perhaps futile. Thus, in the essay on Freud, Schorske uses psychoanalysis to understand the founder of the discipline. In the essay on Klimt, the painter's retreat from social confrontation in favor of the cultivation of style inspires the most elegant and powerful writing in the book. Schorske shows how the painter's artistic development was conditioned by social failure and political resignation, but the paintings do not lose their power for Schorske because of the history from which they emerge. They are not mere symptoms of the failure to

²¹ Michael S. Roth, "History And . . . : Introduction," *New Literary History*, 21 (1990): 250.

²² Carl E. Schorske, "A Life of Learning," *American Council of Learned Societies, Occasional Papers*, 1 (New York, 1987), 13.

²³ Schorske, *Vienna*, xvii.

pass some political litmus test. We see that political disengagement does not necessarily make for artistic decline. Neither Freud, Klimt, nor any culture maker in the book is reduced to the conditions out of which his works are seen to develop. By weaving a history around the modern retreat from the historical, Schorske has been able to fashion meaning anew from modernism while simultaneously displaying the riches of historical consciousness.

The context for the display of these riches had changed dramatically between the time Schorske began working on Vienna in the 1950s and the time the book appeared in 1980. The value of history as a mode of knowledge or as a resource for artistic innovation had come upon new challenges during these years. In the United States from the 1940s through the 1960s, discussions by philosophers of the value of history were discussions about the quality of historical knowledge as a science. As the star of pragmatism waned, the dominant model for testing the scientific value of a discipline was taken from logical positivism. Historical writing, Carl Hempel had argued in an article that set a paradigm lasting twenty years, must yield general laws if history was a science.²⁴ Indeed, as Louis Mink remarked, "it could be said without exaggeration that until about 1965 the critical philosophy of history *was* the controversy over the covering-law model."²⁵ In the late 1960s, however, more interest developed in understanding what historians did when they wrote about the past and less effort was made to tell them what they must do to behave like real scientists. Philosophers began to look again at the "autonomy of historical understanding" and thus at the forms in which that understanding was expressed. Rather than concentrating on history as a form of knowledge, scholars shifted to a focus on history as a kind of writing. Even analytic philosophy of history can be said to have taken a "linguistic turn" during this period.²⁶

Yet analytic philosophy was not the field that would have the greatest impact on the development of the humanities and intellectual history. It was French anti-humanism that challenged conventional notions of history under the rubric of "theory." In the 1940s, Hegelian Marxism had had a crucial effect on thinking about the connections between history and knowing. For the Hegelians, history was the reservoir of all truths and values; as dramatic pragmatists, they saw in History the court of world judgment. By the end of the decade, Hegelian historicizing declined with the loss of faith in the meaningfulness of history. Contemporary events made a mockery of the idea of history as a reservoir of significance and direction, and the development of sophisticated methodologies of the synchronic in linguistics, anthropology, and cybernetics legitimated a retreat from the historical.²⁷

²⁴ Carl G. Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History," *Journal of Philosophy*, 39 (1942): 35–48.

²⁵ Louis O. Mink, "The Divergence of History and Sociology in the Recent Philosophy of History," in *Historical Understanding*, Brian Fay, Eugene O. Golob, and Richard T. Vann, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973, 1987), 169.

²⁶ In this regard, see F. R. Ankersmit, "The Dilemma of Contemporary Anglo-Saxon Philosophy of History," *History and Theory*, Beiheft 25: *Knowing and Telling History: The Anglo-Saxon Debate* (1986): 1–27.

²⁷ See Michael S. Roth, *Knowing and History: Appropriations of Hegel in Twentieth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

Perhaps the most famous attack on historicizing came with Claude Lévi-Strauss's critique of Jean-Paul Sartre in *The Savage Mind* (1962). For the structural anthropologist, as for the logical positivist, historical narratives might not do any harm but seemed to have little to commend them as forms of knowledge. However, as structuralism's scientific pretensions were themselves made objects of criticism by thinkers we have come to call poststructuralists, history could be and was recuperated: not as a form of knowledge but as a text, a kind of writing.

Of course, these French and American stories are not unrelated. For example, a writer on history whose work responds to both the French and American contexts is Hayden White. White's "rhetorics of history" aims to show how historical writing achieves what Roland Barthes called the "reality effect." By bracketing the question of correspondence, and by examining the rhetoric of the great historians and philosophers of history, White showed that the criteria for distinguishing between texts (or actions) could not be found in an appeal to history. Despite his distance from Jacques Derrida, White was a true "de-constructor," or what Ian Hacking has called an "undoer."²⁸ Beginning with "The Burden of History" in 1968 and reaching a crescendo in *Metahistory* in 1978, White demolished the notion that history can be a neutral testing ground for judgment by showing that historical writings create criteria of realism that themselves cannot be judged *according to history*.²⁹

Major developments in the critical philosophy of history and in poststructuralist literary theory seemed to agree in the undoing of history as a kind of knowledge to be set off against texts or to be easily distinguished from writing or discourse.³⁰ No longer were we to ask about the meaning and direction of History, but instead we were to puzzle out how histories were put together, how they worked. In an intellectual world cheerfully removing privileged places as quickly as it shook up foundations, historical understanding came to be seen not as a neutral or necessary context but as a trope to be used, a literary device to be employed for proper (or subversive) effect. More recently, even the New Historicism's effort to return to history (or to histories) presupposed the linguistic turn just described. That is, it presupposes a necessary if not arbitrary connectedness that allows the historical to be read in much the same way as literary texts. By the time *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* was published, the linguistic turn in regard to the historical had provided a deep but also a very narrow understanding of the ways in which the discourse of history performs, how the "history machine" runs. Questions remained, however, about why we turn to history in the first place. What do we want from the past, and what shall we do with our history once we understand that it cannot function as a neutral court of appeal?

One of the most important uses of history in the late 1950s and 1960s was as a tool of social criticism or ideological critique. Historical understanding could be

²⁸ Ian Hacking, "Two Kinds of Historicism in Philosophy," *New Literary History*, 21 (1990): 343–64.

²⁹ See Michael S. Roth, "Cultural Criticism and Political Theory: Hayden White's Rhetorics of History," *Political Theory*, 16 (1988): 636–46. See also Wulf Kansteiner, "Hayden White's Critique of the Writing of History," *History and Theory*, 32 (1993): 273–95.

³⁰ On changes within the American historical profession that are connected to these developments, see Novick, *That Noble Dream*; and my review essay, "Unsettling the Past: Objectivity, Irony and History," 171–81.

used to legitimate a certain mode of action or thinking as progressive or to undermine modes that were reactionary.³¹ The linguistic turn in the humanities, and the anti-humanism and anti-historicism that often went with it, made this use of history much more problematic than it had been. The theoretical developments of structuralism and poststructuralism exposed (again) the tenuous grounds on which political historicism had made its judgments, as they emphasized the ways in which we are always already constrained by the conventions of the discourse that we have no choice but to speak. Those thinkers who wanted to continue to speak critically were left in an ironic position once they acknowledged being locked within the discourse they meant to subvert. Michel Foucault is probably the best example. His genealogical works undermined the idea of progress by showing that attempts at increased freedom and tolerance—in mental illness, punishment, sexuality—have actually led to ever greater constraints. But he also insisted that all forms of knowledge (including his own) were bound by the discursive constraints of what he variously called an episteme, an archive, or what we might call a paradigm. This insistence forced him into an essentially ironic position in regard to the historical because of a combination of two factors: his recognition that his own approach was bound by the discursive constraints of the present and his desire to contribute through his work to destroying these constraints. Thus, like many postmodern social critics, Foucault is locked within what I have called the “ironist’s cage.” From this position, sophisticated social criticism no longer laments its disconnection from effective political change, it recognizes this disconnection as the proper condition of discourse—even when it retains the aroma of radicalism.³²

Fin-de-Siècle Vienna DID NOT EXPLICITLY ADDRESS the theoretical debates reshaping intellectual history in the 1970s, nor did it explicitly acknowledge the critical distance postmodernists had already taken from the “move to the depths.” Even Schorske’s introduction to the several essays enters into no theoretical discussion and never moves to a metahistorical level to explain the diverse investigations that are to follow. Instead, Schorske sketches a brief history of how he came to the problems at the core of the book by locating his inquiry in the context of changes within the academic disciplines and changes within the political landscape of the United States in the decade following World War II. In other words, he does not choose theory as the context or ground of the historical narratives of the essays, nor does he take an ironic stance about the possibilities of multiple contextualizations. Instead, he offers another narrative as a possible context for the historical interpretations that he has constructed as *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. This is part of the reflexive dimension essential to the entire text. Throughout the book, Schorske

³¹ It is perhaps worth noting here that Herbert Marcuse published *Eros and Civilization* in 1955 and that Norman O. Brown published *Life against Death* in 1959. Marcuse and Brown, two of Schorske’s closest intellectual friends, were using history (and psychoanalysis) to undermine political and cultural conditions they considered deplorably oppressive and to suggest an escape from this history.

³² Michael S. Roth, “The Ironist’s Cage,” *Political Theory*, 19 (1991): 419–32; and Roth, “Foucault on Discourse and History,” in *The Philosophy of Discourse*, Chip Sills and George H. Jensen, eds. (Portsmouth, N.H., 1992).

employs the methods he is historicizing. Even as he explains the move to the psychological depths as a retreat from the political, he applies the insights gained in the course of this retreat to significant political and cultural figures in turn-of-the-century Vienna. The form of the book appropriates the aesthetic sensibility of the moderns Schorske reinscribes in history. Indeed, the book's design and the collage effect of its essays owes much to the modernist struggle for autonomy from historicism. As Schorske wrote of Hofmannsthal, "Thus the poet, rather like the historian, accepts the multiplicity of things in their uniqueness and reveals the unity in their dynamic interrelationship. He brings the discordant into harmony through form."³³ The form of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* should work like a song cycle, in which "the central idea will act to establish a coherent field in which the several parts can cast their light upon each other to illuminate the larger whole."³⁴

The larger whole illuminated by the particular studies of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* includes Vienna, Austrian culture, and the interaction of politics and culture, but the crucial subject of this text (and its proper intellectual context) is the confrontation of modernity and history. In reconfiguring this confrontation, the book addresses on its own terms some of the issues raised by theoretical intellectual historians and by postmodern social critics. Schorske describes in his introduction how his generation experienced the confrontation of modernity and history in the interaction of politics and culture in the United States after World War II. There was a shift during this period "from Promethean to Epimethean culture heroes," seen most strikingly in the turn many intellectuals took from Karl Marx to Sigmund Freud. The psychological became privileged terrain as the possibilities of genuine changes in society and politics seemed ever more remote. During the 1950s and 1960s, Schoenberg, Gustav Mahler, Klimt, Egon Schiele, and Kokoschka achieved new prominence on the American scene. As Schorske notes:

Of course America made its cultural borrowings with little sense of the problems and experiences of that "other age" in which the ideas and art that attracted it were shaped. This naturally stimulated my interest in exploring within its political social context the thought which drew my contemporaries . . . [H]istorical analysis could at least reveal the characteristics with which history had endowed that culture [Vienna] at its conception and birth. Illuminating the genesis, meaning and limitations of ideas in their own time, we might better understand the implications and significance of our affinities for them in our time.³⁵

Thus Schorske's work did not aim at making available to readers a wealth of cultural delights or timeless insights. Nor did it pretend to satisfy a longing for theoretical closure on the limitations on modernism or to provide sophisticated ironic distance from aestheticism and historicism. Instead, it provided readers with a history of the present, showing how a contemporary desire to divorce from history could deepen connections with dangerous historical developments and patterns. These connections warn us of the costs of political resignation. Historical

³³ Schorske, *Vienna*, 19.

³⁴ Schorske, *Vienna*, xxviii.

³⁵ Schorske, *Vienna*, xxv.

analysis, like psychoanalysis, allows one to diagnose one's connections to the past in order to facilitate change and escape repetition. The historian, like the psychoanalyst, helps to bring disparate elements of the past to mind and thus construct a history with which one can live. The history constructed is not a totalistic, homogeneous whole. How could it be after the "ubiquitous fragmentation" and the "ruthless centrifuge of change" of post-Nietzschean European high culture?³⁶ Heterogeneity could not be ironed away by a historian wanting to understand the specificity of the diverse fields of modernist cultural production.³⁷

Here we can see a crucial difference between Schorske's practice of intellectual history and that of H. Stuart Hughes, despite the fact that many (including Hughes himself) see them sharing a generation's commitment to "contextual" approaches to their subjects.³⁸ In *Consciousness and Society* (1958), Hughes showed the emergence of a "cluster of geniuses" in the early twentieth century and the strivings of these thinkers to connect their investigation of the subjective life of the individual with an analysis of the social and historical spheres. The tension between the internal and the external, the subjective and the objective, the psychological and the social, was at the center of much of Hughes's historical work. Hughes's books developed narratives in which each of his intellectuals could be enclosed and judged. Which French thinkers managed to be both authentically French and yet scientifically cosmopolitan? Which émigrés retained a connection to their roots and an openness to change, and which were stuck in unhealthy patterns of repetition or empty innovation? Hughes's work aims to set us straight by showing us the thinkers who managed productively to embrace the tensions characteristic of modernity. He seemed to believe that the historian was in an exceptional position to understand these dynamic oppositions. History was not only a form of inquiry that existed between art and science, but history could embrace both in a single account of their development over time.³⁹

For Hughes, the narrative embrace of the historian opens up one kind of cultural production to another and allows a dialogue between diverse but interrelatable subjects. When this works (as it often does in Hughes's histories), we are surprised and perhaps delighted to find an interesting conversation going on over time among people who we might have thought had nothing to say to one another. In these lively discussions, we can almost forget that it is the historian who is doing the speaking. This forgetting of the historian's invention is one of the signs of success that Hughes sets for his historical contextualization. He noted in *History as Art and as Science*:

³⁶ Schorske, *Vienna*, xix.

³⁷ See Michael P. Steinberg's comment on the necessity of recognizing fragmentation in "'Fin-de-siècle Vienna' Ten Years Later: 'Viel Traum, wenig Wirklichkeit,'" in *Austrian History Yearbook* (1991): 154.

³⁸ See the introduction to the Wesleyan University Press reissue of *The Obstructed Path* (1968) and *The Sea Change* (1975) as *Between Commitment and Disillusion* (1987). In what follows, I draw on my essay, "Narrative as Enclosure: The Contextual Histories of H. Stuart Hughes," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 51 (1990): 505–15.

³⁹ See, for example, H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930* (New York, 1958), 25: "The alternative to social science was literature: the two aspects of speculative social thought that philosophy had once held together were now condemned to part." Hughes's book, then, aimed to bring them back together.

Hence the historian's supreme technical virtuosity lies in fusing the new method of social and psychological analysis with his traditional storytelling function . . . The trick is to follow now one, now another, of the aspects of experience . . . until finally all the streams of interpretation converge. The point of convergence is, of course, of the historian's own choosing, but there are some points well chosen and others that are not. The sign that it is a good choice is when the whole broad range of the original narrative or analysis, the multiple streams that the historian has been coaxing along, come together effortlessly and as though without prior design.⁴⁰

The model here is clearly nineteenth-century realism; a good storyteller makes you forget that you are only reading a story, and the traces of invention are minimized. In *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, on the other hand, the historian's invention, his effort to construct the narratives as works of art, is lavishly displayed. And whereas Hughes passes judgment on the cosmopolitan capacities of the figures he examines, Schorske's book offers no criteria of judgment as such. Rather, it displays a confrontation—between modernity and history, between modernism and its pasts—in which we may still find ourselves. And since we still find ourselves within this confrontation, the book makes no attempt to stand outside its subject. That is key to its reflexive dimension. Schorske does not choose between politics and culture, or between society and the psyche; indeed, he often seems torn between his admiration for psychological exploration and his concern for political responsibility. He explains how the tensions between these terms take different forms in different times and places. Schorske not only describes that tension and how it changed in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, he *performs* the tension in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*.

THE PERFORMATIVE DIMENSION OF SCHORSKE'S BOOK has been largely overlooked by commentators on it, even by readers usually sensitive to the reflexive aspects of historical writing. This sensitivity is easy to find in older examples of history writing (for instance, those by Thucydides, Jules Michelet, or Jacob Burckhardt), but for some reason it is hard to discover in more recent studies (unless they are explicitly theoretical and wear their reflexivity on their sleeves). Critics seem to be more blind in this regard when a study is written in their own area of expertise. Here the disciplinary (and transference) reflex is to point out what is missing in the study, to show how it has not accomplished what it might have. "Where is Wittgenstein, or the Vienna Circle?" some critics ask of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, as if there were any pretension in Schorske's collage to present a historical picture of Vienna as a whole. Thus, while we would no longer raise such questions about Burckhardt, one can, I suppose, imagine his colleagues' despair over not finding their own subjects treated adequately by *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). Perhaps they even complained of the aestheticizing tendencies of the book. Burckhardt has been important for Schorske, as he has for many who have admired the Swiss historian's extraordinary writing and tried to understand it in

⁴⁰ H. Stuart Hughes, *History as Art and as Science: Twin Vistas on the Past* (New York, 1964), 77.

relation to his political and social stance toward Basel and modern Europe.⁴¹ Burckhardt's historical study of the Renaissance shows that the separation of art and politics can have enormous benefits for cultural production. Schorske is well aware of the explosion of innovation that aestheticism can bring. But he configures the aestheticism of late nineteenth-century Vienna within a political horizon. He privileges this horizon not because politics is more fundamental or more real. There is no indication in the text of such a naïve view of culture or of historical representation. Nor is there a naïve faith in the powers of theory to make a case for the politics one prefers. Instead, there is a brief account in the introduction of how the author came to the problem of his study. Schorske tells us that politics is his horizon because of his own history and his own concerns about the crisis in American political life during the decade after 1947, a "revolution of falling political expectations."⁴² He makes no attempt to step outside the historical to a metalevel to explain what he is doing. That is for the critics, not the performer.

One of the most stimulating critics of historical writing in the United States is Dominick LaCapra, who has repeatedly emphasized the transference aspects of our relation to the past and has been deeply concerned with the dialogic elements of complex and often critical texts. It is all the more striking, then, that his comments on *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* have missed these aspects of the book.⁴³ LaCapra complains that Schorske's approach is an "unstable combination of guarded formalism and contextualist historicism,"⁴⁴ and he worries that Schorske's interpretations of artifacts or texts reduce them to merely symptomatic responses to a larger context. This methodological concern is married to a more straightforwardly empirical one (an unstable combination itself): how can there have been a crisis in liberalism in Vienna when liberalism was not yet firmly entrenched there at the end of the nineteenth century? Is this crisis not a projection on the part of a historian concerned with the fate of liberalism in postwar America?

Both of these criticisms have to do with context but in very different ways. The crisis Schorske sees in Vienna is in part based on a projection from the historian's present. He tells us so in the introduction to avoid any simplistic misunderstandings of claims to objectivity. He presents impressions of Vienna animated by concerns about an increasingly dehistoricized high culture. These concerns are tested against the case of Vienna, but the concerns remain presentist, not positivist.⁴⁵ The intellectual context in which the (never fully successful) encounter with the past takes place is, as I suggested above, the confrontation of modernity and history. And *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* continues the confrontation

⁴¹ See Carl E. Schorske, "Science as Vocation in Burckhardt's Basel," in *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present*, Thomas Bender, ed. (New York, 1988), 198–209; Lionel Gossman, "Cultural History and Crisis: Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*," in Roth, *Rediscovering History*.

⁴² Schorske, *Vienna*, xxiii.

⁴³ Dominick LaCapra, "Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case? Transference and the Culture Concept" (orig. pub. in *History and Theory*, 23 [1984]: 3), in LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 71–94.

⁴⁴ LaCapra, "Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case," 82.

⁴⁵ Schorske, *Vienna*, xxv.

rather than describing it "from the outside." I do not find this resulting in the symptomatic, reductive reading LaCapra sees, but this may be less a question of methodology or theory than a question of taste. Be that as it may. The cultural products are not presented merely as symptoms of an *a priori* Viennese historical context. The Vienna that we are given in this book is constructed for us in good modernist form: no totality, no grand synoptic vision of the city as a unified whole. Schorske proposes no metanarrative to provide neat closure. The contexts created by the historian intersect and overlap, but they do not form a series of unit ideas or a *Zeitgeist*. Schorske knows well what Peter Gay views as an important criticism of the book: that there was no FINDESIECLEVIENNA, and this is not merely because of the particularities of the city.⁴⁶ Contexts are *always* constructed by the historian, their boundaries determined and drawn in the present in order to illuminate a problem in relation to the past. This does not in any way preclude (or guarantee) heuristic force, just as the common-sense realist view of the context did not guarantee (or preclude) it.

Pointing out that Schorske's Vienna is a historical construction does not, of course, render that construction immune from criticism. LaCapra has raised important questions about whether Schorske's insistence on the modernist move from politics to the psyche obscures the political possibilities of psychological investigation. Critical dimensions of modernism may be flattened out by repeating that its aestheticizing tendencies are necessarily anti-historical.⁴⁷ Subtle forms of historical and political critique can certainly be found in modernism by critics with concerns different from Schorske's, just as a historian posing different questions would explore other dimensions of the cultural politics of the city. Schorske's concentration on the turn away from the historical and its links with the fate of liberalism allows him to configure a wide range of material, but it may also blind him to other important dimensions of both modernism and historicism.

There has been a tendency among historians to assume a connection between textual strategies of reading and anti-realist modes of presentation. Similarly, contextual strategies of reading are often too quickly assimilated to simple realist modes of presentation. As I have discussed in regard to Hughes, however, textual approaches to the past can use a realist mode, just as contextual histories can use more modernist strategies of presentation.⁴⁸ These modernist strategies have a crucial reflexive dimension, calling attention to the historicity of their own ways of making sense of the past. This is precisely what we have seen Schorske doing in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. LaCapra, usually without peer at picking up on these strategies in old texts or in texts from other disciplines, altogether misses the complexity of Schorske's book. He does mention a "paradoxical mirror image on a stylistic level" but goes on:

⁴⁶ For example, for Gay, the cosmopolitan scientificity of the medical world in which Freud worked makes any specific Viennese context not especially relevant to the founder of psychoanalysis. Gay also seems to suffer from the illusion that the lack of a particular, contingent context would make the theory more universal or scientific. See, for example, Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (New York, 1978), 31–32.

⁴⁷ This is a major component of the criticism in LaCapra's article cited above. LaCapra restated this criticism in a personal communication to me. I am grateful for his thoughtful and generous response to an earlier version of this essay.

⁴⁸ Roth, "Narrative as Enclosure," 513.

An almost Viennese flair for the elaborate elegance of a nicely turned phrase and a butterflylike delicacy in moving from *topos* to *topos* ("post-holing" in Schorske's own deceptively down-to-earth metaphor) engender an enchanting world of words that at times seems as much to reflect off one another as to refer to Viennese "reality."⁴⁹

The words do reflect off one another and off the images carefully chosen for the book. There is an attempt to make use of the "elaborate elegance" (note that even LaCapra is moved to alliteration when trying to describe the form of the book) associated with Vienna. This is not merely ornamental but part of the reflexive dimension of the book, part of the construction of Vienna as the scene where an important problem (a problem for us) can be worked through. Although we are more accustomed to finding such reflexivity in explicitly theoretical historians, it is worthwhile to be alert for it in Schorske's mode of intellectual history. In this regard, it is helpful in thinking about Schorske's work to recall *Discipline and Punish*, in which Michel Foucault stated:

I would like to write the history of this prison, with all the political investments of the body that it gathers together in its closed architecture. Why? Simply because I am interested in the past? No, if one means by that writing a history of the past in terms of the present. Yes, if one means writing the history of the present.⁵⁰

Unlike Foucault, Schorske does not offer a theoretical discussion of why he writes history (or genealogy) in the way he does. He does not step outside of (or above) the historical to describe it. Instead, he offers a brief account of how *he came to write this particular project*. That is, he provides another story, another history. He continues to reenact a history in which the status of the historical is validated by being opened to question. Thus *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* contributes to a history of the present by confronting this present with its attraction to those who abandoned the historical as a field in which meaning and direction could be constructed.

In the debate between those who think they are talking about real, lived experience and those who think they are talking about texts (as if this were a viable contrast), there is often the supposition on both sides that contextual intellectual history must be tied to common-sense realism. Schorske's work on Vienna can help dissolve this neat little distinction and make problematic the simplistic use of text and context, cultural artifact and unifying narrative. Neither the arrogance of formalist methodology nor the naïveté of common-sense realism can create a complex dialogue between mutually implicated past and present.⁵¹ When read not as a window (more or less clear) on a cultural hothouse but as a confrontation between modernism and historical consciousness, Schorske's book has enormous importance for helping us think about the *forms* of history in relation to the *forms* of modernism. Such thinking is crucial if we are to come to terms with the postmodern construction of the historical as a field from which items can be appropriated. What are the possibilities for historicist reenactment or performance that would appropriate aspects of (post)modernism for its own, perhaps

⁴⁹ LaCapra, "Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case," 84.

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1977), 30–31.

⁵¹ Such a dialogue is, of course, what Dominick LaCapra has been calling for and often creating.

changing, purposes? What are the possibilities for (post)modernist reenactment or performance that would appropriate aspects of historicism for its own, certainly changing, purposes? Responses to these questions would lead us from reflections on modernist *fin-de-siècle* Vienna to considerations about what may be our own *fin-de-siècle* postmodernism. As we attempt to formulate such responses, Carl Schorske's book can be an important text to take with us.

If history has no real data or concepts exclusively its own but is continually poaching on other disciplines, nothing can be excluded in principle from a historian's embrace.⁵² This may raise fears of annexation, of intellectual imperialism, or of being forced into a story that is not one's own. From a Schorskean perspective, however, history can be made into the field on which we find ways to talk and listen to one another. No longer tied to the narrative of progress or to any other *particular* narrative, history can be seen as the quintessential talking cure. This kind of history does not aim at closure or at a synoptic vision of the whole, nor does it settle for ironic sophistication. Instead, it constructs meaning out of the connections it can establish among the diverse discourses and practices that have defined our lives and cultures over time.

⁵² Carl E. Schorske, "History and the Study of Culture," *New Literary History*, 21 (1990): 407–20.

Discovering Indigenous Nobility: Tocqueville, Chamisso, and Romantic Travel Writing

HARRY LIEBERSOHN

FROM RENAISSANCE TO ENLIGHTENMENT, a discourse of noble savagery often determined Western visions of indigenous peoples. Travelers, theorists, poets, and artists chiseled out the many faces of noble savagery: natural goodness versus the corruption of European society, oneness with nature versus European estrangement from it, individualism versus social bonds, untutored wisdom versus sophistication, and equality versus European social hierarchy. These images transmuted older Western myths of a golden age (classical origin) or Eden (Christian origin) into modern images of Europe's "new worlds" of the Americas and the Pacific. Noble savagery alternated with counter-images of ignobility: indigenous peoples as wild, ugly, childlike, irrational, and degenerate, horrific reinventions of classical and Christian notions of barbarism and depravity.¹ To be

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¹ From the large older literature on noble savagery, see Gilbert Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1911); Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1913); Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1918); Benjamin Bissel, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1925); Hoxie N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York, 1928).

From the more recent scholarly literature, my interpretation of European perceptions of non-Europeans is especially indebted to Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2d edn. (New Haven, 1988); and George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987). I have also benefited from the work of Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge, 1976); P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perception of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); James L. Axtell, *The European and the Indian* (New York, 1981); Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: The History of an Idea from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978); Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des lumières: Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Diderot* (Paris, 1971); Christian F. Feest, "The Indian in Non-English Literature," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., Vol. 4: *History of Indian-White*

sure, works such as Jean de Léry's *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* and Montaigne's famous essay on cannibals challenged Europeans to adopt a more self-critical, differentiated understanding of non-European cultures even while drawing on Christian and classical motifs. Nonetheless, the competing discourses of noble and ignoble savagery permitted less reflective observers to adopt a convenient system of classification that could substitute for specific and empathetic understanding of non-European cultures.²

Several generations of twentieth-century scholars have labored to reconstruct the intellectual origins of noble savagery (and its antithesis) as a set of fictions telling more about Westerners themselves than the native peoples they stereotype. Recent scholarship has not systematically examined, however, why savages were called noble. How did educated observers of different social origins view the "nobility" of savages? Did noble and bourgeois writers perceive "nobility" the same way? Did moments of crisis for European nobility produce changes in the definition of non-European "nobility"? How did the revolutionary movement from legal hierarchy to legal equality affect nineteenth-century European perceptions of so-called savages? If we take seriously the thesis that Europeans in part projected categories of their own making onto non-Europeans, then questions like these may lead us to the social and cultural significance of an intellectual discourse.³

THE POLITICAL TROUBLES OF EUROPE'S SOCIETY OF ORDERS provided the setting for discussions of "noble savagery" before 1789: when European travelers of the Old Regime wrote about "savagery," their narratives worked out its superiority or inferiority to "civilization"; indigenous peoples took on the role of noble or ignoble savage, models of natural virtue or corruption, as lessons for or against

Relations, Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1988), 582–86; Julie Schimmel, "Inventing 'the Indian,'" in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*, William H. Truettner, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1991), 149–89; and Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, Fredi Chiapelli, ed., with Michael J. B. Allen and Robert L. Benson (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), 1: 121–35. For a survey of European "savage" relations from a recent Central European perspective, see Urs Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten': Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (Munich, 1976), with an appreciation of Chamisso in a chapter on the noble savage, 391–92. See also Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981). Anthony Pagden uses a Renaissance-to-Romanticism periodization in *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, 1993); my first sentence adapts his subtitle. See also the discriminating reflections on European historiography of the Americas in J. H. Elliott's synthesis, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1992), 3–4.

Throughout this essay, "savage" and "civilization" generally refer to contemporaneous perceptions and should be read as if in quotation marks. The same applies to "discovery."

² Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, Janet Whatley, trans. and intro. (1578; Berkeley, Calif., 1990); and Michel de Montaigne, "On Cannibals," in *Essays*, J. M. Cohen, trans. and intro. (1595; London, 1958), 105–19.

³ Others have remarked in passing on the connection between perceptions of European and non-European nobility. In "Noble Savage Theme," pp. 132–33, Hayden White proposes a connection between image and class, suggesting that "noble savagery" was employed to undermine noble claims to superiority. In her splendid introduction to Léry, *History*, xxvii, Janet Whatley links Léry's admiration for the Tupinamba to a Renaissance ideal of valor.

domestic social reform. Their example could challenge European notions of appropriate social and political order. The relatively egalitarian, non-genealogical organization of woodland North American Indians contrasted with the hereditary rank and privilege of European societies and stimulated debate about the effects of social equality; the absence of a recognizable state challenged Europeans to comment on whether human beings were happier with or without centralized authority.⁴ In the 1760s and 1770s, the voyages of Comte Louis-Antoine de Bougainville and Captain James Cook carried the same debates to Oceania, where learned observers had to account for an unexpected diversity of social and political conditions among "natural" societies. Georg Forster, accompanying Cook's second voyage, led his reader through a laboratory of the social sciences, comparing places such as barren Easter Island, the simple Marquesas, the well-ordered Tongan Islands, and luxurious Hawaii for the effects of different social conditions on human dignity and happiness. Bougainville, contrary to his reputation as the creator of a mythic South Sea paradise, reported on the hierarchical social structure and moral deficiencies of Tahitian society as well as on its erotic freedom.⁵ The discourse of noble savagery was far from stable in the century before 1789, and the body of writings retrospectively grouped together as "noble savage" literature was a more probing investigation of non-European peoples than later debunkers have recognized. Nonetheless, the search for primitive egalitarianism gave a certain unity to exotic travel writings of the Old Regime.

After the French Revolution, the European context of writing about indigenous peoples of North America and the Pacific was radically transformed. No longer was Europe the haven of hierarchy; instead, its society seemed to be moving toward equality. "Civilization" itself was now the site of a process of democratization that European thinkers and observers had previously situated in savage places and utopias. Educated and titled European writers who were uneasy with the democratization of European societies noticed different, at times opposite, qualities abroad. Indigenous peoples could embody qualities of warrior valor, independence, and honor that were in danger of disappearing within Europe itself. At just the moment when nobility was losing legal force, it underwent a paradoxical revival in the imagination of observers of exotic cultures.⁶

Alexis de Tocqueville and Adelbert von Chamisso gave mature form to this postrevolutionary discourse. Tocqueville made observations on the American Indian as warrior noble in the first part of *Democracy in America*, published in 1835;

⁴ On the political uses of noble savagery in the Old Regime, see Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire*, 9–12, 17–18; and Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 75 and following.

⁵ Georg Forster, *Werke, Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe*, Gerhard Steiner, ed., Vol. 1: *A Voyage Round the World*, Robert L. Kahn, ed. (1777; Berlin, 1968); Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde, par la frégate du roi La Boudeuse, et La Flûte l'Etoile; en 1766, 1767, 1768 et 1769*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1771). For historical background, see Lynne Withey, *Voyages of Discovery: Captain Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

⁶ Nicholas Thomas uses the phrase "savage noble" to describe a similar process of "ennoblement" of an indigenous elite in *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1991). He writes with reference to European observers of Fijian politics in the first half of the nineteenth century: "The paradoxical conjuncture of aristocratic refinement and the pronounced violence of warfare and despotism remained unresolved in many European accounts: here were savage nobles, rather than noble savages," p. 114.

Chamisso wrote about comparable warrior nobles of the Pacific in voyage memoirs published the following year. Historical coincidence heightened their perception of similarity between European and exotic elites in the mid-1830s. At home, the Revolution of 1830 reminded upper-class Europeans that history was in motion; like an earthquake, it was a warning of the insecurity of the remaining props of privilege. Overseas, too, travelers observed threats to traditional warrior cultures, undermined by commerce and colonization, in North America and the Pacific. The writings of the two aristocrats registered an odd moment of recognition in which the fate of exotic elites seemed to mirror the endangerment of nobility in Europe. Departing from the older language of noble savagery, Tocqueville and Chamisso embarked on a Romantic discovery of nobility as they could experience it overseas.⁷

European discovery of indigenous nobility in the early nineteenth century exemplifies a recurring mode of relationship to other cultures, the construction of affinities. Visitors to exotic places may make meaning out of their experiences by matching up features of a foreign culture with seemingly identical traits of their own, while permitting markers of distance to retreat into obscurity. Over time, further cultural exchange may test such relationships and reveal them to be fanciful or persuasive. Travelers in particular, when they bring limited scholarship, ability to communicate, and length of visit to their reports, may imagine likenesses that rely heavily on preconception and ignore moments of difference; the authority of the traveler as witness, as immediate observer, may hide the extent to which one sees what one is trained to see. Even with access to organized knowledge, linguistic skills, and field experience, the professional social scientist does not necessarily do otherwise. The savviest old hand may validate affinities that are as partial and unreciprocated as they are deeply felt, while the naïve first-time visitor may have a sense of homecoming that leads to deeper, differentiated ties. There is no sure check on travelers' tales, no methodological guarantee against self-deception.

The construction of affinities has been a subject of recent cultural theory but also, as the anthropologist James Boon has noted with rich acknowledgment of his own intellectual ancestry, has long been of critical concern. Fascination with resemblance to alien peoples, places, and individuals played an important part in the culture of early nineteenth-century Romanticism. Tocqueville and Chamisso in particular were self-conscious travelers whose writings mingled irony and skepticism with Romantic intimations of affinities. To examine their discovery of indigenous nobility, an imaginative adventure linking European to extra-European peoples and elites, is to further their own reflections on the difficulties and possibilities of cross-cultural comparison.⁸

⁷ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, George Lawrence, trans., J. P. Mayer, ed. (1835–40; New York, 1988); and Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Voyage around the World with the Romanzov Exploring Expedition in the Years 1815–1818 in the Brig "Rurik," Captain Otto von Kotzebue*, Henry Kratz, trans. and ed. (1836; Honolulu, 1986).

⁸ See most recently James A. Boon, *Affinities and Extremes: Crisscrossing the Bittersweet Ethnology of East Indies History, Hindu-Balinese Culture, and Indo-European Allure* (Chicago, 1990), as well as Boon's discussion of romantic cross-cultural interpretation in *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge, 1982), chap. 7. See also Boon, *The Anthropological Romance of Bali 1597–1972: Dynamic Perspectives in Marriage and Caste*,

CHAMISSO AND TOCQUEVILLE were postrevolutionary travelers, ambivalent in their judgment of the nineteenth century: convinced of the inevitable triumph of European commerce and state power but also loyal to an older aristocratic code of honor and independence. Their travel experiences evoked the distinctive attitudes of aristocrats attempting to accommodate a non-aristocratic world.⁹

The French Revolution disrupted Adelbert von Chamisso's childhood of provincial privilege and sent him on the road to cosmopolitan hardship. His family fled from its estate in northeastern France in 1792, when Adelbert was eleven, and only arrived at the haven of Berlin in 1796. In 1798, he joined a Berlin regiment, becoming a lieutenant three years later, while his parents and five siblings returned to France. He disliked the boorishness of army life, but the military ethos of endurance and honor appealed to him, reinforcing the values he would later apply to exotic peoples. Profession as well as birth shaped his aristocratic outlook.¹⁰

Unlike Chamisso, Tocqueville grew up in undisturbed comfort.¹¹ Born in 1805 into the Norman nobility, he had a peaceful education and went directly from secondary school to university study of law. At first sight, he was a prototypical *notable*, heir to social advantages that, united with personal talent, pointed the way to success in France after 1815.¹² Yet he, too, bore wounds from the recent past. His mother's father was a victim of the Terror, and both parents were imprisoned. All his life, Tocqueville suffered from the fear that a new revolutionary outbreak might force him into exile. The personal trauma of Chamisso had its counterpart in vivid family memory for Tocqueville.¹³

Politics and Religion (Cambridge, 1977). Boon underlines the role of Weber as forerunner in the art of detecting affinities; see *Other Tribes, Other Scribes*, 68–85, and *Affinities and Extremes*, 139.

⁹ From the recent literature on travel writing, see Antoni Mączak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, ed., *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte: Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1982); Peter J. Brenner, ed., *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt, 1989); Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992); and Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*.

Aristocratic British travel writings lie beyond the scope of this essay. For suggestive parallels from the second half of the nineteenth century, see Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 172; and Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge, 1984), 189–95.

¹⁰ For biographical background, see Werner Feudel, *Adelbert von Chamisso: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig, 1980); René Riegel, *Adalbert [sic] de Chamisso: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1934); and the essays in Centre d'Etudes Argonnais, *Chamisso: Actes des journées franco-allemandes des 30 et 31 mai 1981* (Sainte-Menehould, 1982). I have also relied on the introductions and commentary in Chamisso, *Voyage*; Chamisso, *Sämtliche Werke*, Werner Feudel and Christel Laufer, eds., 2 vols. (Munich, 1982), hereinafter cited as *Werke*; and in Chamisso, *Sämtliche Werke*, Jost Perfahl and Volker Hoffmann, eds., 2 vols. (Munich, 1975). The Perfahl and Hoffmann edition contains the most extensive commentary on the text of Chamisso's voyage account. For previously untranscribed letters and valuable commentary, see René-Marc Pille, "Les papiers d'Adelbert de Chamisso (1781–1838): Répertoire raisonné de la partie française du fonds Chamisso de la Deutsche Staatsbibliothek de Berlin (R.D.A.)," (Thèse pour le doctorat de 3^e cycle, Université de Provence, 1985).

¹¹ For biographical background, see André Jardin, *Tocqueville: A Biography*, Lydia Davis with Robert Hemenway, trans. (New York, 1988). My reading of Tocqueville has been greatly enriched by this comprehensive and thoughtful biography.

¹² On the *notable* as social type, see André-Jean Tudesq, *Les grands notables en France (1840–1849): Etude historique d'une psychologie sociale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964).

¹³ Jardin, *Tocqueville*, 125. Compare the remarks on the revolutionary fears of Romantic aristocrats

Rejecting their families' diehard royalism, Tocqueville and Chamisso became representatives of an early nineteenth-century liberalism that sought to synthesize the strengths of diverse social and cultural elites. Chamisso enjoyed close bourgeois, French, and Jewish friendships in Berlin and, later, after resigning his army commission in 1808, traveled in the liberal, Franco-German entourage of Mme. de Staël.¹⁴ Tocqueville pulled away more cautiously from his narrow upbringing, but by the time of his departure for America he, too, was ready to plunge into other social settings.¹⁵ Both thinkers affirmed for their own time a historical process that reached far back into the Old Regime, with ambitious members of prerevolutionary society buying and marrying their way into the titled rungs of the social hierarchy. After the French Revolution, privilege in the old sense of legal difference may have ebbed, but "distinction" (to use Pierre Bourdieu's term) in the sense of a network of marriage alliances, social contacts, and an aristocratic way of life remained resilient until 1914. Although there were revolutionary bourgeois and reactionary aristocrats who resisted the consolidation of old and new elites, Tocqueville and Chamisso chose the role of mediators.¹⁶

Their travels fit into this complex pattern of aristocratic accommodation to a post-aristocratic era: both men traveled out of career frustration. Chamisso left the army in 1808 to pursue a literary career and began scientific studies at the University of Berlin in 1812. Discomfited during the later Napoleonic years by his dual French and Prussian affiliations and unable to find a suitable position in either country, he enrolled as the natural scientist on a Russian voyage around the world. As for Tocqueville, a decade and a half later he also escaped overseas because of the obstacles to his ambitions at home. The Revolution of 1830 disrupted his political aspirations; he felt uncomfortable cooperating with either

in Francine Ninane de Martinoir, "Aristocrates et royalistes à l'époque de Tocqueville," *Analyses et réflexions sur . . . Tocqueville, De la Démocratie en Amérique* (Paris, 1985), 29–36.

¹⁴ On Chamisso's relationship to the French colony in Berlin, see Christian Velder, "Das Verhältnis Adelberts von Chamisso zu Weltbürgertum und Weltliteratur" (Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1955), 28 and following; on the Berlin salons that were important for his development, see Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven, Conn., 1988). On the early Romantic movement that shaped his thinking, see Rudolf Haym, *Die Romantische Schule: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes* (Berlin, 1928). On Chamisso and Mme. de Staël, see La Comtesse Jean de Pange, *Auguste-Guillaume Schlegel et Madame de Staël: D'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1938), 266–67, 274–75.

¹⁵ For background on the political thought of the period, see François Furet, *Revolutionary France 1770–1880*, Antonia Nevill, trans. (Oxford, 1992), chaps. 6–7; on Tocqueville's intellectual formation, see, in addition to Jardin, Jean-Claude Lamberti, *Tocqueville et les deux démocraties* (Paris, 1983), 15–16; and the editor's introduction to Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique: Première édition historico-critique*, vol. 1, Eduardo Nolla, ed. (Paris, 1990). Jacques Nantet, *Tocqueville* (Paris, 1971), is a biography stressing Tocqueville's liberalism; see esp. p. 8.

¹⁶ On the transformation of noble society in France and Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see C. B. A. Behrens, *Society, Government and the Enlightenment: The Experiences of Eighteenth-Century France and Prussia* (New York, 1985), 199–205; and Robert M. Berdahl, *The Politics of the Prussian Nobility: The Development of a Conservative Ideology, 1770–1848* (Princeton, N.J., 1988). Compare Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). On the later nineteenth century, see the problematic but stimulating arguments in Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York, 1981). On the revival of noble culture, see also Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens* (Stuttgart, 1985); V. G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: A Study of the Aristocratic Ascendancy* (New York, 1988); and Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993).

the new regime or the royalist opposition.¹⁷ Both he and Chamisso hoped that literary glory might open up new opportunities on their return.

In 1815, Chamisso boarded the *Rurik*, commissioned by the Russian statesman and patron of the arts Count Nikolai Rumiantsev to make a scientific voyage around the world.¹⁸ Departing from Copenhagen across the Atlantic on August 17, the *Rurik* made stops in South America, two northern sorties, a visit to San Francisco Bay, and two stays in Pacific islands before returning to Europe via Manila and Capetown and anchoring in St. Petersburg in 1818. As official scientist, Chamisso was responsible for observations about what he saw along the way—primarily in the natural sciences but also in linguistics and whatever else interested him. The “Observations and Remarks” he contributed to the official account of the voyage avoided political and cultural commentary and concentrated on fulfilling the scientist’s assigned task of adding to the learned community’s store of knowledge. His fuller vision of the voyage as education only appeared in the memoir of 1836.¹⁹

Chamisso’s mature conception of the voyage had the hard edge of a test of noble prowess. This aspect of his narrative emerges from his literary duel with the captain, Otto von Kotzebue. Son of the popular playwright August von Kotzebue (whose play *La pèrouse* contrasted hypercivilized Europeans with naturally virtuous “savages”), Kotzebue was an ambitious man who sought literary fame as well as advancement in rank through his voyages.²⁰ Their contrasting backgrounds made them an odd couple aboard the *Rurik*. Chamisso thought of himself as a declassed noble of the sword; Kotzebue was a service noble, whose father had

¹⁷ See Jardin, *Tocqueville*, 88–91.

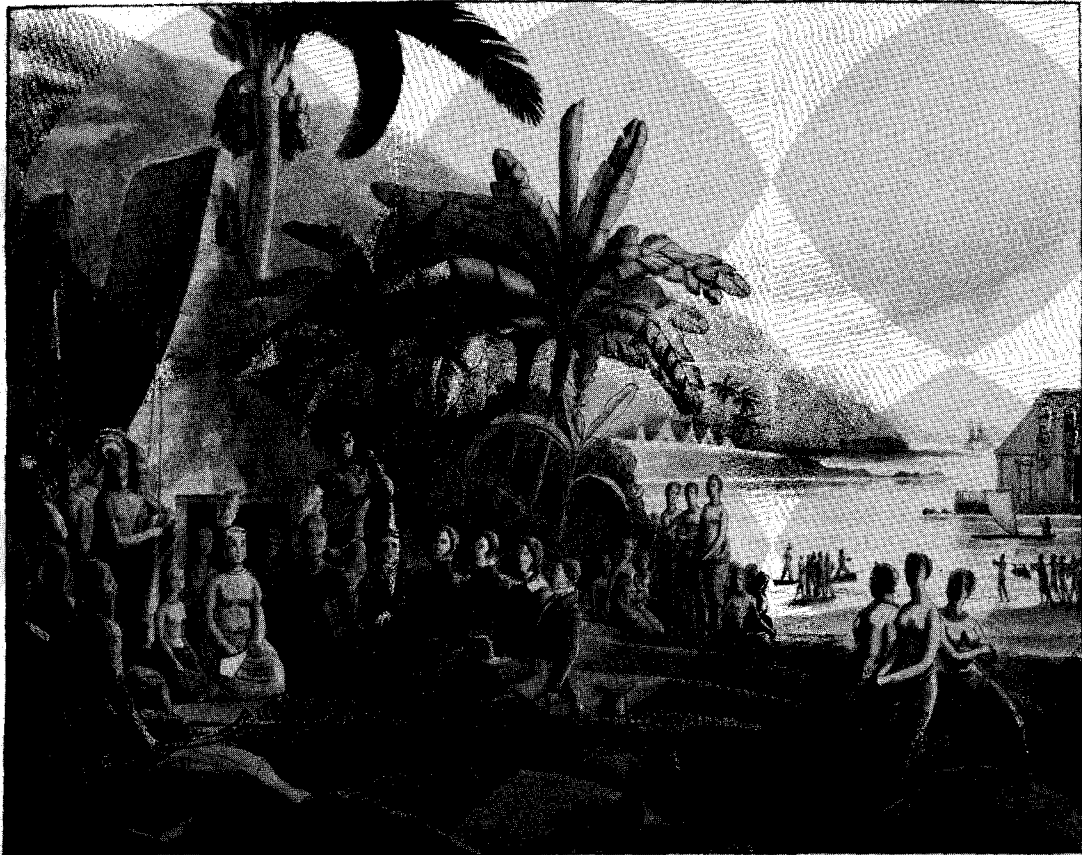
¹⁸ On Russian voyages of exploration, see Nikolai Nozikov, *Russian Voyages Round the World*, M. A. Sergeyev, ed., Ernst Lesser and Mira Lesser, trans. (London, [194–?]); and the introduction by Ella L. Wiswell to V. M. Golovnin, *Around the World on the “Kamchatka,” 1817–1819* (1822; Honolulu, 1979).

¹⁹ In addition to the English translation of Chamisso’s voyage narrative and the other editions and biographical sources already cited, see the official account of the voyage, *Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See und nach der Berings-Strasse zur Erforschung einer nordöstlichen Durchfahrt: Unternommen in den Jahren 1815, 1816, 1817 und 1818, auf Kosten Sr. Erlaucht des Herrn Reichs-Kanzlers Grafen Rumanzoff auf dem Schiffe Rurik unter dem Befehle des Lieutenants der Russisch-Kaiserlichen Marine Otto von Kotzebue*, 3 vols. (Weimar, 1821), which includes Chamisso’s “Bemerkungen und Ansichten” and Kotzebue’s voyage account as well as other contributions; and August C. Mahr, *The Visit of the “Rurik” to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford, Calif., 1932).

On Chamisso as scientist, see Emil Du Bois-Reymond, “Adelbert von Chamisso als Naturforscher: Rede zur Feier des Leibnizischen Jahrestages in der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin am 28. Juni 1888” (Leipzig, 1889); Peter Krüger, “Adelbert von Chamisso und die ‘Rurik’-Expedition: Zur Geschichte der Zusammenarbeit russischer und deutscher Wissenschaftler bei der Erforschung der Küstengebiete und des Ozeanbodens,” *Zeitschrift für geologische Wissenschaft*, Berlin 4 (1976): 255–65; René-Marc Pille, “Un émigré français devenu poète allemand à la découverte du monde arctique pour le compte de la Russie: Le botaniste Adelbert von Chamisso (1781–1838),” in *Inter-Nord*, 18 (1987): 67–71.

On Chamisso as literary voyager and ethnographer, see Heinz Kelm, “Adelbert von Chamisso als Ethnograph der Südsee” (Dissertation Universität Bonn, 1951); Velder, “Das Verhältnis Chamissos zu Weltbürgertum”; and Gisela Menza, *Adelbert von Chamissos “Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffischen Entdeckungs-Expedition in den Jahren 1815–1818”: Versuch einer Bestimmung des Werkes als Dokument des Überganges von der Spätromantik zur vorrealistischen Biedermeierzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978).

²⁰ On August von Kotzebue, see the introduction by Benno von Wiese to August von Kotzebue, *Schauspiele*, Jürg Mathes, ed. (Frankfurt, 1972), esp. 23 and following, 36 and following. Otto von Kotzebue stated his literary ambitions in his account of his subsequent journey, *Neue Reise um die Welt, in den Jahren 1823, 24, 25, und 26* (Weimar, 1830), 1: vi.



L'Entrée de l'expédition de M. Kotzebue, avec le Roi Tamméaméa, dans l'île d'Oaïhi

"Meeting of the Expedition of M. [Otto von] Kotzebue with King Tamméaméa [Kamehameha] on the Island of Hawaii (Sandwich Islands)." From Louis Choris, *Vues et paysages des régions équinoxiales, recueillis dans un voyage autour du monde . . . Pouvant servir de suite au voyage pittoresque autour du monde; En six livraisons, composées chacune de quatre planches avec une introduction et une description des planches* (Paris, 1826), Folder 5, plate 18. Photograph courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, the Newberry Library, Chicago.

acquired the family title.²¹ Their differences continued in their conflicting tales. Kotzebue's recorded a civilizing mission in the name of enlightenment and autocracy, a continuation of eighteenth-century conventions of travel writing; Chamisso's was a confession of enchantment with the South Seas, an enchantment that carried him to the point of trying to get tattooed. Unable to realize this ambition, he did prove his fearlessness in the face of strangers, wild landscapes, and unleashed dogs, as well as his fitness to endure seasickness, long hikes, and the icy reaches of the North. The captain, by contrast, suffered from stomach ailments, and at a decisive moment, on their second voyage to the north, when the ship was just about to cross the known frontier toward the northeast, he gave the order to turn around—in Chamisso's view, an unpardonable breach of military

²¹ On the social ambitions of the Kotzebue family, see Frithjof Stock, *Kotzebue im literarischen Leben der Goethezeit: Polemik-Kritik-Publikum* (Düsseldorf, 1971), 133.

discipline. So much for the parvenu's claim to exalted status compared to the European aristocrat and the argonauts of the Pacific!²²

As for Tocqueville, his voyage, too, had dual purposes, one scientific, the other more broadly a form of aristocratic cultivation. While Tocqueville and his companion Gustave-Auguste de Beaumont de la Bonninière came to the United States, where they visited from May 1831 to February 1832, ostensibly to study the American prison system, they were also following a French tradition of grand tours to North America.²³ Their most important model was the celebrated writer and diplomat Chateaubriand, a relative and a visitor to the Tocqueville household when Alexis was young. A glimpse of the North American wilderness was a permissible diversion for an aristocratic French traveler, and Tocqueville and Beaumont were determined not to miss savages in a purely savage setting.²⁴

The two companions made a lengthy detour to fulfill this ambition. After passing through the State of New York and crossing Lake Erie by boat, they reached the military outpost of Detroit. From there, they made their trip into the wilderness, departing on horseback July 23 for the settlement of Saginaw, Michigan.²⁵ After returning to Detroit, they set out on Great Lake and Canadian excursions that afforded more opportunities for wilderness views and conversations with Native Americans. In the essay "Fourteen Days in the Wilderness," Tocqueville recounted his adventures on the frontier. A tour guide with a fine sense of dramatic pacing, Tocqueville takes his readers from the disappointing Indians of New York State (who, corrupted by civilization, failed to live up to the pages of Chateaubriand) to the Ojibwa of Michigan, who satisfied the Romantic quest for proud untamed warriors.

Both Chamisso and Tocqueville write with ironic self-distance about their roles as cavaliers on an exotic grand tour. Chamisso was an experienced officer but could not swim as well as Polynesians, and he records the amusement of Hawaiians when he tried to impress them with his skill at crossing a river. Tocqueville, physically frail and untested, relates how he and Beaumont lost their way in the Michigan woods and overtaxed themselves against the advice of their Indian guides, whose superior skills in this setting he came to appreciate. Both

²² Chamisso, *Voyage*, 173–74.

²³ For surveys of French visitors to the United States, see the rich and insightful study of René Rémond, *Les États-Unis devant l'opinion française, 1815–1852*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), esp. 644, 660, 682–83; Frank Monaghan, *French Travellers in the United States, 1765–1932: A Bibliography* (New York, 1933); and Jardin, *Tocqueville*, 101–06, which discusses British as well as French travelers. Bernhard Fabian, *Alexis de Tocqueville's Amerikabild: Genetische Untersuchungen über Zusammenhänge mit der zeitgenössischen, insbesondere der englischen Amerika-Interpretation*, Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien, Heft 1 (Heidelberg, 1957), 22, claims that Tocqueville's encounters with actual American Indians "disillusioned" him of the dreams of noble savages nurtured by his reading of Chateaubriand. This assertion, influenced by Chinard's critique of European utopianism and by a partial reading of the opening pages of "Quinze jours dans le désert," is not borne out by the full text of the latter or by Tocqueville's other writings. On Tocqueville and Beaumont in America, see, in addition to Jardin, George W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938); and James T. Schleifer, *The Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980).

²⁴ Tocqueville, "Quinze jours dans le désert," in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 5, part 1: *Voyages en Sicile et aux États-Unis*, J.-P. Mayer, ed. (Paris, 1957), 342.

²⁵ On Tocqueville and Beaumont's trip to Michigan, see Jardin, *Tocqueville*, 119–33; Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, 229 and following; and Schleifer, *Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America*, 62–63.

authors leave the impression that the aristocratic pose in a non-aristocratic world was sometimes more quixotic than heroic. Whether grand or ridiculous, however, the aristocratic traveler was a distinctive type of narrator who viewed himself as the heir to an archaic code of personal dignity.

FROM A VARIETY OF IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES, French travelers to North America after 1789 condemned Rousseau's conception of the savage as a naturally virtuous democrat.²⁶ The opposition of civilization and savagery persisted, to be sure, but not as a political contrast between civilized hierarchy and savage anarchy, a distinction that made less sense in a Europe that had experienced revolutionary anarchy and seemed to be moving toward democracy. Rather, the opposition came increasingly to focus on the gap, ever starker after 1815, between the sophistication of European technology and the simplicity of native weapons, commerce, and means of production.²⁷

Civilization did not altogether lose its value in their writings, but Chamisso and Tocqueville scrutinized it in ways that limited its claims to superiority over other ways of life. One aspect of modern civilization was the expanding power of the modern state. Chamisso voyaged as a foreigner in Russian service, and his memoir missed no opportunity from beginning to end to attack Russian autocracy. It embarrassed him, for one thing, to be associated with (and taken for one of) the victors over the revolution; no matter how much he had personally suffered from the Jacobins and Napoleon, he despised the Spanish colonialists receiving the voyagers on their South American stops, petty dictators who praised the tsar for making the world safe for autocracy. The paternalism of the captain rankled him, as did the servility of the crew, the oppressive orderliness of St. Petersburg, and the bureaucratic delay of his permission to leave the tsar's realm and return to Berlin.²⁸ Tocqueville made an analogous critique of Russian autocracy in the famous conclusion to Volume 1 of *Democracy in America*, with its contrast between the two great empires of the modern era, the American and the Russian, one motivated by freedom and the other by state despotism.²⁹ For both writers, Russia was the extreme example of the more general dangers that state power posed to personal freedom in the modern world—a conception of freedom

²⁶ For an especially influential critique of Rousseau and of noble savage ideology, see C. F. Volney, "Observations générales sur les Indiens ou sauvages de l'Amérique-Nord," included as an appendix in *Oeuvres*, 4: *Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* . . . , 2d edn. (Paris, 1825), 371–463. For other opinions revealing continuity and change in French discourse on American Indians, see Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane, et sur le continent de l'Amérique septentrionale, fait dans les années 1794 à 1798* . . . (Paris, 1802), 7–10, 33–35; Perrin du Lac, *Travels through the Two Louisianas and Among the Savage Nations of the Missouri; also, in the United States Along the Ohio and the Adjacent Provinces in 1801, 1802, and 1803* . . . (London, 1807), 45–46, 66; Baron de Montlezun, *Voyage fait dans les années 1816 et 1817, de New-York à la Nouvelle-Orléans, et de l'Orénoque au Mississippi, par les Petites et les Grandes-Antilles* . . . (Paris, 1818), 1: 285 and following.

²⁷ See the opening discussion of the Crystal Palace in Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 1–6, for the equation of civilization with technological progress.

²⁸ On South America, see the description of the reception of the *Rurik* in Chile, in Chamisso, *Voyage*, 54–55; on St. Petersburg, see *Voyage*, 232–34.

²⁹ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 412–13.

they upheld with the tenacity of aristocrats historically accustomed to resisting central authority.

If state power threatened freedom, commerce encroached on the travelers' code of honor. When Chamisso at the Russian colony of St. Peter and Paul gave away his rifle to the governor, who offered to pay for it, Chamisso stated that he was not a businessman and would not know how to price such a thing. The natural historical objects gathered on his voyage became presents to Berlin museums.³⁰ As for Tocqueville, his critique of Anglo-American commercialism formed a harsh counterpoint to his admiration of other aspects of American democracy. American behavior in commercial transactions, while formally correct toward him and Beaumont, was below his conception of appropriate behavior; he helplessly noted the petty depredations of hotel owners and sympathized with an Indian short-changed by a white settler. Such European aristocrats could get used to many local practices during their journeys but not the systematic pursuit of profit.³¹

More clearly than any other European travelers of the era, Chamisso and Tocqueville developed an alternative paradigm: alongside civilization and savagery, an antinomy of freedom and slavery. Chamisso observed these extremes along the Bering Straits. Traveling on the Asian side, the *Rurik* encountered the Chukchi—"an independent people in their mountains, subservient to no one. They recognize Russian sovereignty only inasmuch as they pay the tribute in the market places, where they trade with the Russians to their mutual advantage."³² A boy treated them to a hilarious pantomime act, stimulating Chamisso to observe, "Under these skies, too, laughter is, as Rabelais so tellingly put it, the peculiar characteristic of mankind, when, that is, men, still independent, rejoice in their inborn freedom."³³ The Chukchi *joie de vivre* contrasted with the listlessness of the Aleuts, whom the Russian colonizers treated virtually as slaves.³⁴

A similar logic guides the chapter of *Democracy in America* titled "On the Three Races in America," in which African Americans and Native Americans epitomize extremes of slavery and freedom, as do Aleuts and Chukchis for Chamisso. A scene outside a pioneer cabin in Alabama illustrates the contrast: Tocqueville observed a Creek woman, an African-American woman, and a white child. The

³⁰ Chamisso, *Voyage*, 76–77, 80, 87, 143, 168, 205.

³¹ Tocqueville, "Quinze jours," 367. Albert O. Hirschman points out in *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton, N.J., 1977) that the critique of interest-driven commercial behavior for undermining freedom and republican virtue began within the Enlightenment. See especially his comparison of Adam Ferguson's and Tocqueville's fears that commercial progress could encourage despotism, pp. 119–25.

³² Chamisso, *Voyage*, 91.

³³ Chamisso, *Voyage*, 92.

³⁴ Several Russian observers, including Chamisso's own captain, were scandalized by the inhuman policies toward native peoples of the Russian-American Company, formed in 1799 by Tsar Paul to administer the Russian possessions in the Pacific. See Golovnin, *Around the World on the "Kamchatka," 1817–19*, xxvii–xxx; Chamisso, *Voyage*, 95–96 (which excerpts Kotzebue's comments); A. J. von Krusenstern, *Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806 auf Befehl seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät Alexander des Ersten auf den Schiffen Nadeshda und Newa unter dem Commando des Capitains von der Kaiserlichen Marine A. J. von Krusenstern* (St. Petersburg, 1811), 2: 113–21; G. H. v. Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807* (Frankfurt am Main, 1812), 2: 63–64. James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony* (Cambridge, 1992), 150–52, bears out the general accuracy of Chamisso's characterization of the Chukchi as free and the Aleut as subjugated peoples.

Creek's native costume displayed "a sort of barbaric luxury," while the African American was dressed in European clothes; the Creek "showed by her slightest movements a sense of superiority" and even her tender gestures toward the child revealed a "free, proud and almost fierce" air compared to the "servile fear" of her companion.³⁵ For the stranger, the two non-European races in America demarcated logical extremes: "The Negro has reached the ultimate limits of slavery, whereas the Indian lives on the extreme edge of freedom."³⁶ The African American was typed (and stereotyped) by Tocqueville as a pure extension of the master's will; the struggle of master and slave, and the dignity it might confer upon the bondsman, did not enter into his observations.³⁷ As for the Creek woman, her dress was the outward manifestation of inward nobility. In another passage, he generalized, "The pretended nobility of his origin fills the whole imagination of the Indian. He lives and dies amid these proud dreams. Far from wishing to adapt his mores to ours, he regards barbarism as the distinctive emblem of his race."³⁸ Ever interested in constructing what we, following Max Weber, would call ideal types—pure models for the greatest possible rigor and clarity of analysis—Tocqueville here invented an extreme of freedom. In his vision, the Creek woman was neither an ignoble savage (irrational, childish, vain) nor a noble savage (republican and rational) but, rather, a "barbarian" as one might idealize the medieval nobility, her physical appearance radiating a pride not yet vitiated by commerce or central authority.

With their antinomy of slavery and freedom, Chamisso and Tocqueville moved away from the eighteenth-century discourse bounded by civilization and savagery. They could continue to affirm the benefits of civilization, but they could also step back from it and pronounce judgment on whether civilization created free or servile peoples. While both men upheld the modern freedoms embedded in institutions such as parliamentary government and free speech, they also criticized the subjugation of entire peoples to the widening network of European society and state. In this context, nobility and ignobility no longer applied just to specific social strata, they could also permeate entire cultures. The peoples of the Pacific and North America enjoyed national traditions of a "nobility" once widespread in Europe as well but now in decline.

ENLIGHTENMENT THINKERS MIGHT ADMIRE SAVAGE CUSTOMS, regret European estrangement from them, imagine savages with classical features, and wax indignant over European mistreatment of them, but they still had difficulty conceiving of a shared personal identity with them. This was precisely what

³⁵ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 320.

³⁶ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 318.

³⁷ In contrast to Tocqueville's static view of social relations here, see the dialectical analysis of the North American master-slave relationship in Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974). Despite its static categories, Tocqueville's discussion in "The Three Races" reveals him to be a thinker in search of social, not racial, causes of human behavior. Later, he explicitly repudiated Comte Gobineau's racialist theorizing. Compare Schleifer, *Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America*, chap. 5.

³⁸ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 319.

happened, however, in the writings of Tocqueville and Chamisso. They had a famous model in Chateaubriand's tales, *Atala* and *René*, among the founding works of French Romanticism, which united the highborn René, a runaway from civilization, to the high-minded savage patriarch, Chactas, as son to father.³⁹ Once the French Revolution had destroyed nobility as a legal order in France, noble souls yearning for the real thing had to look elsewhere for it—to the Middle Ages, or Brahmin India, or tribal warriors.⁴⁰ Native American and Oceanic elites were good candidates for *ur*-nobility, indeed, more authentic and original than compromised European title-bearers. Exotic counterparts inspired a sense of cultural affinity in aristocratic (and non-noble, would-be aristocratic) European travelers who sensed a shared struggle against the ignobility of bourgeois civilization.

Chamisso and Tocqueville narrate how respect and friendship naturally arise between them and their exotic peers. Chamisso tells a significant story (from the voyage's second visit to Hawaii in 1817) about a guide who accompanied him on a botanical walk. When Chamisso went into a rage and used whatever Hawaiian he could muster to berate the man for briefly deserting him, the guide laughed in his face. Chamisso pulled back from his anger, for he recognized his equal in a Hawaiian who, like the Chukchi, was exercising the free man's privilege of laughter.⁴¹ In general, the highborn Hawaiians figure in Chamisso's narrative as a quasi-chivalric elite, expansive and combative, who even held a javelin tournament during his stay on the island (which Chamisso missed while out botanizing—"an irreplaceable loss in my life"). That the *ali'i* or chiefs were squandering everything from the welfare of their people to their own legitimacy with their competitive displays of aristocratic extravagance seems to have escaped Chamisso's attention.⁴² The Marshall and Caroline Islands, still little changed by Western contact at the time of his visit, corresponded even more closely to his ideal: he thought they contained a virtually pristine nobility. Describing how Rarik, leader of the Wotje island group (Ratak Chain, Marshall Islands), took the lead to meet the newly arrived strangers, Chamisso commented, "we always found more self-confidence among the princes, more courage and noble bearing [*mehr Mut und Edelmüt*], than among the people."⁴³ On the island of Airik (Maloelap group,

³⁹ "It is a strange fate, my dear son," declares Chactas in *Atala*, "which has brought us together. I see in you the civilized man who has become a savage; you see in me the savage whom the Great Spirit has (I know not for what purpose) chosen to civilize." François-René de Chateaubriand, *Atala/René*, Irving Putter, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1980), 22. For biographical background, see Richard Switzer, *Chateaubriand* (New York, 1971). On the biographical connections between Chateaubriand and Tocqueville, see Nolla, introduction to *Démocratie*, 1: xviii, xxii. On the relationship between their work, see Eva Doran, "Two Men and a Forest: Chateaubriand, Tocqueville and the American Wilderness," *Essays in French Literature*, 13 (November 1976): 44–61; and Dirk Hoeges, "Der vergessene Rest: Tocqueville, Chateaubriand und der Subjektwechsel in der französischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 238 (1984): 287–310.

⁴⁰ Compare Boon, *Other Tribes*, *Other Scribes*, 207.

⁴¹ Chamisso, *Voyage*, 187.

⁴² Chamisso, *Voyage*, 126. On the fateful conjuncture of this aristocratic ethos with the transformation of the Hawaiian Islands into an entrepôt of world capitalism, see Marshall Sahlins with the assistance of Dorothy B. Barrère, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii*, Vol. 1: *Historical Ethnography* (Chicago, 1992), chap. 3.

⁴³ Chamisso, *Werke*, 2: 245. For background on the Caroline and Marshall Islands, see Francis X. Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521–1885* (Honolulu, 1983), esp. 92 and following.



Labéléloa
Chief du groupe des îles Koutousoff Smolensky.

"Labéléloa, chief of the Koutousoff Smolensky Islands [Maloelap island group], Ratak Chain, Marshall Islands." From Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, avec des portraits de sauvages d'Amérique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des îles du Grand océan; Des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d'histoire naturelle; Accompagné de descriptions par m. le baron Cuvier, et M. A. de Chamisso, et d'observations sur les crânes humains, par m. le docteur Gall* (Paris, 1822), *Iles Radak*, plate 8. Photograph courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library.

Ratak Chain, Marshall Islands), a young nobleman, venerated by the surrounding people, approached the *Rurik* crew and quickly commanded their admiration:

The youth, who embraced me cordially, came aboard ship with me immediately . . . Joyous, friendly, animated, curious, clever, brave, and mannerly: I have seldom seen a more charming creature . . . To put on a show for him I brought out my rapiers and fenced a pass with Eschscholtz [the ship doctor]. Then he positively glowed for joy: he had to play this game, too. He courteously requested a rapier, and joyously, full of dignity, he took up a position before me, trusting himself and me, and presented his naked breast to the cold iron of the stranger. Think about it—it was beautiful.⁴⁴

Micronesia no longer documented the classic preoccupation of the Old Regime; it was not a testing place for degrees of equality compared to the privileged hierarchy of European society. Rather, Chamisso envisioned a state of congenital privilege and honor that Europeans of recent generations knew only in a state of historical decay. In its original form as he experienced it abroad, hierarchical society produced types of courage and grace without counterpart in the modern world. Here, his concern was not—as in the north Pacific—the ethos of an entire people so much as the free, open manner of a hereditary ruling class. One could hardly imagine a stronger reply to the model of primitive equality in Rousseau's Second Discourse, in which only natural differences in talent lead to differences in social position.

Tocqueville's Indians in "Fourteen Days" differed in fundamental respects from Chamisso's Hawaiians. Chamisso imagined that he had encountered something like European feudalism, with a hereditary elite of landholders dominating a highly stratified society, while Tocqueville subscribed to the view of North American Indians as freely roaming warriors devoted to hunting.⁴⁵ Yet there remained a profound point of agreement: for both men, the noble was above all a warrior. An anecdote from his travel notes attests to the martial qualities linking French and Indians. Traveling by canoe from Sault St. Marie, Tocqueville and Beaumont stopped at an Indian village at the entrance to Lake Superior:

The chief asks to see my gun . . . I fire my gun for him. He admires it, and says that he had always heard it said that the French were a nation of great warriors. I ask the meaning of his feathers. He answers with a smile of pleasure that it is a sign that he has killed two *Sioux*. (He is a *Saulter*, a tribe always at war with the other.) I ask him for one of the feathers, telling him that I will carry it to the land of the great warriors, and people will admire it.

⁴⁴ Chamisso, *Voyage*, 150.

⁴⁵ For a critical survey challenging old and new clichés about Indian uses of the land, see Richard White and William Cronon, "Ecological Change and Indian-White Relations," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 4: 417–29. The Upper Missouri villages were an example of well-known agricultural settlements visited by other Europeans in the 1830s. See Roy W. Meyer, *The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri: The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras* (Lincoln, Neb., 1977).

For his view of Indians as hunters and warriors, Tocqueville relied heavily on the captivity narrative of John Tanner, who was kidnapped by Shawnees in 1789 and lived among Ottawa and Ojibwa peoples from 1789 to 1819, when he attempted to return to Anglo-American society. Tanner, whom Tocqueville met on his travels, was an excellent source but one that he mined rather one-sidedly to support his view of savage life. For a recent ethnological analysis of Tanner, with critical remarks on Tocqueville, see the valuable introduction by Pierrette Désy to the recent French translation, John Tanner, *Trente ans de captivité chez les indiens Ojibwa: Récit de John Tanner; Recueilli par le docteur Edwin James; Présentation, traduction, bibliographie et analyse ethnohistorique* (1830; Paris, 1983).



Larik Chef du groupe des îles Romanzoff.

"Larik, chief of the Romanzoff island group [Wotje island group], Ratak Chain, Marshall Islands." Larik, or Rarik, impressed Chamisso as the epitome of nobility. Chamisso met him in January–February 1817 while serving as naturalist on the *Rurik*. From Choris, *Voyage pittoresque . . .*, Iles Radak, plate 1. Photograph courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library.

He takes it out at once from his hair and gives it to me, then stretches out his hand and shakes mine.⁴⁶

In Tocqueville's telling, he and the chief made a discovery of spiritual kinship. Tocqueville had his gun, the chief had his feathers; each admired the other's symbol of prowess. The chief acknowledged the military greatness of the French, and Tocqueville did the same for the chief by promising to spread his reputation across the seas. For Tocqueville, their handshake served as the seal on their symmetrical warrior qualities. Philanthropic-minded contemporaries wondered how to persuade American Indians to dismount from their steeds and turn into farmers; Tocqueville instead savored the encounter of peers and contemplated the tragedy of their failure to sustain their culture as successful conquerors.⁴⁷

The affinity of European and extra-European noble was a metaphor of kinship that reached across differences of time and place. Tocqueville and Chamisso emphasized that they had discovered nobility abroad as they knew it from European history. "The Indian in the miserable depth of his forests," wrote Tocqueville, "cherishes the same ideas and opinions as the medieval noble in his castle, and he only needs to become a conqueror to complete the resemblance. How odd it is that the ancient prejudices of Europe should reappear, not among the European population along the coast, but in the forests of the New World."⁴⁸ Chamisso was no less insistent about the authenticity of Polynesian nobility: "People have been surprised to hear me speak of nobility among the Polynesians. To be sure, I find nobility there the way I imagine it used to exist among us, where, already discarded, it lives on only in faint memories."⁴⁹ Both Tocqueville and Chamisso were aware of the paradoxical sound of these statements to their readers. The novelty of the comparison resulted from their use of travel across space as a way of venturing backward in time. For Tocqueville and Chamisso, the indigenous societies of North America and the Pacific were historical laboratories, vestiges of a past stage of history that they were recording before it vanished forever from the earth. Their discovery of shared identity with primitive peers broadened "nobility" from a provincial European to a universally human category.

The affinity was heartfelt. Tocqueville and Chamisso protested the destruction of peoples and cultures they in some respects preferred to the civilized victors. "I have witnessed afflictions beyond my powers to portray," wrote Tocqueville before recalling a scene of Choctaws trying to cross the Mississippi at Memphis in late 1831:

It was then the depths of winter, and that year the cold was exceptionally severe; the snow was hard on the ground, and huge masses of ice drifted on the river. The Indians brought their families with them; there were among them the wounded, the sick, newborn babies, and the old men on the point of death. They had neither tents nor wagons, but only some provisions and weapons. I saw them embark to cross the great river, and the sight will

⁴⁶ Tocqueville, notebook entry of August 6, 1831, in *Journey to America*, George Lawrence, trans., J. P. Mayer, ed., rev. edn. in collaboration with A. P. Kerr (Garden City, N.Y., 1971), 144.

⁴⁷ See the melancholy introduction by Tanner's protector, Edwin James, in *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie), During Thirty Years Residence among the Indians in the Interior of North America . . .* (New York, 1830).

⁴⁸ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 328.

⁴⁹ Chamisso, *Voyage*, 189.

never fade from my memory. Neither sob nor complaint rose from that silent assembly. Their afflictions were of long standing, and they felt them to be irremediable. All the Indians had already got into the boat that was to carry them across; their dogs were still on the bank; as soon as the animals finally realized that they were being left behind forever, they all together raised a terrible howl and plunged into the icy waters of the Mississippi to swim after their masters.⁵⁰

French democracy had driven its nobles from their home; he could not report indifferently when American democracy did the same.

The devastation of traditional Hawaiian culture roused Chamisso to equally impassioned eloquence. In a 1837 report on the Hawaiian language to the Prussian Academy of Sciences, he attacked the Hawaiian missionary press for failing to dedicate a single publication to preserving the social conditions, customs, histories, legends, or religion of the Hawaiians. "The thirst for knowledge," he wrote, "which separates man from cattle, also comes from God, and it is no sin if he longs to look back at his own history, in which God reveals himself in progress. But too late! Before the new has taken shape, the old is already lost."⁵¹ He and Tocqueville wrote, as would later ethnographers, with the urgency of witnesses to cultural possibilities that would soon no longer exist. At the time of his death in 1838, Chamisso was preparing a Hawaiian grammar.

DESPITE THEIR BELIEF in the nobility of the peoples they encountered, Tocqueville and Chamisso were capable of viewing native elites with the distance of European liberals determined to be citizens of their own century. Anger over the destruction wrought by civilization was balanced by acceptance of its inevitable advance. For all his fascination with the vestiges of archaic freedom, Chamisso dismissed nostalgia for a vanishing world. To be sure, he attacked the pseudo-nobility of the post-Napoleonic era and recalled something different and deeper that he had known in his childhood. Yet he went on to declare, "I shall not recall with vanity the past of our history when a nobility existed to which my forefathers belonged. I believe in a God, and consequently in His presence in history, consequently in progress in the course of history."⁵² Tocqueville came to similar conclusions. The very qualities that ennobled American Indians prevented them from joining Anglo-American society. Indians, he wrote, could only save themselves through war or civilization; but for war the time was past, and as for civilization, they shared the noble prejudice against regular, settled work as unworthy of a free human being. The confrontation was too sudden. The judgment of Providence, as enunciated by Tocqueville: "I think that the Indian race is doomed to perish, and I cannot prevent myself from thinking that on the day when the Europeans shall be established on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, it will cease to exist."⁵³ Persistence in the highest pitch of freedom was a catastrophe in its own right, for its bearers would be unable to tolerate the types of dependence that accompanied

⁵⁰ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 324.

⁵¹ Chamisso, "Über die Hawaiische Sprache," *Werke*, 2: 674.

⁵² Chamisso, *Voyage*, 189.

⁵³ Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 326.

admission to agricultural and commercial society. The implication for family and friends was clear: either learn to work within bourgeois society or be destroyed by it.

The discovery of indigenous nobility belonged to the emerging historicist discourse of the nineteenth century, taking its place in an evolutionary theory of history in which all human societies passed through comparable stages of development. Socio-cultural evolutionary theory would arrange the peoples of the earth in an order ascending to the highest existing civilization, that of nineteenth-century northern Europe. In this theoretical perspective, "backward" peoples from the most diverse parts of the earth were vestiges of identical moments of human development.⁵⁴ Tocqueville and Chamisso were pioneers of such a view of human progress. What distinguished them from the mainstream of evolutionary thinking, however, was their dissent from a further assumption that nineteenth-century European technological superiority was tantamount to moral and cultural superiority as well. Instead, they took up the stance of mediators between past and present who admitted to the providential necessity of progress but also analyzed the deficiencies of contemporary civilization and affirmed the irreplaceable value of past epochs.⁵⁵ Their trips around the world simultaneously confirmed the superiority of European civilization and the value of endangered cultures.

More unequivocal, "progressive" writers of the early nineteenth century did not share their ambivalence. The voyage narrative of Otto von Kotzebue offers an instructive contrast to Chamisso. A humane captain by the standards of his time who went to great lengths to care for his men and to treat native peoples fairly, Kotzebue felt a certain attraction to Pacific landscapes and affection for the peoples of Hawaii and Micronesia. But he never questioned the superiority—moral as well as military—of his own civilization. Although Kotzebue was eager to report on the peoples he had seen, he lacked elementary insight into his encounters with them. Whereas Chamisso polemicized against calling the peoples of Oceania "savages," Kotzebue made a habit of doing so and of measuring their progress toward civilization. King Kamehameha I, the great unifier of the Hawaiian Islands, was a "half savage monarch" lifting himself and his people to an appreciation of the laws and useful arts of civilization; the Marshall Islanders whose leaders Chamisso admired for their pure nobility were to the captain promising savages whom "sensible Europeans" might raise to a state of "real civilization."⁵⁶ Kotzebue and other members of official expeditions wrote as patriotic spokesmen, and neither the allure of Polynesian cultures nor philanthropic sentiment led them astray from their task of glorifying their own voyages and the governments that sent them. Missionaries and private travelers, too,

⁵⁴ Discussion of the progress of European civilization and the immaturity or stagnation of non-European peoples reached back at least to the mid-eighteenth century. See Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 10–19; and Marshall and Williams, *Great Map of Mankind*, chaps. 3 and 5.

⁵⁵ Tocqueville had heard François Guizot point out the similarity between Germanic and American Indian institutions. See Nolla, note to Tocqueville, *Démocratie*, 254; and Edward T. Gargan, *Alexis de Tocqueville: The Critical Years, 1848–1851* (Washington, D.C., 1955), 4–6, which emphasizes Tocqueville's attraction to the vitality of historically surpassed stages of civilization.

⁵⁶ Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits . . .*, H. E. Lloyd, trans. (1821; Amsterdam, 1967), 1: 312, 314; and 2: 57–58.

rarely questioned the superiority of their religion and culture to those of Pacific peoples.⁵⁷

European travelers' judgments of North American Indians were more divided. The greater their admiration for American democratic institutions and economic success, the less their concern for indigenous peoples. Michel Chevalier, along with Tocqueville one of the most widely read French visitors of the 1830s to North America, mentioned American Indians only in passing as an obstacle to American expansion. Friedrich von Raumer, titled but firmly on the side of progress, insisted on the racial superiority of the white settlers and blamed American Indians for failing to learn from them.⁵⁸ Anglo-American writers, even when they were moved to protest the mistreatment of American Indians, usually did so out of general humanitarian motives, not out of appreciation for the specific worth of their cultures. Even compassionate Anglo-American social reformers repelled by mistreatment of Native Americans were often unable to view westward expansion as anything but progress, indigenous peoples as anything more than the vestige of a surpassed era of human development.⁵⁹

Travelers in the 1820s and 1830s who did adopt a more sympathetic view of indigenous peoples were usually upper-class observers and not infrequently from noble backgrounds. One contemporary who shared Chamisso's admiration for Pacific peoples as fellow nobles was the French explorer and scientist Jules Dumont d'Urville, a man of unusual erudition and travel experience who (in the course of ranking Oceaneans by race) regarded the Maoris of New Zealand as Spartan warriors capable of developing into a powerful modern nation.⁶⁰ In North America, numerous educated and titled travelers took offense at the rough democratic manners of Anglo-American society. Several aristocrats—Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, Prince Maximilian von Wied-Neuwied, and Count Albert Pourtalès—sought out American Indians and came away with ambivalent impressions comparable to Tocqueville's, admiring of the vitality of Anglo-American society but also appreciative of the courage, honor, and independence

⁵⁷ In Britain, a notable shift took place from late eighteenth-century receptiveness to early nineteenth-century hostility toward Pacific and other indigenous cultures. See Smith, *European Vision*, chap. 11; and Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 36.

⁵⁸ Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States: Being a Series of Letters on North America* (Boston, 1839), 212–13. Friedrich von Raumer, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Leipzig, 1845), 1: 226–29, 279–98.

⁵⁹ Compare Tocqueville with Anglo-American witnesses of approximately the same time and places: James, introduction to Tanner, *Narrative*, 21; Calvin Colton, *Tour of the American Lakes, and Among the Indians of the North-West Territory, in 1830: Disclosing the Character and Prospect of the Indian Race* (London, 1833), 1: xiv, xix–xx, 30–32, 97–98, 201–02, 231–35; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journals of Travels from Detroit Northwest Through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820* (1821; rpt. edn., n.p., 1970), 24–25, 29, 64–65, 97–98.

⁶⁰ Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de La Corvette L'Astrolabe Exécuté par Ordre du Roi, pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 . . .* part 1, vol. 2.2 (Paris, 1830), 396 and following, 401 and following, 611 and following. On Dumont d'Urville, see the introduction to *An Account in Two Volumes of Two Voyages to the South Seas by Captain (later Rear-Admiral) Jules S.-C. Dumont d'Urville . . .*, Helen Rosenman, trans. and ed. (Honolulu, 1988); and Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 331–32.

Chamisso's observations bear comparison with the memoirs from the early nineteenth-century Russian voyages listed above, n. 34. See also the account of a natural scientist on a Prussian voyage around the world, F. J. F. Meyen, *Reise um die Erde: Ausgeführt auf dem königlich preussischen Seehandlungs-schiffe Prinzess Louise, commandirt von Capitain W. Wendt, in den Jahren 1830, 1831 und 1832*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1834–35).

they observed among the native plains and prairie warriors.⁶¹ Educated travelers who were informally privileged in the European scheme of things, even if not actually titled, and clerics loyal to non-bourgeois values were also inclined to sympathy with American Indians and criticism of Anglo-American behavior.⁶² Tocqueville and Chamisso, then, were not isolated figures; they expressed a perspective characteristic of people occupying a particular social position. Their generation of privileged travelers accepted historical progress but did not wish to live entirely within the modern era; their encounter with indigenous elites reassured them that there was something distinctive and worth preserving about the noble ethos. They believed in the inevitable advance of modern civilization but used their experiences abroad to criticize its shortcomings.

The aristocratic standpoint of Tocqueville and Chamisso led to a newly historicized relationship to indigenous peoples. To be sure, they, too, were convinced of the inevitable advance of democracy and capitalism around the world and had no patience with purely reactionary attempts to stop a revolutionary transformation that they regarded as the decree of Providence. Yet the historical experience of defeat also gave them a deeper insight into the movement of history. They asked about the losses as well as the gains of historical change; they criticized the bourgeois era; they were interested in preserving noble values and synthesizing them with contemporary society; their assertion of affinity with indigenous peoples was a rejoinder to racism; their firsthand observations challenged the clichés of apologists for progress. Tocqueville and Chamisso not only classified exotic cultures but, with their longing for a lost era, sought to understand them. Their travel writings illustrate a fundamental irony of early nineteenth-century intellectual history: it was Tocqueville and Chamisso's orientation toward the past that contributed to their modernity as social scientists.

⁶¹ For the most important North American aristocratic travelers, see Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, *Travels in North America 1822–1824*, Savoie Lottinville, ed., W. Robert Nitske, trans. (Norman, Okla., 1973); Maximilian von Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das innere Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834*, 2 vols. (Coblenz, 1839–41); David C. Hunt, Marsha V. Gallagher, et al., *Karl Bodmer's America* (Omaha, Neb., 1984), with important contributions by William H. Goetzmann and William J. Orr on Maximilian as well as Bodmer, his artist; and Count Albert Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour with Washington Irving: The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtalès*, George F. Spaulding, ed., Seymour Feiler, trans. (Norman, 1968).

⁶² See Joseph Salzbacher, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842* (Vienna, 1845), 263–64; Moritz Wagner and Carl Scherzer, *Reisen in Nordamerika in den Jahren 1852 und 1853* (Leipzig, 1854), 3: 63–74; P. J. De Smet, *Letters and Sketches with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1843), 135 and following, 153 and following; L. de Wette, *Reise in den Vereinigten Staaten und Canada im Jahr 1837* (Leipzig, 1838), 12–13, 181 and following, 345–46.

The Making of a Border State Society: James McGready, the Great Revival, and the Prosecution of Profanity in Kentucky

CHRISTOPHER WALDREP

HISTORIANS HAVE PAID LITTLE ATTENTION to the complicated interconnections between gender, language, culture, and politics. Many recognize that political leaders have long rallied support with language laced with cultural symbolism, but few have examined the cultural and social underpinnings of such elite expression. While “culture” can be an amorphous concept, language offers a window on nonelite discourse, a way to look at grass-roots society, which understood culturally defined language not as a system of proscriptive values but as a medium for argument over ethical restraints and licenses. Such controversy often included discourse over the meaning of masculinity as well. This becomes clearer when looking at the peculiar convergence of revivalism and culture in Kentucky, where evidence from the nineteenth-century criminal justice system documents the deep concern Kentuckians had about the gendered meaning of profane swearing. Some contended that profane swearing served as a proxy for courage and assertiveness, promoting masculine honor, whereas their ethical competitors denied the propriety of such manliness.

In the early national period, language—especially profane language—carried great weight in the world of “small politics” that most Americans inhabited.¹ Illiterate and almost illiterate men used words to sting their enemies and define themselves. They saw language not as a rigid structure but as a contest for meanings in which they could challenge the dominant culture while struggling to define virtue, honor, and even manhood.² Paradoxically, such conflict was a

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¹ F. G. Bailey, “Gifts and Poison,” *Gifts and Poison: The Politics of Reputation*, F. G., Bailey, ed. (New York, 1971), 1–25; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 46–48.

² J. G. A. Pocock and others have described political languages such as republicanism as “idioms, rhetorics, ways of talking about politics, distinguishable language games of which each may have its

hallmark of community, and the nature of the disagreements defined the culture. Members of the community did not share values so much as arguments over which competing network of meaning, which language, deserved their allegiance. Often, communities litigated these arguments in local courts, where neighbors could resolve disputes or ratify decisions that local elites had made outside the law.

In part because of Kentucky's legal system, communities there fashioned links with evangelical religion and the ideal of honor different from those found in the communities of other states.³ It would be too much to claim that they rejected southern honor or the ideal of masculine independence and assertion in favor of evangelicalism, but religion did color the meaning of honor and republican manhood in Kentucky. Unlike other slave states, evangelicalism led Kentuckians to use their legal system to mitigate values associated with honor and masculinity.

PRECEDING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, the first Great Revival (1735–1775) had attacked the pretentious display of elite slave owners. Revivalists addressed slaves as “brother” or “sister” and dressed plainly to set themselves apart from the dominant culture. The revival proved seductive enough to persuade some slave owners to take a more paternalistic approach to managing their slaves. More slave owners resisted revivalism, sometimes jailing its leaders but most often persuading evangelicals to fit their message to a hierarchical society.⁴

In 1797, Pennsylvania-born James McGready brought the Great Revival from his home state to Kentucky. The year before, he had tried to do so in North Carolina but later claimed that after he excoriated several influential and wealthy families from his pulpit, they ran him out of that state.⁵ McGready sought to

own vocabulary, rules, preconditions and implication,” Pocock, “The Concept of a Language and the *Metier d'historian*: Some Considerations on Practice,” in Anthony Pagden, ed., *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1987), 21. The language of capitalism influenced others toward abolitionism. Thomas L. Haskell, “Capitalism and the Origins of Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2,” *AHR*, 90 (June 1985): 563. For an especially insightful analysis of the “male republican ideal,” see Curtis D. Johnson, *Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), 55–66. For class-as-language, see Allan Kulikoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville, Va., 1992), 60–95. John E. Toews, “Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience,” *AHR*, 92 (October 1987): 884–85.

³ David Warren Sabean's study of the construction of village discourse within a system of *Herrschaft* provides a useful model for studies of local interpretations of dominant cultural patterns. See his *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984), 21–30, chap. 3.

⁴ Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800–1860* (New York, 1988), 5–43; Rhys Isaac, “Evangelical Revolt: The Nature of the Baptist's Challenge to the Traditional Order in Virginia, 1765–1775,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 31 (July 1974): 345–68; Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 161–77; Alan Gallay, *The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens, Ga., 1989), 30–54; William G. McLoughlin, “The Role of Religion in the Revolution: Liberty of Conscience and Cultural Cohesion in the New Nation,” in *Essays on the American Revolution*, Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds. (Chapel Hill, 1973), 197–255; Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). For a contrary view, see Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

⁵ John B. Boles, *The Great Revival: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind, 1787–1805* (Lexington, Ky., 1972), 42; James McGready, “Vindication of the Exercises in the Revival of 1800,”

revive religion in an area noted for its irreligion; he fought declension. Efforts at revival occurred at camp meetings, places where people gathered for days of preaching and singing. Often interdenominational, these meetings attracted thousands who journeyed miles to attend. Camp-meeting preachers called on listeners to convert, in an emotionally overheated environment where the converted wept, barked, writhed, and jerked as they experienced rebirth. A minister reported that, at one camp-meeting revival, "Hundreds fell prostrate under the mighty power of God, as men slain in battle."⁶

At these camp meetings, McGready proved especially adept at felling adherents to the South's masculine code of behavior in an honor-bound culture. McGready urged one language system, evangelicalism, over another, honor. However, far from rejecting every tenet of the honor code, McGready praised honor in one sermon as "one of the noblest principles that ever existed in the human bosom."⁷ Honor and Christianity shared many of the same attributes: magnanimity resembled charity, for example. And evangelical preachers such as Peter Cartwright (discussed below) boldly confronted sinners and afterward bragged of their successes in facing them down. Christianity could resemble honor.

But, as Bertram Wyatt-Brown has observed, some characteristics of honor—including oral assertion—remained stubbornly anti-Christian. Rebirth meant making a man gentler, more home-centered than a man pursuing public praise for his skill at manly self-assertion. McGready made those converted sound distinctly feminine: "His heart is melted; he is all tenderness." Such language was not unusual. The friend of another convert compared him to "the smallest or feeblest lamb in the flock."⁸ Accusing a man eager to defend his reputation for physical prowess of being a "feeble lamb" could provoke a duel, a brawl, or some other violent act by which the man might prove himself more than "feeble." In this case, however, the writer meant no insult. Evangelicals favored an ideal of tenderness and docility more often associated with women than men. In the same sermon in which he praised honor as noble, McGready attacked dueling as dishonorable and repugnant. Moreover, he saw the central thrust of honor as an obstacle to the first step toward rebirth: forgoing profanity. Profanity was the emblem of manly self-assertion, of honor-as-language. A blasphemer typically justified his profanity as harmless, "especially if I am in a passion" aroused by the

*The Posthumous Works of the Reverend and Pious James M'Gready, Late Minister of the Gospel, in Henderson County, James Smith, ed., 2 vols. (Louisville, Nashville, 1831, 1833), 2: 344–46. For the Great Awakening generally, see James McGready, "A Short Narrative of the Revival of Religion in Logan County, in the State of Kentucky, and the Adjacent Settlements in the State of Tennessee, from May 1797, Until September 1800," *New York Missionary Magazine* (February, April, May, June 1803): 74–75, 151–55, 192–99, 234–36; Paul K. Conkin, *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost* (Madison, Wis., 1990).*

⁶ Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800–1845* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1974), 51–95.

⁷ James McGready, "The Bible a Revelation from Heaven," *Posthumous Works*, 2: 401.

⁸ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Religion and the 'Civilizing Process' in the Early American South, 1600–1860," unpublished paper kindly lent by the author; a shorter version appears in *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s*, Mark A. Noll, ed. (New York, 1990), 172–95. James McGready, "The Experience and Privileges of the True Believer," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 146–49; Joseph Henry Lumpkin to C. C. Jones, April 26, 1858, in *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, Robert Manson Myers, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1972), 412.

kind of slight or affront for which honor demanded a response. Recognizing that self-assertion often involved profanity, McGready admonished his listeners to choose the language of evangelicalism over honor, telling the faithful they must ignore insult.⁹ Observing that people freely chose whether to swear or not, he declared that a man's language signaled his choice of heaven or hell and mockingly offered advice in one sermon to those choosing hell. "[B]e as profane as your hellish nature will admit," he pretended to urge, reasoning that "[i]f you intend to remove to a strange country, it would be very proper to learn the language of its inhabitants." He instructed the hell-bound to "learn the dialect of the damned."¹⁰

McGready believed that tendencies toward hope and self-pride menaced the goals of evangelicalism. He conceded that abandonment of one language system for another would not be easy and warned his followers that rebirth came only in stages, one painful degree at a time. In a sermon titled "The Experience and Privileges of the True Believer," he explained that believers even had to abandon pride in their belief. McGready saw all people as sinners; some knew their state, some did not. Eyes opened, the sinning believer became aware of his own guilt and, fearing the torments of hell, stopped using profane language, stopped dancing, playing games, and violating the Sabbath. McGready attached special importance to speech, a subject he returned to again and again. Unrepentant sinners identified themselves by their speech, and a man who stopped using profanity no longer sounded like a sinner; he imagined he had saved his soul. But, McGready told his listeners, the sinner soon learned that language had deeper meanings than he had imagined. The divine spirit returned to bring "the law with greater light to his conscience," pushing him to a deeper level of self-awareness. At this second level, the believer journeying toward rebirth pursued his religion with greater diligence than before, attending church regularly and leading his family in biblically correct secret (rather than public) prayer. He entered a still deeper, third level of self-awareness when the Holy Spirit returned to make the "hidden wickedness of his heart" visible as never before. Troubled by these new revelations, the sinner redoubled his efforts, but even that was not enough. The Holy Spirit returned to expose anew his pride. Now the believer wept and cried for mercy and strove again to cleanse his heart.¹¹

But the Holy Spirit returned again to expose the believer's remaining hopes as delusions. The believer tried to pray, "endeavor[ing] to spin a faith out of his own bowels." At last, he reached the final level, "dead to all hope in himself; stripped of his own righteousness, as naked as a new-born infant."¹² Reborn Christians, McGready declared, comprehended the hopelessness of their own hearts. In a sermon called "The Deceitfulness of the Human Heart," he urged revivalists to

⁹ James McGready, "The Lord Jesus Christ a Mighty Conqueror," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 58–59; McGready, "The Sinner's Guide to Hell," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 234–35; Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 1–19, 108–49; Wyatt-Brown, "Religion and the 'Civilizing Process.'" For the role of passion in southern society, see Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, Tex., 1979).

¹⁰ McGready, "Sinner's Guide to Hell," 1: 232, 234–35.

¹¹ James McGready, "The Experience and Privileges of the True Believer," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 146–49.

¹² McGready, "Vindication of the Exercises in the Revival of 1800," 2: 34.

look into their hearts. Those not blinded by the devil saw “a fathomless abyss of horrid wickedness and hellish pollution; swarming with filthy lusts, evil thoughts, and vile imaginations—a lodging for Devils.” This knowledge qualified sinners for ascent into heaven. According to a contemporary biographer, McGready knew the evils within his own heart and “deeply abhorred himself.”¹³ McGready’s crusade against assertiveness stripped males of pride in self, the assertiveness commonly called “honor.” After converts completely surrendered all pretensions to honor, they could joyfully expect God’s mercy and salvation.

McGready praised the social attributes that most of his listeners had come to associate with women. The term “rebirth” itself suggests a womanly activity. Good record keeping by Baptist clerks helps document the role women played in conversion experiences. Fewer Methodist records survive, but Methodist practices probably did not differ greatly from the Baptists in regard to conversion. Extant records, for example, allow a close look at one Baptist church in Franklin County, Kentucky, and suggest how women could evangelize their men. Church minutes record the names of new members, and upsurges of converts document religious excitements. In 1816 and 1817, a brief revival occurred almost exclusively among female Baptists before the larger and more general 1819 revival.¹⁴ Males’ accounts of their conversion experiences further emphasized the role of women. Virginian Robertson Gannaway described himself as a profane, irreligious man fortunate to marry a religious woman. He bedeviled her with his conduct until he went to a camp meeting in 1819. He went only to bring his wife home, but, once there, he heard the minister request the women present to escort a group he happened to be standing with “to the grove.” Unaware of the significance of “going to the grove,” he went, and there, under the tutelage of “Old Sister Neal,” he converted.¹⁵ Like Gannaway, evangelist Peter Cartwright had been “a wild, wicked boy” unrestrained by his father. Unlike Gannaway’s mother, Cartwright’s mother had tried to save his soul. She “talked to me, wept over me, and prayed for me,” Cartwright later related. When he experienced rebirth at the age of sixteen, his mother was delighted. Hearing her son praying after the family had gone to bed for the night, she triumphantly sprang from her own pallet to exhort and pray with young Cartwright. His father thought his son was about to die.¹⁶

McGready’s revival reached thousands of Kentuckians. In 1790, Kentucky Baptists reported 42 churches with 3,105 members or 4 percent of the state’s

¹³ James McGready, “The Deceitfulness of the Human Heart,” *Posthumous Works*, 2: 50; John Andrews, “Sketch of the Character of the Rev. James McGready,” *Posthumous Works*, 1: vi.

¹⁴ Minutes, Salt River Baptist Church, microfilm, Latter Day Saints Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; on church going as a feminine activity, see Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), 103–64; but also Randy Jay Sparks, “A Mingled Yarn: Race and Religion in Mississippi, 1800–1876” (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1988), 115–41.

¹⁵ “Autobiography of Rev. Robertson Gannaway,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 37 (October 1929): 316–22, esp. 321–22.

¹⁶ Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright: The Backwoods Preacher*, W. P. Strickland, ed. (Cincinnati, 1856), 27, 34–36. For the role of women in evangelical churches, compare Jean Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830–1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 11–18. Friedman argues that men dominated women in churches and enforced male-defined standards. Johnson, in *Islands of Holiness*, 66, argues more persuasively that women “were the primary agents of the gospel message” and that men surrendered key elements of their masculine identity by becoming evangelicals.

population; by 1803, Baptists claimed 219 churches with 15,495 members or 7 percent of the state's population.¹⁷ The Methodists' Western Conference included only 14 ministers in 1800. In 1805, they fielded 30 preachers, and in 1811, 60.¹⁸ It is impossible to count the thousands who heard and were influenced by the revivalists but failed to formally join a church. One revivalist claimed that "many thousands" attended McGready's revivals, and they "fell before the word, like corn before a storm of wind."¹⁹ In 1801, 10,000 of Bourbon County's total population of less than 13,000 attended the six-day zenith of revivalism at Cane Ridge.²⁰ McGready's influence extended beyond those who heard him directly. He inspired other ministers who long after his death carried his words to other congregations.²¹

Evangelical discourse, with its egalitarian revision of honor, attacks on profanity as the emblem of the hell-bound, and promotion of law as protector of society, represented a powerful ethical idiom available to Kentuckians in their civic duties. Like Massachusetts Puritans, McGready equated crime with sin, relentlessly championing the law, warning at the same time against "legalisms." Anyone imagining that they could guarantee their own purity through some merely technical adherence to God's law was blinded by the devil. Although secular courts substituted only poorly for God's judgment, the law played a role in an evangelical society, awakening sinners to an awareness of the depths of their own depravity. McGready noted that people attending court, voting in an election, or serving their militia duty often took "the shape and likeness of men" but had "the temper of devils . . . belching" profanity.²² McGready lectured his listeners on the shortcomings of earthly law. Good rulers calculated their laws to promote the general good and happiness of their subjects. They fashioned penalties to promote the dignity of government and deter disobedience, substituting order for anarchy. McGready had a Lockean view of civil government. Made necessary by the sins of mankind, courts prevented the world from becoming "a perfect hell."²³ For those sympathetic to his message, McGready's discourse stood as a useful "recipe book" for ordinary citizens called into public service.

McGREADY'S PREACHINGS ON THE VALUE OF "reproofs" made his ideology immediately relevant to those called to grand jury duty. Reproving someone, he explained, meant charging him with his faults to his face in such a plain and pointed manner as to make him ashamed. A reproof could take the form of a

¹⁷ J. H. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists, From 1769 to 1885, Including More Than 800 Biographical Sketches*, 2 vols. (1885; rpt. edn., Gallatin, Tenn., 1984), 1: 480, 541.

¹⁸ *The Rise of Methodism in the West: Being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1800-1811*, William Warren Sweet, ed. (Nashville, Tenn., 1920), 74, 100, 191.

¹⁹ Boles, *Great Revival*, 57.

²⁰ Conkin, *Cane Ridge*, 83.

²¹ Barton W. Stone, *The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone, Written by Himself; With Additions and Reflections by John Rogers* (Cincinnati, 1847), 8.

²² James McGready, "On the Nature and Consequences of Sin," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 51; McGready, "The Superabounding Grace of God," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 286-92; "The Dangerous and Destructive Consequences Attending the Use of Spirituous Liquors," *Posthumous Works*, 1: 13-18.

²³ James McGready, "The Doom of the Impenitent," *Posthumous Works*, 2: 166-67; McGready, "Bible a Revelation from Heaven," *Posthumous Works*, 2: 382-83.

revival or of Christian parents sorrowfully warning their children that their actions bound them for hell or of preachers reproving their congregations. But, most often, friends reproved each other. Evangelists preached individualism, but anyone could and should cleanse their neighborhoods by exposing the sins of their neighbors.²⁴ McGready insisted that evangelicals must “thunder the terrors of the law.” Watchmen for society, they must see the sword come and sound the trumpet to warn the people. They should use every possible means to alarm and awaken sinners.²⁵

McGready's evangelicals used Kentucky courts as a forum for their disputes with the honor code. In Great Britain and its colonies, authorities and communities had used the criminal justice system as an arena for disputes over language. In England, where the government had claimed to act on behalf of God, courts prosecuted profane swearing as sedition. Through the eighteenth century, however, interest in morals offenses declined in all the American colonies. Even New Englanders came to distinguish sin from crime, as authorities shifted emphasis from protecting morality to guarding property. And just as prosecutions for sodomy and adultery declined, so did those for profane language. Virginians punished only those swearers who made themselves “common and notorious” and, in fact, did not really punish them at all. Fines were a mere shilling. Courts did order offenders and their surety to pledge 20 pounds sterling to the king—but this was paid only if swearers repeated the offense. Requiring the defendant to find a friend or neighbor to serve as his surety, the courts gave the community an interest in the offender's clean speech. After 1730, in any case, prosecutions for profanity in Virginia dropped off precipitously.²⁶

In Kentucky, evangelicals and the evangelically inspired found the courts especially receptive to their challenge to the language of honor. Evangelicals everywhere must have wanted to “thunder the terrors of the law,” but Kentucky offered them unique opportunities to do so. By the time evangelicals used courts to challenge masculine oral assertion, Kentucky courts had established themselves as forums for neighborhood dispute resolution. Most Kentucky circuit court cases

²⁴ Boles, *Great Revival*, chap. 9; James McGready, “The Danger of Rejecting the Means of Salvation,” *Posthumous Works*, 1: 183–96.

²⁵ James McGready, “The Qualifications and Duties of a Minister of the Gospel,” *Posthumous Works*, 2: 311–24.

²⁶ Douglas Greenberg, “Crime, Law Enforcement, and Social Control in Colonial America,” *American Journal of Legal History*, 26 (October 1982): 304–25; David H. Flaherty, “Law and the Enforcement of Morals in Early America,” *Perspectives in American History*, 5 (1971): 203–53; Eli Faber, “Puritan Criminals: The Economic, Social, and Intellectual Background to Crime in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts,” *Perspectives in American History*, 11 (1977–78): 83–144; William E. Nelson, “Emerging Notions of Modern Criminal Law in the Revolutionary Era: An Historical Perspective,” *New York University Law Review*, 42 (1967): 451–62; *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia*, William Waller Henning, comp., 13 vols. (1819–23; rpt. edn., Charlottesville, Va., 1969), 1: 167; Peter Charles Hoffer and William B. Scott, eds., *Criminal Proceedings in Colonial Virginia [Records of] Fines, Examinations of Criminals, Trials of Slaves, etc., From March 1710 [1711] to [1754] [Richmond County, Virginia]* (Athens, Ga., 1984); A. G. Roeber, *Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680–1810* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), 140, tables 7, 8. By 1800, Virginians retained very little interest in policing language. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, records in one well-documented county indicate that only about 11 percent of indictments charged individuals with profanity. Edward M. Steel, “Criminality in Jeffersonian America—A Sample,” *Crime and Delinquency*, 18 (April 1972), table 1. Steel lists “peace actions” on his table, but these are not grand jury indictments, and I have eliminated them from consideration.

began in front of grand juries rather than magistrates: before 1850, Kentucky allowed grand jurors to control access to its criminal justice system more often than legal professionals. At Kentucky's 1799 constitutional convention, delegates made magistrate-run county courts so powerful that the historian of Kentucky's county courts, Robert Ireland, calls them "little kingdoms." Justices appointed themselves and all other county officers.²⁷ But localists won their battle in the legislature for a network of grand juries responsive to communities and small neighborhoods.

Kentucky grand juries often operated with little official supervision and historically had offered ordinary people a role in governing their county. Not allowed to vote for local officials, citizens could influence their county government through their grand jury service. In the resulting cauldron of small politics, neighbors maneuvered to besmirch rivals by designating them as "criminal." Jurors delighted in indicting the leading men of the community whenever the opportunity arose, sometimes as a prank and sometimes to harass an unpopular official. In 1806, Henderson County grand jurors indicted their haughty circuit judge for profanity. Livingston County grand jurors indicted their assistant circuit judge, the commonwealth's attorney, the jailer, and various justices of the peace.²⁸ The grand jury also offered citizens a forum to complain about such public facilities as roads, ferries, and taverns. In a typical case, Caldwell County grand jurors indicted the trustees of the county seat for negligently allowing a well to remain open on the public square, endangering animals, children, and others who might fall into it.²⁹ Over the years, grand jurors gained a reputation as scrutinizers of official conduct; Kentucky localists had built a legal system in which ordinary citizens played a large role in shaping the traffic through court.

Kentucky's history of fights over the meaning of "virtue" also helped make its courts receptive to evangelical concerns. In the prerevolutionary era, rhetoricians thought of virtue as a masculine trait denoting courage and independence. But from the beginnings of political discourse in Kentucky, men called "Partisans" sought to define virtue in a way not alien to later evangelical rhetoric. The Partisan political movement came to associate the kind of achievement southerners generally prized with sin.³⁰ The Partisans, for example, regarded their opponents' skill at acquiring land as a sure sign of corruption. In the 1780s, they expanded the meaning of corruption to require the reformation of manners McGready would advocate in the 1790s. They made an issue of profane language and recognized the role gender could play in regulating language: women could

²⁷ Robert M. Ireland, *The County Courts in Antebellum Kentucky* (Lexington, Ky., 1972); Ireland, *Little Kingdoms: The Counties of Kentucky, 1850-1891* (Lexington, 1977).

²⁸ Edmund L. Starling, *The History of Henderson County, Kentucky* (Henderson, 1887), 122; Boynton Merrill, Jr., *Jefferson's Nephews: A Frontier Tragedy* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 155-58, 274.

²⁹ Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. John H. Rackerly, William Gray, Thomas Haynes, Edward Owens, David McGoodwin*, September 1840, Caldwell County Circuit Court Papers, Caldwell County Circuit Clerk's Office, Princeton, Kentucky (hereafter, CCCO).

³⁰ E. Merton Coulter, "Early Frontier Democracy in the First Kentucky Constitution," *Political Science Quarterly*, 39 (December 1924): 665-77. Patricia Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792* (New York, 1972), 43-47; Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Three Virginia Frontiers* (1940; Gloucester, Mass., 1962), 63-96; Richard E. Ellis, *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic* (New York, 1971), 123-38.

call for clean language more readily than men.³¹ Writing as "Abigail Trueheart," Partisan Caleb Wallace declared "the Good Women of Kentucke" to be "at least" the equals of men "in all the social excellencies." Writing as a woman ostensibly outside the political process, Wallace could accuse his fellow men of poisoning the public good with their "passions for domination . . . [g]roveling selfishness, aspiring ambition, and daring profanity." Wallace believed that women promoted religion through "holy conversation."³² Another newspaper writer called for improved morals, complaining that "[a] melancholy view of the state of public morals in this country, has prevented me from exulting in the effects of our late revolution."³³

Partisan criticism of elite commercial practices reflected contemporary church discipline and foreshadowed rhetoric in the 1797–1805 revival. Evangelicals used church discipline to punish shrewd trading and outright dishonesty. Thus it is not surprising to find Partisans according religion a prominent place in public discourse.³⁴ One complained of the "[h]aughty and vain" who merely

Graft religion on their politics;
Land jobbers; and the speculating brood;
Who suck your wealth as vultures would your blood
Place men and public hirelings; add to these
Prompted to legal frauds, by legal fees;
Designing men, and weak, alike dispise . . .

This writer promoted virtue in the prerevolutionary manner, complaining of "hirelings." But he also promoted religious virtue. In listing qualities necessary for lawmakers, he asked, "And dare I add religious? Yes I dare."³⁵

By the time of the Great Revival, the Partisans' political movement had faded. Their moralism and localized justice, however, created both an environment in which the message of evangelicals had a special resonance and a forum where they could make themselves heard. Three years before the start of the Great Revival, one veteran of earlier political wars still recalled the Partisans' fight against "[t]he rich, the great, the designing amongst us." The Partisans' enemies had succeeded in making justices of the peace too powerful, this writer grumbled, but ordinary people could console themselves that they still had access to the jury.³⁶ This may

³¹ Ruth H. Bloch, "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America," *Signs*, 13 (Autumn 1987): 37–58; Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 64 (October 1982): 689–721; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 269–88; Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics, Women, and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *AHR*, 89 (June 1984): 623–32. For women, profanity, and other gendered language conventions, see Sol Saporta, "Linguistic Taboos, Code Words and Women's Use of Sexist Language: A Double Bind," *Maledicta*, 10 (1988–89): 163–66; Robin Tolmach Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place* (New York, 1975), 3–50.

³² *Kentucke Gazette*, October 20, 1787.

³³ *Kentucke Gazette*, February 9, 1788.

³⁴ For Anti-Federalist evocations of religion, for example, see "Essay by Samuel," Boston *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, January 10, 1788, in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, Herbert J. Storing, ed., 7 vols. (Chicago, 1981), 4: 195–96; Charles Turner, "Speeches in the Massachusetts Ratifying Convention," *Complete Anti-Federalist*, 4: 221.

³⁵ *Kentucke Gazette*, May 31, 1788; Bloch, "Gendered Meanings of Virtue," 46–58.

³⁶ "A Farmer," *Kentucky Gazette*, March 1, 1794.

well be the most important legacy of the Partisan crusade. In Caldwell County, an excellent collection of original case files from the county's formation in 1809 until 1846 allows detailed study of the legal process, and for fifty years after the collapse of the Partisan movement, persons of average wealth participated in the legal system as defendants no more often than they did as grand jurors or complaining witnesses. (The wealthy were more likely to appear as defendants than accusers.)³⁷ Thanks to the Partisans, ordinary people had a voice in Kentucky courts; they often chose to use it against the profane—and the elite.

Sheriffs chose the members of the grand jury, and no law gave them much direction on whom to choose. In 1794, the legislature instructed sheriffs to select twenty-four "respectable and discrete house-keepers . . . not being ordinary keepers, constables, surveyors of roads, owners or occupiers of mills."³⁸ Often the most powerful politicians in the counties, sheriffs were unlikely to be much influenced by anyone else as they selected jurors.³⁹ The "house-keepers" placed on grand juries sometimes listened to testimony from aggrieved victims. But, more often, the information they acted on came from their own ranks. Grand jurors in Caldwell County provided the information for 64 percent of all the cases their county processed in this period. Jurors rarely served as complainants in crimes against persons or property. In those cases, the victim initiated proceedings by first going to a justice of the peace or the prosecutor. In crimes against the civil or moral order, however, grand jurors could act as a quasi-police force, actively seeking evidence themselves rather than passively listening to complainants. In some counties, this happened far more often than in others, probably because of the preferences of the judge or prosecutor.

Some judges and prosecutors kept grand juries under tight control, while others, as in Caldwell County, did not. Greenup and Garrard county grand jurors returned few indictments, during some terms none at all. Probably prosecutor-driven, juries in these counties showed a marked predilection for crimes with an identifiable victim. Between 1824 and 1831, Garrard County indicted an average of only .0083 of the white population for profanity. Between 1824 and 1831, Greenup County indicted just .0075. By contrast, Todd County indicted an average of .0877 between 1820 and 1831, and Caldwell County .08 for the same time period.⁴⁰ Justices of the peace also heard and acted on complaints, although they rarely conducted their own investigations, as did grand jurors. Extant magisterial records indicate that Kentucky justices spent almost all their time hearing trivial debt cases. If the records of many justices faithfully record the

³⁷ Roughly 63 percent of active grand jurors, those who served as complainants while serving as jurors, and defendants had no slaves. Only 8 percent of grand jurors had six or more slaves, while almost 15 percent of defendants had that many slaves. Caldwell County Circuit Court Case Files, 1809–46, CCCO; Caldwell County Tax Lists, 1809–46, Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Frankfort, Kentucky (hereafter, KDLA).

³⁸ *The Statute Law of Kentucky*, William Littell, comp., 5 vols. (Frankfort, 1809), 1: 236.

³⁹ Ireland, *County Courts in Antebellum Kentucky*, 79–90.

⁴⁰ Greenup County Circuit Court Order Books G, H, 1824–31, microfilm, KDLA; Garrard County Circuit Court Order Books, 7, 8, 9, 10, 1821–32, microfilm, KDLA; Todd County Circuit Court Order Books, A, B, C, D, E, 1820–36, microfilm, KDLA; Caldwell County Grand Jury Indictments, 1820–31, Caldwell County Circuit Court Papers, CCCO.

business of their courts, they often went for months hearing no complainants other than creditors.⁴¹

In some counties, individual grand jurors can be distinguished as evangelicals. But identifying specific evangelicals as grand jurors underestimates their influence on the local political culture. The nature of evangelical thought probably blunted the impact of individual evangelicals on local legal and political culture, since many evangelicals rejected "worldly" activities such as "going to law." Some evangelicals thought of their churches as "islands of holiness" alienated from the larger community,⁴² and the enthusiasm of Kentucky grand jurors for crusades against profane swearing must be understood in this context. Kentucky evangelical strictures against profane swearing permeated the culture, reaching many outside any church. People living in an evangelical culture could not escape evangelical moralism.

Some grand jurors overtly declared their evangelical mission. Led by foreman John T. Brindly, Caldwell County's September 1821 grand jury systematically accused profane swearers and perjurers of acting "to the great displeasure of Almighty God."⁴³ They did not claim that other offenders displeased God. Kentucky's constitution required grand jurors to accuse malefactors of violating "the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky"; Brindly and his fellow jurors added the "Almighty God" language to the constitutionally mandated clause. Not enough church records survive to identify many evangelical grand jurors, and Brindley may or may not have been an evangelical. But he was clearly acting under the influence of the evangelical message.

Not all courts proved equally receptive to evangelical influence. Some counties in Kentucky prosecuted cases of profanity more frequently than was done in other southern or northern states. Through the early national period and into the antebellum era, for instance, one third of defendants in Caldwell County stood charged with profanity.⁴⁴ Grand juries there continued to prosecute blasphemy from statehood until about 1850. By looking at grand jury presentments in several Kentucky counties, one can see the varying impact of different court administrations on grand jury indictments. In Caldwell and Todd counties, grand jurors searched for profane swearers, whereas jurors in Greenup and Garrard

⁴¹ Docket of J. Gee, Justice of the Peace, Monroe County Papers, box 1, folder 3, Kentucky Building, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky; Justice of the Peace Execution Book, Spencer County, 1846–63, KDLA; Justice of the Peace Execution Book, 1837–51, Pendleton County Papers, KDLA; Judgment Book, 1830–31, Madison County Papers, KDLA; Execution Book, 1842–46, Madison County Papers, KDLA; Justice Thomas Willis, Record Book, Madison County Papers, KDLA; Kenton County Quarterly Court Justice Docket, 1847–62, KDLA; Greenup County Judgment Book, KDLA; Record of Proceedings of Lewis Landiam a Justice of the Peace for the County of Garrard and State of Kentucky, KDLA; Gallatin County Justice of the Peace Minute Book, 1810–11, KDLA; Boone County Circuit Court Transcripts from Justices Courts, 1854–85, KDLA; Campbell County Court Justice of the Peace Case Papers, KDLA.

⁴² Johnson, *Islands of Holiness*, 22–30, 89–90; Orville Vernon Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 58–59.

⁴³ See grand jury presentments in *Commonwealth vs. Drury Hodges*, September 1821; *Commonwealth vs. William Johnson*, September 1821; *Commonwealth vs. Lewis Shellhouse*, September 1821; *Commonwealth vs. Jacob Sigler*, September 1821, all in Caldwell Circuit Court Papers, CCCO.

⁴⁴ Christopher Waldrep, "Egalitarianism in the Oligarchy: The Grand Jury and Criminal Justice in Livingston County, 1799–1808," *Filson Club History Quarterly*, 55 (July 1981): 253–67; Livingston County Circuit Court Papers, Livingston Circuit Court Clerk's Office, Smithland, Kentucky.

counties showed less enthusiasm for profanity prosecution. Legal practice offers the most likely explanation. Most judges did not instruct juries at this time in Kentucky.⁴⁵ Perhaps judges in Livingston, Caldwell, and Todd counties did not, but some judges manipulated grand juries like puppets. For example, a judge in Mason County told grand jurors which individuals he wanted indicted and even supplied the names of witnesses.⁴⁶ Greenup County Judge William P. Roper kept jurors in his court under tight control as well. Court order books do not record his instructions; however, given the low number of presentments generally, none at all during some terms, Roper may have discouraged trivial actions, including profanity presentments. Under his leadership, jurors indicted no one for profanity from 1824 through 1828; in 1829 through 1831, jurors indicted .02 percent of the white population for profanity each year, an upswing in Greenup County but a paltry number of presentments by Caldwell County standards.⁴⁷ Yet the failure of some grand juries to pursue the profane does not mean that those jurors did not feel the same passions as their counterparts elsewhere. It may merely mean that court officials exerted a restraining influence.

A wide variety of motives undoubtedly stirred jurors to report their neighbors for profanity. In some cases, they did so to maintain civil order, as some swearers openly menaced their audience. To demonstrate a rival's impotency by publicly cursing him was yet another stratagem in the world of "small politics." If the recipient of such abuse dared not respond, it enhanced the swearer's reputation. In eight instances, grand jurors in Caldwell County recorded defendants as saying "God damn your soul" or "God damn you," language considerably more threatening than the also-popular "God damn my soul" or "I will be God damned." Some used profanity even more provocatively. One man declared, "I will kill the Negro, by God" four times. If he meant his own Negro, then his threat was less offensive than if he meant someone else's slave (except to the slave himself, of course). But, since he said "the" Negro rather than "my" Negro, he very likely threatened another man's property and, therefore, his honor. One man dared another to fight him when he said, "By God, come and do it." And three men while being tried lashed out at the grand jury itself. Jurors quoted one defendant as saying, "I'll be Goddamned if I don't swear when I please." And still another said, "The managers of the courthouse are goddamn'd fools."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Kentucky 1849* (Frankfort, Ky., 1849), 1083–86.

⁴⁶ Charge to the Mason County Grand Jury, n.d., Mason County Circuit Court Papers, KDLA.

⁴⁷ For Roper's charges, see, for example, Greenup County Circuit Court Order Book F, 456; Order Book G, 139, 311, 351, microfilm, KDLA; Garrard County Circuit Court Order Books 7–10, microfilm, KDLA.

⁴⁸ Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Joseph Davis*, March 1828; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Chesley Davis*, March 1828; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Robert Cook*, April 1810; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Lofton Mitchell*, March 1829; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Jacob Sigler*, September 1838; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. George W. Greenleaf*, October 1843, bundle 327; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Henry Hughs*, October 1843; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. John Spratt, Jr.*, February 1842; Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Wade Pennington*, February 1842; for "kill the Negro," see Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. John A. Bush*, 1810; for "come and do it," see Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. John S. Gilliam*, June 1846; for "I'll be Goddamned if I don't swear," see Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Jesse Glasscock*, March 1813; for "Goddamn the grand jury,"

Evangelicals believed that defendants in profanity cases demonstrated the seriousness of their blasphemy when they committed violent acts. Slave owner Brooks Perkins typifies such recidivism. Jurors caught him uttering profanity twice; they indicted him for assault four times.⁴⁹

IN COUNTIES WHERE COURT OFFICIALS allowed grand juries free rein, profanity presentments closely followed religious excitements. Revivals by Methodists and other denominations occurred coincident with the Baptists, but Kentucky revivalism can be best documented on the basis of the usually superior Baptist records. At the time of the Great Revival, Caldwell County had not yet been formed; its future territory fell within Livingston County. The Great Revival so excited Livingston County jurors that they came close to indicting 1 percent of their county's white population for profanity in 1806 and 1808. Between 1799 and 1808, they indicted an average of .45 percent of the white population each year.⁵⁰ The next major revival came in 1810 and lasted through 1813. Caldwell County grand jurors responded by indicting unusually high numbers of profane swearers from 1810 through 1813. Thereafter, religious enthusiasm abated, as did presentments for profanity. In 1817, another revival excited grand jurors. In the 1820s, Kentucky churches enjoyed prosperity, but revivalism declined and presentments for profanity fell a bit though not dramatically. Baptist historian J. H. Spencer described this period as a time of prosperity but not excitement in Baptist circles.⁵¹

Alexander Campbell, a provocative new revivalist, sparked another round of revivalism in 1827 with his anti-mission message. Caldwell County profane swearing presentments jumped to .10 percent of the white population, up from .01 the previous year. Reaction against Campbell, however, dampened Baptist ardor through most of the 1830s. During this dark period in evangelical history, presentments hit an all-time low in Caldwell County. But things picked up in 1838 when the revival Spencer described as starting at "the close of 1837" reached Caldwell County grand jurors. Jurors kept up their pressure on profane swearers from 1838 through at least 1842, which corresponds to Spencer's description of the length of the 1837 revival (see table). In Kentucky, where the South's Great Revival originated, grand juries in some jurisdictions responded closely to upswings and downturns in religious enthusiasm.

But there is a problem in arguing that because the Great Revival originated in Kentucky, Kentuckians took McGready's preachings against profanity more seriously than did jurors and lawmen elsewhere. According to the standard account of the Second Great Revival, McGready's revivalism immediately spread

see Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Daniel Carbone*, March 1822; for "The managers of the courthouse," see Grand Jury Indictment, *Commonwealth vs. Pendleton Watkins*, March 1839, CCCO.

⁴⁹ Caldwell County bundles, CCCO.

⁵⁰ Livingston County Circuit Court Papers (Circuit Court Clerk's Office, Smithland, Kentucky); U.S. Census Office, *Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States* [Second Census] (Washington, D.C., 1800), 2p; U.S. Census Office, *Aggregate Amount of Each Description of Persons within the United States of America . . .* [Third Census] (Washington, 1810), 72a.

⁵¹ Spencer, *History of Kentucky Baptists*, 1: 567, 579.

TABLE
Percent of the White Population of Caldwell County Correlated with
Baptist Revivals in Kentucky

<i>Year</i>	<i>Percent of White Population Indicted for Profanity</i>	<i>Spencer's Baptist History</i>
1809	.06	"In 1810, God was pleased to visit his people with a precious outpouring of his Spirit. The revival . . . was about three years"
1810	.24	
1811	.31	
1812	.26	
1813	.12	
1814	(no court)	"another precious revival of religion was vouchsafed to the churches during 1817 and the three years following."
1815	.08	
1816	.01	
1817	.14	
1818	.13	
1819	.19	
1820	.02	
1821	.08	
1822	.12	
1823	.09	
1824	.06	"an extensive revival, which commenced, in Kentucky, in 1827, and continued three years."
1825	.07	
1826	.01	
1827	.10	
1828	.19	
1829	.09	"with the close of the revival . . . commenced a religious dirth, that continued eight years."
1830	.03	
1831	.10	
1832	.04	
1833	.01	
1834	.01	"the revival continued to prevail from the close of 1837, about six years."
1835	.05	
1836	.05	
1837	.05	
1838	.12	
1839	.15	
1840	.19	
1841	.20	
1842	.14	
1843	.08	

SOURCES: Caldwell County Circuit Court case files, 1809–1846 (CCCCO); J. H. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists, from 1769 to 1885*, 2 vols. (1885; rpt. edn., Gallatin, Tenn., 1984), 1: 567, 579, 598, 642, 675.

across the South.⁵² Kentucky evangelicalism became indistinguishable from that practiced everywhere else. The Methodists' experience in Mississippi illustrates the easy spread of revivalism from Kentucky into the Deep South. The Methodists' Western Conference, including both Kentucky and the Mississippi Territory, dispatched missionaries down the Mississippi River to spread the Great Revival.

⁵² John B. Boles titles his account of the spread of the Great Revival "The South Conquered." See *Great Revival*, 70–89.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, church membership among whites increased in Mississippi by more than a thousand percent.⁵³

Between 1800 and 1860, the entire South witnessed six waves of extensive revivalism.⁵⁴ But Kentucky proved particularly susceptible to evangelical appeals after the 1800 revival. In 1810, revival-inspired converts joined Methodist churches in the Western Conference, which included Kentucky, at a faster rate than any other southern conference.⁵⁵ The next, far more controversial, revival generated by Alexander Campbell's radical teachings distinguished Kentucky even more sharply from the rest of the South. For elite slave owners, Campbell's opposition to slavery put him beyond the pale, but he also stirred enmity among religious leaders with his attacks on the clergy. Like McGready, Campbell claimed to interpret the Bible literally, but unlike McGready, Campbell urged followers to read the Bible for themselves and reject clerical "tyrants."⁵⁶ He undermined the authority of the ministry not only by raging against theological schools but also by charging that professional interpreters of the Bible had too long kept "the key of knowledge from the people."⁵⁷ He criticized costly meeting houses and organs and condemned the Sunday schools, missions, education, and Bible societies that McGready had promoted.⁵⁸ Campbell's leveler doctrine became "a raging epidemic"⁵⁹ that inflamed Kentucky like no other state: Methodists there increased their membership by 35 percent in 1828, and Baptists immersed hundreds of converts excited by Campbell's message. The Elkhorn Association baptized 1,600 in a single year, and one minister alone baptized over 600 in six months.⁶⁰ The rest of the South did not match Kentucky's enthusiasm for Campbell's egalitarianism. Methodist conferences in South Carolina and Mississippi showed an increase of only 16 percent. One historian claims no revivals at all occurred in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Confronted with large numbers of newcomers, much like

⁵³ Randy J. Sparks, "Religion in Amite County, Mississippi, 1800–1861," in John B. Boles, ed., *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740–1870* (Lexington, Ky., 1988), 59–80.

⁵⁴ John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 2 vols. (Nashville, Dallas, 1887, 1908), 2: 129; George G. Smith, Jr., *The History of Methodism in Georgia and Florida from 1785–1865* (Macon, Ga., 1877), 236–37, 331, 399; John B. M'Ferrin, *History of Methodism in Tennessee*, 2 vols. (Nashville, 1869, 1871), 2: 163–65.

⁵⁵ *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Years 1773–1828* (New York, 1840), 1: 171, 183–84. Measured as percent increase over the previous year.

Conference	Percent Increase in Membership Over 1809
Western	20.2
South Carolina	14.8
Virginia	3.1
Baltimore	.2

This is calculated just as Johnson figures his "evangelism index." See *Islands of Holiness*, 49.

⁵⁶ Spencer, *History of Kentucky Baptists*, 1: 592.

⁵⁷ Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1890), 2: 27; Thomas W. Grafton, *Alexander Campbell: Leader of the Great Reformation of the Nineteenth Century* (St. Louis, Mo., 1897), 80–89.

⁵⁸ Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 2: 55, 57.

⁵⁹ Spencer, *History of Kentucky Baptists*, 1: 597.

⁶⁰ Spencer, *History of Kentucky Baptists*, 1: 286–87, 582–605.

Rochester, New York, Vicksburgers, instead of organizing revivals, formed militia companies.⁶¹

The best evidence of the revivalists' success in Kentucky can be found in the heavy caseload of profanity prosecutions in some Kentucky counties. These prosecutions, closely connected to outbursts of evangelicalism such as the Campbellite crusade, did not occur elsewhere in the nineteenth century. They mark the diffusion of the evangelical message throughout the culture, breaching the "islands of holiness." Although Mississippi lawmakers copied the Virginia-Kentucky profanity statute, grand jurors in Mississippi refused to enforce it. As Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Edward Ayers, and other historians have shown, Deep South courts served primarily as a forum to regulate potentially violent quarrels. South Carolina slave owners blunted the revival's egalitarian, anti-slavery message in their state. Michael Hindus describes the attitude of South Carolinians toward moral regulation as "laissez-faire."⁶² Vigorous regulation of profanity in Kentucky suggests something different was going on there.

SOUTHERNERS PRIZED INDEPENDENCE and masculine self-assertion. Southern males' penchant for assertiveness may have originated in England's borderlands or in the violence necessary to subdue slaves,⁶³ but, regardless of its origins, it most often took oral form. Men defining themselves by their speech and the meanings they attached to language learned that profanity empowered them, and they used it to claim public spaces with profanity offensive to women. They documented their mastery of other men by publicly cursing them. Lax enforcement of laws

⁶¹ *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1: 539, 572.

Conference	Percent Increase in Membership over 1827
Kentucky	34.7
Tennessee	7.7
Mississippi	16.5
South Carolina	16.69
Virginia	12.5
Baltimore	7.8

For Vicksburg, see Christopher Charles Morris, "Town and County in the Old South: Vicksburg and Warren County, Mississippi, 1770–1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1991), 318, 333 n. 35.

⁶² Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, chap. 14; Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York, 1984), see esp. the table on 311; Michael Stephen Hindus, *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice, and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767–1878* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 49.

⁶³ John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 66–76; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 226–400. Compare R. Don Higginbotham, "The Martial Spirit in the Antebellum South: Some Further Speculations in a National Context," *Journal of Southern History*, 58 (February 1992): 3–26. For southerners' tendencies toward violence and independence, see Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 25–61; Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*, 89–211; Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 9–33, 266–76; Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1988), 146–70.

against profanity abetted this practice.⁶⁴ Such “small politics” centered on reputation. Winning meant protecting one’s public image and besmirching that of a rival.⁶⁵ But it also meant controlling the community’s definition of good and evil. Anthropologists call such small-scale political maneuvering at the grass roots the “politics of reputation.” In isolated villages, residents waged a constant battle to preserve their own reputations or malign rivals. This explains the heavy caseload of petty slander suits in many traditional societies.⁶⁶

Historians have long recognized the importance of social culture, especially religion, in the formation of political values. One historian has even speculated that without the Great Revival there could have been no Civil War.⁶⁷ But a lack of adequate sources usually makes it difficult or impossible to recover the grass-roots discourse that created political culture. In Kentucky, extant files recording prosecutions for profanity reveal the language decisions communities made within the predominant culture. In antebellum Kentucky, evangelicals won official recognition for designations in language not widely accepted elsewhere in the South. They attached meanings to profane swearing that contested the prevailing ideal of the assertive, independent yeoman. In doing so, they created communities of discourse in which issues of independence did not resonate as they did in the Deep South or even elsewhere in the Upper South. Operating in a receptive political culture, evangelicals had convinced many Kentuckians not to prize stereotypical masculine independence to the same extent as elsewhere in the South. As a result, the myth of the stalwart, independent yeoman did not have the same appeal in Kentucky as in other places.

In Kentucky, the Great Revival and its successors challenged notions of honor and masculinity more effectively than elsewhere in the slaveholding South. This evangelicalism offered a powerful ethical idiom for grand jurors; some jurors openly declared their godly mission while in the service of the state. Kentucky’s legal system, which empowered grand juries to act as watchdogs on the elite, made

⁶⁴ Ownby, *Subduing Satan*, 49–51. Ownby argues that evangelicals did not develop a political voice until the postbellum era, but he thinks of “large” as opposed to “small” politics.

⁶⁵ Bailey, “Gifts and Poison,” 1–25. A number of historians have looked at the role of reputation and insult in community life; see Peter Moogk, “‘Thieving Buggers’ and ‘Stupid Sluts’: Insults and Popular Culture in New France,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 36 (October 1979): 524–47; Mary Beth Norton, “Gender and Defamation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 44 (January 1987): 3–39; Clara Ann Bowler, “Carted Whores and White Shrouded Apologies: Slander in the County Courts of Seventeenth-Century Virginia,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 85 (October 1977): 411–26; S. D. Amussen, “Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560–1725,” in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds. (Cambridge, 1985), 196–217; Robert St. George, “‘Heated’ Speech and Literacy in Seventeenth-Century New England,” in David D. Hall and David Grayson Allen, eds., *Seventeenth-Century New England*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Collections*, 63 (Boston, 1984), 275–322.

⁶⁶ Bailey, “Gifts and Poison,” 1–25; Norman L. Rosenberg, *Protecting the Best Men: An Interpretive History of the Law of Libel* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 19–25.

⁶⁷ John M. Murrin, in “No Awakening, No Revolution? More Counterfactual Speculations,” *Reviews in American History*, 11 (June 1983): 161–71. For ethnocultural factors in voting, see, for example, Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); Michael F. Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848–1860* (New Haven, Conn., 1969); Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900*, 2d edn. (New York, 1970). For the political parties as cultures, see John Ashworth, “Agrarians” and “Aristocrats”: *Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837–1846* (Cambridge, 1983), esp. 196–205.

such service possible and puissant. In some places, evangelical grand jury service became a characteristic of Kentucky's unique culture. Grand jurors' indictments of profane swearers closely followed religious excitements.

These language quarrels and resulting grand jury presentments document the distinctive alliances Kentuckians fashioned with competing language systems; honor and evangelical religion generated a grass-roots ideology not quite northern or southern. Honor and the myth of the independent male resonated in Kentucky as elsewhere, but they were muted by evangelical religion to form a distinctive society unlike that found in either the Deep South or the North. In Kentucky's distinctive border state culture, voters rewarded and advanced political leaders dedicated to sectional compromise. In 1861, these voters rejected secession and disunion.

The Desire to Contribute: An Eighteenth-Century Italian Woman of Science

GABRIELLA BERTI LOGAN

FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, Europe experienced what most historians of science describe as a scientific revolution. The revolution's new philosophies, expounded by Galileo, Descartes, Newton, and Leibniz, became increasingly popular among the educated classes, as did the skills of experimentation and observation.¹ Women also participated in the revolution: it became acceptable and fashionable in French, English, and German society for educated women to keep informed of new scientific discoveries. In spite of an enhanced interest in science, the scientific knowledge of most society women remained superficial.² However, a few women, working either independently or as assistants, had a professional role in science. Gabrielle Emilie, the marquise du Châtelet (1709–1749), was responsible for spreading knowledge of Newton's physics and Leibniz's metaphysics in France. Marie Lavoisier acted as assistant to her husband, Antoine Lavoisier, during his experiments.³ In England, Caroline Herschel assisted her brother William, the astronomer royal. During a period of ten years, she discovered eight comets and three nebulae. In Germany, Maria Winkelmann, trained in astronomy by a family friend, married an astronomer, which enabled her to continue in her field by acting as assistant to her husband in the Berlin Academy.⁴

Despite their achievements, the scientific activity of these women was thwarted by the societies in which they lived. Emilie du Châtelet failed to become a member

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¹ Thomas S. Kuhn, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), 2d edn., enl. (Chicago, 1970), objects to a single scientific revolution and envisages several revolutions that occurred through several centuries. The idea of a scientific revolution is found in E. Zilgel, "The Sociological Roots of Modern Science," *American Journal of Sociology*, 47 (1942): 544–62; Alexander Koyré, "The Significance of the Newtonian Synthesis," reprinted in Koyré, *Newtonian Studies* (London, 1965), 3–24; A. Rupert Hall, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500–1800: The Formation of the Modern Scientific Attitude* (Boston, 1956), 5–37; and Richard S. Westfall, *The Construction of Modern Science: Mechanisms and Mechanics* (New York, 1971), 1–80.

² Margaret Alic, *Hypatia's Heritage: A History of Women in Science from Antiquity through the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 1986), 77–78; Marilyn Bailey Ogilvy, *Women in Science: Antiquity through the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 11–15; Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 38–39.

³ Alic, *Hypatia's Heritage*, 135–45; Carolyn Iltis, "Madame du Châtelet's Metaphysics and Mechanics," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 8 (1977): 29–48.

⁴ Schiebinger, *Mind Has No Sex*, 83–85, 262–63.

of the Academie Royale des Sciences and therefore could not participate in the exchange of ideas in the academy. Caroline Herschel, in spite of having had her astronomy findings published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, was not a member of the society. Maria Winkelmann's attempts to become an assistant astronomer at the Berlin Academy after her husband's death failed, notwithstanding a recommendation from Leibniz.⁵ The recently founded scientific academies generally followed the practice long established in universities of excluding women from their activities.⁶

In Italy, however, a few women succeeded in carving out a niche for themselves in the new scientific order. They were excluded neither from the universities and the scientific academies nor from the knowledge expounded by these institutions.⁷ One of the most important of these women was Laura Bassi Verati, who lived in Bologna, a town in the Papal Estates, during the eighteenth century.⁸

LAURA MARIA CATERINA BASSI, the only surviving child of a lawyer of moderate means, was born in Bologna on October 20, 1711. Her father, through his work, had contact with members of the town's aristocracy. When she was five years old, Bassi began to study Latin under the supervision of her cousin Father Lorenzo Stegani, who also taught her French and arithmetic.⁹ At the age of thirteen, she began to study philosophy under Gaetano Tacconi, the family doctor, who taught

⁵ Schiebinger, *Mind Has No Sex*, 62–63, 92, 263; Londa Schiebinger, "Maria Winkelmann at the Berlin Academy," *Isis*, 7 (1987): 174–200.

⁶ Schiebinger, "Maria Winkelmann," 174–75.

⁷ See Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Learned Women of Early Modern Italy: Humanists and University Scholars," in *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, Patricia H. Labalme, ed. (New York, 1980), 95–102; G. L. Masetti-Zannini, *Motivi storici della educazione femminile: Scienza, lavoro, giuochi* (Napoli, 1982), 7–70; H. J. Mozans, *Woman in Science: With an Introductory Chapter on Woman's Long Struggle for Things of the Mind* (1913; Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Emma Tettoni, "Le scienziate italiane," in *La donna italiana descritta da scrittrici italiane* (Florence, 1890), 263–88; R. Farina and M. T. Silano, "La pastorella d'Arcadia contesta: Il settecento femminista in Italia," in *Esistere come donna* (Milano, 1983), 27–35; *Alma Mater Studiorum: La presenza femminile dal XVIII al XX secolo* (Bologna, 1988), 20–157.

⁸ See P. Cazzani, "Laura Bassi," in *Studi e inediti per il primo centenario dell'Istituto Magistrale Laura Bassi*, Elio Melli, ed. (Bologna, 1960), 9–15.

⁹ A short description of Bassi's early education is given by the scientist herself on the back of a letter from Flaminio Scarselli dated Rome, July 20, 1743, in Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna (hereafter, BCAB), Ms. B. 2024: *Lettere autografe scritte da illustri italiani e stranieri alla celebre dottoressa bolognese Laura Maria Catterina Bassi e al marito di lei Giuseppe Veratti*; and a prose work by L. Stegani, in *Rime in lode della Signora Maria Catterina Bassi, cittadina bolognese aggregata all'Accademia dell'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna prendendo la sua laurea dottorale in filosofia* (Bologna, 1732). For a description of Bassi's family before her marriage, see Archivio Arcivescovile di Bologna (hereafter, AAB), *Status animarum* per la Parrocchia di San Lorenzo di Porta Siera, 1732; and BCAB, Bassi, Laura, Cartone 1°, fasc. Ia: notizie riguardanti Laura Bassi, sec. XVIII, in *Due cartoni contenendo autografi, scritti e documenti biografici, diplomi ed elogi della Bassi*, sec. XVIII. In terms of property, Bassi's father belonged to the bourgeoisie, according to Luigi dal Pane's definition of bourgeois holdings in *Economia e Società a Bologna nell'età del risorgimento* (Bologna, 1969), 171–77. Dal Pane states that a member of the bourgeoisie owned an average of 8,287 lire in property at the time as compared to an average of 105,404 lire for the aristocracy. For the value on Bassi's property, see BCAB, Bassi-Veratti, *Atti notarili e vari riferenti alle famiglie Bassi e Veratti*, Cartone 1°: Piano di divisione dell'Ecc.^{mo} Dott.; Giuseppe Veratti, June 18, 1785.

at the University of Bologna and was a member of the town's Academy of Sciences.¹⁰

The young woman's ability to handle public disputations was tested several times before she had to face her official public disputation in defense of her set of theses on April 17, 1732. Frequent meetings, attended by several members of the Academy of Sciences and, after 1731, by Cardinal Lambertini, the future Pope Benedict XIV, took place at her home. Bassi made such a powerful impression at these meetings that the men made her a voting member of the Academy of Sciences four weeks before her public disputation.¹¹

The degree of philosophy was conferred on Bassi May 12, 1732, and on June 27 of the same year she defended twelve new theses in the Archiginnasio, the seat of the university. This feat permitted her to ask the Bologna Senate for a lectureship at the university. At Cardinal Lambertini's insistence, the Senate eventually granted Bassi a lectureship in universal philosophy on October 29, 1732; however, it also ruled that, because of her sex, Bassi was not to be permitted to teach in public at the Archiginnasio unless commanded by her superiors.¹² As it happened, the administration commanded her over the years of her service to give several lessons at the Archiginnasio but never on a regular basis. Nevertheless, Bassi's salary continued to increase, from 500 lire until, by 1760, it reached 1,200 lire per annum, one of the highest at the university.¹³

¹⁰ See the back of a letter from Scarselli dated Rome, July 20, 1743, in BCAB, B. 2024: *Lettere autografe*; G. Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite alla celebre Laura Bassi scritte da illustri italiani e stranieri con biografia* (Bologna, 1885), 228. Tacconi had been made a member of the Academy of Sciences in 1717, where he had presented a single paper in medicine. See Richard L. Rosen, "The Academy of Sciences of the Institute of Bologna, 1690–1804" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1971), 151, 209.

¹¹ See the back of a letter from Scarselli dated Rome, July 20, 1743, in BCAB, B. 2024: *Lettere autografe*; BCAB, Letter no. 32 of Giampietro Zanotti to G. Riva, Bologna, April 15, 1732, in B. 382: *Lettere di Giampietro Zanotti al Padre Giampietro Riva*. Cardinal Lambertini became archbishop of Bologna in 1731, see M. Rosa, "Benedetto XIV," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (hereafter, *DBI*) (Rome, 1960–), 8: 393–408.

¹² The ceremonies associated with the defense of the theses, her degree, and the granting of a lectureship are discussed in detail by Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* (Bologna, 1782), 2: 384–91; Caterina Ferrucci's biography "Laura Bassi," in Carolina Bonafede, *Donne bolognesi insigni* (1845; Bologna, 1971), 173–82; Ernesto Masi, "Laura Bassi e il Voltaire," in *Studi e ritratti* (Bologna, 1881), 157–71; see particularly G. B. Comelli, *Laura Bassi e il suo primo trionfo* (Bologna, 1912), 3–47; A. Garelli, "Biografia," in Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 11–29; Cazzani, "Laura Bassi," 9–15; Archivio di Stato di Bologna (hereafter, ASB), Fondo: *Senato*, serie: *Diari*, anni 1714–41, 11 e 12, ff. 131–32, May 14, 1732, and ff. 133–34, June 28, 1732; Laura Bassi, *Theses: De aqua corpore naturale elemento aliorum corporum; Parte universi; D.D.D.; a Bononiae ex typographia Laelli a Vulpe MDCCXXXII*; BCAB, Letter no. 3 of G. Zanotti to Riva, Bologna, June 22, 1732, in B. 382; BCAB, Letter no. 219 of G. Zanotti to Eustachio Manfredi, August 30, 1732, in B. 163, *Lettere famigliari e a diversi di Giampietro Zanotti*; ASB, Fondo: *Senato*, serie: *Vacchetoni*, Registro 60, f. 203, August 25, 1732; ASB, Fondo: *Senato*, serie: *Partiti*, vol. 35, f. 45, dies 29 octobris 1732.

¹³ For Bassi's lectures at the university, see Bassi to Flaminio Scarselli, May 12, 1745, in Elio Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," in Melli, *Studi e inediti*, 105–06; ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Studio*, serie: *Atti*, anni 1735–43, vol. 23: Acts of December 5, 1739, and December 11, 1739, f. 44; November 15, 1741, f. 67; serie: *Atti*, vol. 24: Acts of January 22, 1749, f. 2, February 7, 1749, f. 2v, February 16, 1750, f. 17, April 7, 1750, f. 21v, April 14, 1750, f. 23v. For Bassi's salary, see Luigi Simeoni, *Storia dell'Università di Bologna*, Vol. 2: *L'età moderna* (Bologna, 1947), 95. Women who wove either hemp or silk in the town at the time received 12 to 15 *baiocchi* per day on average. If they worked 365 days a year, which was very unlikely, they would be paid from 219 to 275 lire a year (20 *baiocchi* = 1 lira). See Alberto Guenzi, *La fabbrica delle tele fra città e campagna: Gruppi professionali e governo dell'economia a Bologna nel secolo XVIII* (Ancona, 1987), 113–29.

Other nominations followed: in 1745, Bassi became a member of the newly founded Benedettina Academy, which had been created within the Academy of Sciences by Pope Benedict XIV and named after him. This academy consisted of a class of twenty-four scholars selected from the best-known members of the Academy of Sciences, and they received 100 lire a year for presenting original works at the academy annually at a pre-determined date and for attending three-quarters of all academic meetings. The pope organized the Benedettini in order to increase the quantity of research done at the Academy of Sciences. The number of dissertations presented to the academy had been declining since 1734–1735 and reached an all-time low in the early 1740s, during the War of Austrian Succession.¹⁴ Then, in 1766, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, Cardinal Protector of the Collegio Montalto, nominated Bassi as preceptor to the college's students in experimental physics. The college had been founded by Pope Sixtus V and was essentially a free seminary for students of Marche Province, who ranged in age from eighteen to twenty-four. While at the college, the students attended lectures at the university or at the professors' homes to obtain degrees in either law or theology and law. From 1704 on, the students were also introduced to courses in the sciences, for which Bassi was, from 1766 to her death in 1778, one of the lecturers.¹⁵

Finally, in 1776, Bassi became professor of experimental physics at the Institute of Sciences, a larger body of which the Academy of Sciences was part. The institute, which opened its doors in 1714, was a public institution whose goals were not only to provide scientific facilities to the members of the Academy of Sciences but also to teach the sciences to university students by a different approach than the method used at the university, that is, with an emphasis on observation and experimentation.¹⁶ Bassi's promotions to preceptor and eventually professor in experimental physics at the Collegio Montalto and the Institute of Sciences, respectively, came after many years of teaching experimental physics at home to students attending the university.¹⁷ Her teaching at home began after her

¹⁴ Nadia Urbinati, "Physica," in Walter Tega, ed., *Anatomie Accademiche*, Vol. 2: *L'Enciclopedia scientifica dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna, 1987), 123–26; Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 72–73, 100; E. Nardi, ed., *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna* (Bologna, 1988), 8–10. For the disruption in the Papal Estates caused by the War of Austrian Succession, see Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, Vol. 1: *Da Muratori a Beccaria 1730–1764* (Torino, 1969), 102–03.

¹⁵ A rough copy of Bassi's thank you letter to Cardinal Albani is found on the back of Pio Fantoni's letter to Bassi dated Rome, July 9, 1766, in BCAB, B. 2024: *Lettere autografe*; BCAB, B. 2727: "Pubblica Accademia di lettere avutasi nel Collegio Montalto dagli alunni del medesimo in lode della loro precettrice Laura Bassi"; Giuseppe Cagni, "Il Pontefico Collegio 'Montalto' in Bologna (1585–1797)," *Barnabiti Studi*, 5 (1988): 7–194.

¹⁶ See "De professoribus Institutii," in *De Bononiensi Scientiarum et Artium Instituto atque Academia, Commentarii*, known as *Commentarii*, vol. 6, 1783, 31–44; Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 32–34. Marta Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto: Alla origini dell'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna, 1990), 203–35.

¹⁷ For students attending her course, see Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 62, 74–75, 80, 141, 147; Lazzaro Spallanzani's letter, Reggio, May 29, 1755, in *Epistolario di Lazzaro Spallanzani*, Vol. 1, B. Biagi, ed. (Florence, 1958), 5; Bassi to M. Caldani, February 7, 1768, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 168–69; BCAB, Letter no. 3668 of Caldani to Veratti, February 7, 1766, in *Lettere di L. MarcAntonio Caldani*, Collezione Autografi (hereafter, *Collez. Aut.*) XII, 3665–3764; BCAB, Letter no. 3016 to Bassi, Naples, January 2, 1773, in *Lettera di Bovi Rocco*, *Collez. Aut.* X, 3016; *Avvisi di Bologna*, no. 8, 25 febbraio 1778, BCAB, Bassi, Laura, *Due cartoni*, Cartone II: opuscoli e stampe riguardanti Laura Bassi, no. 8; John Morgan, *The Journal of Dr. John Morgan of Philadelphia from the*

marriage to Giuseppe Veratti, a graduate of the University of Bologna in philosophy and medicine (1734) and lecturer in physics there from 1738 on.¹⁸

LAURA BASSI'S RISE TO THE TOP OF ACADEMIC LIFE in Bologna could perhaps be explained in terms of her education, degree, lectureship, or occasional lectures at the university, but other Italian women had also registered such achievements. Italy had a tradition of providing education to some women, mostly of the ruling families, the urban aristocracy, or the professional elite.¹⁹ The women usually studied languages (Latin, Greek) and history and philosophy under male tutors. What was studied depended on the tutor, at least initially, and on the period. Thus, while women's writings in the fourteenth century stressed a knowledge of the Bible, those of the fifteenth century emphasized a knowledge of Greek and Roman classical literature. A knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy was demonstrated by both Costanza Varano and Cassandra Fedele in the fifteenth century and by other educated women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Plato became increasingly popular in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, while Cartesian philosophy gained ground in the late seventeenth century.²⁰ In spite of statements by humanists such as Leonardo Bruni in the fifteenth century and Alessandro Piccolomini in the sixteenth that mathematics, geometry, astronomy, and science were not convenient subjects for women to study since they were not likely to use them, some women engaged in these studies if the teachers were available to them.²¹ Laura Ceretta (1469–1499) studied both mathematics and astronomy and made astronomical observations with her uncle. Olimpia Fulvia

City of Rome to the City of London, 1764; Together with a Fragment of a Journal Written at Rome, 1764 (Philadelphia, 1907), 98–99. For the times of her lectures, see Bassi to Scarselli, June 14, 1755; and Bassi to Giacomo Casanova, May 7, 1772, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Veratti," 148–49, 174; Morgan, *Journal*, 98–99.

¹⁸ Several of these attempts to teach at home were made in conjunction with her husband. Bassi initially taught mathematics, while Veratti taught experimental physics. After 1749, Veratti no longer taught at home. See Nota di "requisiti" 1739, Nota di "requisiti" 1746, Nota di "requisiti" 1750, and letter to Scarselli, June 14, 1755, all in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Veratti," 87, 128, 144, 148; for Veratti's requests, see ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Studio*, serie: Requisiti dei lettori, Busta 57, fasc. 2, requests of 1743, 1752, 1770; Biblioteca Gambalunga di Rimini (hereafter, BGR), Bassi to Bianchi, 1738, in *Lettere autografe al Dott. Giovanni Bianchi*, in Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Bassi. For Veratti's degree and position at the university, see ASB, Veratti, Giuseppe, filosofo-medico 1737–1793, Fondo: *Assunteria di Studio*, serie: Requisiti dei lettori, Busta 57, fasc. 24, 1738; Giuseppe Veratti in *Commentarii*, vol. 2, 1745, pt. 1^a, p. 154; Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 9: 193. Veratti spelled his surname with two t's, unlike Bassi, who, for reasons unknown, spelled it with one t after marriage. See BGR, Bassi's letter to Bianchi soon after her marriage, April 26, 1738, Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Bassi.

¹⁹ Margaret King, "Book-Lined Cells: Women and Humanism in the Early Renaissance," in Labalme, *Beyond Their Sex*, 67; Kristeller, "Learned Women," 95–97; Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, Jr., eds., *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and about the Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1983), 16–25.

²⁰ King and Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand*, 33, 42–43, 70–77; Masetti-Zannini, *Motivi storici della educazione femminile: Scienza*, 7–10; Lucia T. Traversi, "Verso l'inserimento delle donne nel mondo accademico," in *Alma Mater Studiorum*, 20–21.

²¹ Alessandra del Fante, "Amore, famiglia e matrimonio nell'Istituzione di Alessandro Piccolomini," *Nuova rivista storica*, 58, fasc. 5–6 (settembre–dicembre 1984): 511–26; G. L. Masetti-Zannini, *Motivi storici della educazione femminile (1500–1650): Morale, religione, lettere, arte e musica* (Bari, 1980), 15, 20.

Morati (1526–1555) was educated in natural philosophy, as was Margherita Sarrocchi Birago (1560–1617), who also had extensive knowledge of geometry. Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646–1684) added mathematics and astronomy to her studies in theology, philosophy, and dialectics.²²

What her philosophy teacher Gaetano Tacconi taught Laura Bassi can be surmised, to a certain extent, by the forty-nine theses she had to defend in order to obtain a degree. Six of the theses were in logic, sixteen in metaphysics, and sixteen in physics, specifically, the nature of matter, motion, and meteors. The rest of the theses were concerned with the nature of the mind or soul. In good Aristotelian tradition, these theses separated the intellectual and sensitive capacities of the soul. Aristotelian influences can be detected in Thesis IX of physics dealing with motion, whereby the surrounding medium was viewed as having the capability to impart movement to the object.²³ Cartesian influences can be detected in *De causis*, Thesis IX, whereby no second cause had such a force that it could act at a distance. Other Cartesian influences are found in the physics section, particularly in the concept of extended matter.²⁴ Paracelsian influences are apparent in the physics section in *De meteoris*, Thesis XIII, in the gunpowder concept of thunder and lightning.²⁵ The influence of the Galilean and Torricellian school is found in *De motu*, Theses X and XI of the physics section, whereby the motion of liquids was dependent on gravity. Only Thesis V of the section *De anima* illustrates Newton's influence, specifically his theory on light and color found in his *Opticks*.²⁶

Even Bassi's public disputation, degree, and membership at an academy of sciences had precedents. Bittizia Gozzadini (1209–1261) and Elena Cornaro Piscopia had received degrees in law and philosophy at Bologna and Padua, respectively. Gozzadini, Novella Calderini, and Dorotea Bocchi may have taught occasionally at the University of Bologna, the first two in law during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, Bocchi in medicine during the early fifteenth century. Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558) delivered orations at the University of Padua. In 1722, Maria Delfini Dosi successfully defended her theses in law at the University of Bologna; however, through lack of support, she failed to obtain a degree. Women were also members of academies with scientific research interests. Piscopia had been made a member of Padua's Accademia dei Ricoverati. Several women were members of Bologna's Accademia dei Gelati; others were attached to the town's Accademia degli Inquieti, the future Academy of Sciences,

²² Masetti-Zannini, *Motivi storici della educazione femminile: Scienza*, 37–49; G. Gabrieli, "Luca Valerio Linco," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionali dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali . . .*, serie 6, vol. 9 (1933): 691–727. Nicola Fusco, *Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, 1646–1684* (Pittsburgh, 1975), 50–51.

²³ Thesis IX, Ex Physica, De motu, in Laura Bassi, *D.O.M. Laura Maria Catherina Bassi Civis Bononiensis Academia Institutum Scientiarum Socia Se Suaque Philosophica Studia Humiliter D.D.D.*, a Bononiae ex typographia a Laelli a Vulpe, MDCCXXXII; Hall, *Scientific Revolution*, 19–20.

²⁴ Marta Cavazza discusses the Cartesian influences on Bassi's theses in *Settecento inquieto*, 250–53; see the theses in Bassi, *Philosophica Studia*.

²⁵ Bassi, *Philosophica Studia*. See also Allen G. Debus, "The Paracelsian Aerial Niter," *Isis*, 55 (1964): 43–61.

²⁶ See Bassi, *Philosophica Studia*. For Galilean influences on the motion of liquids, see C. S. Maffioli, "Guglielmini vs. Papin (1691–1697): Science in Bologna at the End of the Seventeenth Century through a Debate on Hydraulics," *Janus*, 71 (1984): 250–53.

albeit none of these academies was publicly funded, as the Academy of Sciences was.²⁷

Bassi was aware of the women who had preceded her, of their accomplishments, and of how they could serve as an example to her.²⁸ Most important, the men who supported her, such as Cardinal Lambertini and Jacopo Beccari, understood that women had played a role at the University of Bologna in the past; therefore, these men saw no reason why they should not do so again.²⁹ In Lambertini's case, he had the clout to act on his beliefs. Since his arrival at Bologna in 1731, Lambertini, as the town's archbishop, had worked to ensure that the Bologna senators, who controlled appointments at the university and the Institute of Sciences, would allow Bassi to defend her theses, give her a degree, and appoint her as a lecturer at the university. He proposed her as a symbol of the moral value of education. Bassi's accomplishments would enhance the prestige of the town and of the university, as had the accomplishments of other women in the past.³⁰ In spite of the cardinal's best efforts, the Senate and several men in the academic community, of whom the physician Giovanni Bianchi could be used as an example, felt that Bassi's degree, lectureship, and membership in the public Academy of Sciences should remain purely symbolic: she was not to lecture at the university or use the facilities at the Academy of Sciences unless requested to do so by the authorities in charge of those institutions.³¹

Bassi could have rested on her laurels, received the money that was granted her, and made an appearance only when invited by the university administration; however, she refused to fade into the background as women had done in the past. Instead, after what might appear to be a period of hesitation, Bassi actively sought support from the men who encouraged a larger role for women in the academic and scientific life of the town and thus ensured herself a regular place in this life. In fact, through her twenty-nine years of teaching and through the dissertations she presented yearly at the Academy of Sciences from 1746 on, Bassi not only participated in the scientific life of the town but contributed substantially to it.³²

²⁷ There are doubts whether Bittizia Gozzadini ever received a degree. For Gozzadini, see Bonafede, *Donne bolognesi insigni*, 3–12; Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 4: 209; for Elena Piscopia, see Fusco, *Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia*, 37–38, 62. For Delfini Dosi, see Traversi, "Verso l'inserimento," 21–30; for Fedele, see King and Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand*, 21–22, 70–73. See also Kristeller, "Learned Women," 95–102.

²⁸ BCAB, Bassi, Laura, *Due cartoni*, Cartone I, fasc. 2, ff. 9, 12.

²⁹ See Giovanna Tilche, *Maria Gaetana Agnesi* (Milano, 1984), 90–91.

³⁰ Rosa, "Benedetto XIV," *DBI*, 8: 394. For Benedict XIV's actions on Bassi's behalf, see BCAB, Giovanni Giacomo Amadei, *Libro delle cose che vanno accadendo in Bologna e principalmente quelle che spettano il governo sì civile sì ecclesiastico*, B. 517, c. 4r; BCAB, Letter no. 219 of G. Zanotti to E. Manfredi, August 30, 1732, in B. 163: *Lettere famigliari*; ASB, Fondo: *Senato*, serie: *Vacchetoni*, registro 60, f. 203, August 25, 1732; ASB, Fondo: *Senato*, serie: *Partiti*, vol. 35, f. 45, dies 29 octobris 1732.

³¹ BGR, Giovanni Bianchi to Mons. Lepprotti, February 19, March 12, and June 17, 1733, in Sc.Ms. 963: *Lettere autografe di Giovanni Bianchi a Mons. Leprotti, 1733 al 1745*.

³² Many of the dissertations Bassi presented at the Academy of Sciences—discussed later in the section dealing with her scientific activities—reflect the leading issues of the time in science: electricity, chemistry, heat, and hydraulics. The dissertations she gave yearly at the Academy of Sciences included: April 28, 1746: On the Compression of Air; April 27, 1747: On the Air Bubbles Observed in Fluids Relieved from Air Pressure; April 25, 1748: On the Air Bubbles Excited in Fluids; April 24, 1749: On the Center of Gravity; April 30, 1750: Latin dissertation (topic not known); April 29, 1751: On Two Problems of Hydrometry; April 13, 1752: mathematical dissertation; April 19,

In this achievement, Bassi is significantly different from the women who preceded her.

Several biographical sketches of Laura Bassi appeared through the years, the first of which was Giovanni Fantuzzi's eulogy in 1778. These sketches are characterized by their brevity and failure to explain how Bassi was able to contribute to the scientific activities of the town.³³ Some authors have, however, been more successful in assessing Bassi's scientific interests: Marta Cavazza in *Settecento inquieto* (1990) discusses the Cartesian influences found in the theses Bassi had to defend in order to obtain her degree. These theses reflected the interests of Bassi's teacher, Gaetano Tacconi, and not of the author herself, who was a Newtonian as early as 1732. Bassi's Newtonianism was made clear in her first lecture at the university in December 1732, when she stated that the philosopher's duty was to deduce the laws that governed nature from phenomena that could be observed experimentally. The Cartesians deduced such laws from rationally evident principles. Cavazza, however, does not analyze Bassi's output after 1733.³⁴ The author of Bassi's biographical sketch in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (1965) takes into consideration only Bassi's published scientific works and assigns them some value; however, this author then proceeds to define her scientific interests as amateurish.³⁵ Alberto Elena in his article on Laura Bassi (1991) stresses Bassi's early involvement with Newtonian physics and mentions her scientific collaboration with her husband later in her life but fails to analyze this collaboration. Since Elena does not go beyond the printed sources of Bassi's correspondence with several scientists and has not considered the works of these

1753: On the Exit of Water from the Holes of One Container; April 25, 1754: On the Evacuation of Water through Various Openings; April 25, 1755: On Hydrodynamics; April 26, 1756: On a Problem in Hydrodynamics; April 28, 1757: algebraic dissertation; April 20, 1758: On Analytical Problems; April 26, 1759: On Different Fluids Exiting from One Opening; April 24, 1760: hydrodynamics dissertation; May 2, 1761: Some Experiments on Electricity; April 29, 1762: On Iceland Glass [used for refraction experiments]; April 28, 1763: On a Way to Correct in Telescopes the Inconvenience Derived from the Different Refractions of Rays, Which Unite at Different Points in the Axis Depending on Their Color; May 2, 1764: On the Phenomena of Liquids in Capillary Tubes of Various Materials; June 14, 1765: On Experiments and Observations in Hydrometry and Hydrostatics; May 1, 1766: Some Hydrometric Experiments Dealing with Genette's Observations; May 7, 1767: On the Speed of a Water Jet in a Container; May 8, 1768: On Electricity; May 6, 1769: On a Series of Experiments to Improve the Art of Dyeing; May 17, 1770: On Electricity; June 7, 1771: On *vindex* Electricity; May 7, 1772: On an Experiment Proposed by Villanova Spagnolo; May 14, 1773: On the Repulsion of Fescues on the Surface of Water Produced by a Drop of Spruce Juice; April 28, 1774: On Electricity, Especially on Some Experiments by Halles; May 11, 1775: On Fire and the Facility of Various Fluids to Receive It; May 2, 1776: The Relation of Flame to Fixed Air [carbon dioxide]; June 5, 1777: On the Property of Various Bodies That Retain Heat More Than Others While Also Retaining Electricity; see Archivio dell'Accademia di Scienze di Bologna (hereafter, AASB), *Catalogo dei lavori dell'Antica Accademia raccolti sotto i singoli autori*, a cura di Domenico Piani, 15–17.

³³ For Italian sources on Bassi, see note 12 above; and G. L. Masetti-Zannini, "Laura Bassi (1711–1778), testimonianze e carteggi inediti," *Strenna storica bolognese*, 21 (1979): 221–41. For biographical sketches on Bassi in English sources, see Mozans, *Woman in Science*, 202–10; Mary Ritter Beard, *On Understanding Women* (New York, 1968), 442–44; Kate Campbell Hurd-Mead, *A History of Women in Medicine from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (1938; rpt. edn., Boston, 1973), 500–10; Ogilvy, *Women in Science*, 36–37; Alic, *Hypatia's Heritage*, 117, 135–36, 205; Schiebinger, *Mind Has No Sex*, 14–17. For a French biographical sketch, see Alphonse Rebière, *Les femmes dans les sciences: Notes recueillies* (Paris, 1897), 28–31.

³⁴ Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto*, 249–56.

³⁵ s.v. "Laura Bassi Verati," *DBI*, 7: 145–47.

scientists, he also fails to detect her participation in several of the scientific debates then current.³⁶ The printed and manuscript sources and the scientific debates that went on when Bassi was scientifically active will demonstrate how she was able to contribute to the scientific life of Bologna and, eventually, of Italy.

BASSI'S INTELLECTUAL INDEPENDENCE FROM HER TEACHER appeared soon after she received her degree, when Tacconi insisted that she present her second set of theses in Ethics, needed to receive a lectureship at the university. Bassi objected to the theses in Ethics, an objection perhaps motivated by the fact that this choice would indicate a shift away from natural philosophy on her part. Pressure from Cardinal Lambertini forced Tacconi to back down, and, as Jacopo Beccari described to a friend, "the disciple [Bassi] was freed from a persecution by morals."³⁷ The twelve theses Bassi actually defended after Lambertini's intercession were all scientific and dealt with the nature of water as a natural element and as part of the universe. Influenced by physician and mathematician Domenico Guglielmini, of the universities of Bologna and Padua, these theses appear to represent a middle ground between Tacconi's Cartesian and Bassi's Newtonian sympathies. In the theses, as in Guglielmini's *Della natura dei fiumi* (1697), liquids were described as conglomerates of minute, perfectly smooth spheres.³⁸ A set of twenty-four theses found among Bassi's papers dating from 1732 and never published have a strong Newtonian influence throughout; in them, the physics section began with Newton's three laws of motion and continued in a similar vein.³⁹

The argument over the theses in Ethics and other intellectual differences apparently caused Bassi and Tacconi to drift apart, in spite of her attempts at reconciliation.⁴⁰ She may have believed she was entitled to some intellectual independence from her teacher—an independence Tacconi might have been willing to accept from male students but not from a female, who had only been educated in science as a favor on his part.

After the split with her teacher, Bassi went through a period of about three years in which scientific studies and research did not play as prominent a role in her life as they would in later years, despite her continued interest in experimental natural philosophy and her facility, according to Beccari, for mathematics and physics.⁴¹ Her activity seems to have been constrained by her gender, her education, and perhaps by her own and others' understanding of what her role

³⁶ Alberto Elena, "In lode della filosofessa di Bologna: An Introduction to Laura Bassi," *Isis*, 82 (1991): 510–19.

³⁷ BCAB, Letter no. 34 of G. Zanotti to Riva, Bologna, June 22, 1732, in B. 382: *Lettere di Giampietro Zanotti*; BCAB, Letter no. 1730 of Beccari to friend, s.d., in *Jacopo Bartolomeo Beccari: Lettere a diversi*, Collezione Aut. VI, 1710–39.

³⁸ Bassi, *Theses: De aqua corpore*; Maffioli, "Guglielmini vs. Papin," 84–87.

³⁹ Bassi, Laura, *Due cartoni*, Cartone II: opuscoli e stampe riguardanti Laura Bassi, no. 3: Tesi di fisica, metafisica e logica.

⁴⁰ See BCAB, Letter no. 223 of G. Zanotti to E. Manfredi, Bologna, November 19, 1732, in B. 163: *Lettere famigliari*; Tacconi to Senator Aldovrandi, December 15, 1732 in Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 183–84.

⁴¹ For Bassi's support of experimental natural philosophy, see Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto*, 254. Beccari was the professor who questioned Bassi during the defense of the first set of theses; see BCAB, Letters no. 1730, 1734, 1736, 1737 of Beccari to friend, s.d., Collezione Aut. VI, 1710–39.

might entail. During that period, Bassi gave a few lessons at the university at the administration's request, but mostly she participated in yearly disputations on anatomical lessons given by other lecturers. These lessons took the form of a debate in which a thesis presented by the lecturer was attacked by assigned university lecturers present at his lesson.⁴² Bassi also began to learn Greek and to write poetry; the poetry was undertaken partly as a social activity, mostly at the request of local aristocrats.⁴³ Her initial attempts to take mathematics lessons and to obtain access to books in the Vatican's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* led nowhere until 1735, when she was twenty-four years old.⁴⁴ According to Monsignor Leprotti, the pope's physician, males involved in the sciences were usually granted access to the Index's books when they reached twenty-four years of age. The natural philosophy books in the Index—the works of Galileo, Descartes, Kepler, Copernicus, Fontanelle, and others—were essential reading for anyone interested in pursuing physics beyond the amateur level.⁴⁵

It appears that Bassi, like the men, was granted access to the Index's books by 1735, since it was only then that she began a three-year study of mathematics with Gabriele Manfredi, one of the pioneers of infinitesimal calculus in Italy and a man she knew well from as early as 1732.⁴⁶ The fact that Bassi waited until 1735 to take mathematics lessons, which she presumably could have taken at any time after 1732, seems to indicate that those lessons would only have been worthwhile, or even possible, for someone like her, interested in pursuing physics seriously, if she could also study some of the most important works written on the subject and contained in the Index's list. Therefore, what may seem to be hesitation was probably a waiting period on her part. No doubt Bassi knew as early as 1732 the path she wished to follow.

The approval Bassi received from the Vatican was not usually given to women scholars. According to Leprotti, Clelia Borromeo, who held a scientific and literary salon in Milan, had been denied access to the books. Bassi's friend

⁴² In June 1733, Bassi was assigned to debate a Doctor Azzoguidi when he lectured on the nature of poisons and their antidotes. According to G. Bianchi, who attended the lecture, Bassi succeeded admirably in destroying Azzoguidi's thesis. See BGR, G. Bianchi to Leprotti, June 17, 1733, Ms. 963 alla data; BCAB, Alessandro Macchiavelli, "Delle donne bolognesi nella letteratura e disegno illustri," B. 1331, May 26, 1741, p. 130; Nota di "requisiti" of Laura Bassi, 1739, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 37; BCAB, Bassi, Laura, *Due cartoni*, Cartone I, fasc. 1, i: serie delle funzioni pubbliche annuali; BCAB, Maria Macchiavelli, "De rebus praeclare gestus a clarissimo philosopho doctore collegiate Laura Maria Catherina Bassi," B. 3912, 59–61.

⁴³ BGR, Bianchi to Leprotti, February 17, 1733, in Sc.Ms. 963. For some of Bassi's poems, see BCAB, B. 1330: "Miscellanea di scritti dell'illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signora di Filosofia Dottoressa Collegiata Laura Maria Catterina Bassi o riguardanti la medesima," 108. See a list of her poetic publications in E. Colombo, "Catalogo delle edizioni di Lelio e Petronio Della Volpe possedute dalla Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio," *L'Archiginnasio*, 75 (1980): 213, 218, 241, 261, 268, 273. It is obvious from her letter to G. Zanotti that Bassi felt socially obliged to write most of her poetry. Such writing had its advantages, however, as it kept Bassi in the good graces of the senatorial aristocracy of the town; see Bassi to G. Zanotti, February 9, 1737, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 82.

⁴⁴ BGR, Bianchi to Leprotti, February 17, 1733, Sc.Ms. 963.

⁴⁵ BGR, Leprotti to Bianchi, Rome, March 23, 1733, in Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Leprotti; A. Rupert Hall, "La matematica, Newton e la letteratura," in Renzo Cremante and Walter Tega, eds., *Scienza e letteratura nella cultura italiana del settecento* (Bologna, 1984), 44.

⁴⁶ BGR, Bassi to Bianchi, April 26, 1738, in Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Bassi; for the spread of infinitesimal calculus in Italy and Manfredi's role in it, see Luigi Pepe, "Il calcolo infinitesimale in Italia agli inizi del secolo XVIII," *Bollettino di storia delle scienze matematiche*, 1 (dicembre 1981): 56–60.

Francesca Manzoni, a serious scholar, albeit not in the sciences, was also denied access to them, in spite of being thirty years old at the time of applying. Perhaps Cardinal Lambertini again interceded on Bassi's behalf.⁴⁷ It is important to stress that Bassi's willingness to pursue three years of higher mathematics after she had been made a paid lecturer at the university is a measure of her commitment to contribute to physics beyond the amateur level.

Bassi now could settle down to her studies, careful observations, and experimentations—methods that, as her first lesson at the university expounded, were essential for the pursuit of natural philosophy.⁴⁸ Scientific pursuit also required the exchange of ideas and material and often involved working with collaborators, as was the practice in the Academy of Sciences of Bologna.⁴⁹ Gossip, however, plagued Bassi's meetings with men of science. These meetings took place at Bassi's home and allowed her and her scientific collaborators to exchange ideas and investigate Newton's experiments on light and colors. Some members of Bolognese society evidently thought that hosting these meetings was not appropriate behavior for a young single woman; they claimed that Bassi was probably using the meetings as an excuse to have assignations with men.⁵⁰ It was the type of gossip a woman had to avoid if she desired a good working relationship with the Vatican. Consequently, in 1738, Bassi decided to take a step that she hoped would allow her to pursue her scientific activities and, at the same time, put an end to the gossip. This step was marriage. In a letter dated April 26, 1738, Bassi explained to Bianchi the reasons for her marriage. According to her, marriage had not been a priority. But,

my domestic circumstances have induced me to change my mind and make this decision. As I am sure you are someone who can judge matters as they are, you will be incapable of condemning the marriage, and you will not view it as a reason for detaching myself from the studies I am under obligation to profess, which I had hoped quietly to pursue in this life; therefore, I have chosen a person who walks my path in the arts and who, through long experience, I was certain would not impede me from following mine.⁵¹

The marriage to Giuseppe Veratti put an end to the gossip and made it easier for Bassi to attend meetings at the academy (along with her husband, although Veratti made no objection to her attending alone, as she did in 1746 while he was away).⁵² The marriage did not have obvious, immediate benefits for Bassi's

⁴⁷ For Borromeo, see BGR, Leprotti to Bianchi, March 4, 1733, in Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Leprotti. Manzoni's works were of a literary nature. Manzoni's letters also confirm that Bassi had received access to the Index's books years earlier and easily enough. See Manzoni to Bassi, March 6, 1740, May 18, 1740, and July 13, 1741, in Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 88–90, 93–94.

⁴⁸ BCAB, Bassi, Laura, *Due cartoni*, Cartone I, fasc. 2, ff. 62–67.

⁴⁹ See Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto*, 217–53; Walter Tega, "*Mens agitat molem*: l'Accademia delle Scienze di Bologna (1711–1804)," in Cremante and Tega, *Scienza e letteratura*, 65–132.

⁵⁰ For the nature of the gossip, see BGR, Bassi to Bianchi, April 26, 1738, and May 14, 1738, in Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Bassi; and BCAB, Bianchi to Bassi, Letters no. 2261, May 1738, and no. 2262, June 3, 1738, in *Lettere no. 75 di Giovanni Bianchi*, Collezione Aut. VIII, 2254–2328; Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 2: 384–91.

⁵¹ BGR, Bassi to Bianchi, April 26, 1738, Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Bassi.

⁵² For a biography of Veratti, see Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 9: 193. Giampietro Zanotti's letters, which are usually a good source of the gossip surrounding Bassi's activities before her marriage, do not refer to any afterward; see Zanotti's letters to Riva, BCAB, B. 382. For her attendance at the academy, see BCAB, Bassi to unknown, November 26, 1774, *Lettere di Laura Bassi*, Collezione Aut. poz. 238443; Bassi

scientific career, however; she presented no dissertations at the academy until the spring of 1746. Although we know from one of her letters to Flaminio Scarselli, the Bologna Senate's representative in Rome, and from other members of the academy, that she had been active scientifically, some of her experiments had not yet been completed due to their difficulty and her lack of time.⁵³

AFTER HER MARRIAGE, Bassi made several attempts to give regular lessons at the university so that, as she told Scarselli, she could justify her salary. By 1739, the university administration had increased her salary by 160 lire and stated that she could teach regular classes at the institution, yet these classes did not materialize.⁵⁴ Attempts to regularize her situation at the university were also made by several cardinal legates—the pope's representatives in Bologna—and by her former mathematics teacher, Gabriele Manfredi, but without success. During the period of Cardinal Legate Alberoni (1741–1743), times for regular lessons had been arranged—a fact also confirmed by the *Atti* of the Assunteria di Studio of November 1741. The lessons did not take place, however, because of the uninvited arrival of Spanish troops (1742–1744), which disrupted the government, caused havoc in the surrounding countryside, and forced the closure of the university, followed by a series of illnesses that affected both Bassi and the cardinal at the end of his legation. In 1749, again under pressure from a new cardinal legate and because of a shortage of anatomy teachers, the Assunteria decided that Bassi could lecture on anatomy, which was not her field of expertise; this last attempt, like all the preceding ones, led nowhere.⁵⁵

The intercession of several cardinal legates on Bassi's behalf may not have endeared her to the senators, who controlled the Assunteria di Studio, and ultimately may have hindered rather than helped her efforts. There was a constant struggle for power between the senatorial oligarchy, which had always controlled the local government, and the central government in Rome, represented in Bologna by the cardinal legate. In this struggle, the senators were losing ground throughout the eighteenth century. Obstacles to Bassi's public teaching on the administration's part should be viewed in this context and not be attributed

to Scarselli, November 27, 1745, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 115; Bassi to her husband in BCAB, Letters no. 1617–19, in *Lettere e minute di Laura Bassi*, Collez. Aut. VI, 1614–28; and Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (hereafter, BNF), letter of October 1746, Fondo: *Gonelli*, cart. 40, no. 257; for Veratti's letters to Bassi, see Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 151–57.

⁵³ See AASB, *Catalogo dei lavori dell'Antica Accademia*, 15–17; Bassi to Scarselli, April 21, 1745, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 103–04; "De aeris compressione," *Commentarii*, vol. 2, pt. 1^a, 1745, 347–53; T. Laghi, "De rubentibus lignorum ceneribus," *Commentarii*, vol. 2, pt. 3^a, 1745, 392–402.

⁵⁴ See Bassi to Scarselli, May 12, 1745, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 105–06; ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Studio*, serie: *Atti*, anni 1735–45, vol. 23: Acts of December 5, 1739, and December 11, 1739, f. 44.

⁵⁵ The troops entered the Papal Estates because of the War of Austrian Succession; see Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, 103–05; Bassi to Scarselli, May 12, 1745, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 105–06; ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Studio*, serie: *Atti*, anni 1735–45, vol. 23: Act of November 15, 1741, f. 67; serie: *Atti*, vol. 24: Acts of January 22, 1749, f. 2, February 7, 1749, f. 2v, February 16, 1750, f. 17, April 7, 1750, f. 21v, April 14, 1750, f. 23v.

solely to misogyny.⁵⁶ This is not to say that Bassi did not have allies within the senatorial class or did not attempt to form alliances with them, since she was well aware that her fate was in the hands of these few men. Senator Filippo Aldrovandi had intervened in the dispute between her and her first teacher, Tacconi; he was one of the senators in favor of granting her a lectureship and was godfather to one of her children, as was Senator Pepoli.⁵⁷ Bassi and her family were also on friendly terms with Scarselli, who had been a professor of literature at the university and a member of the Academy of Sciences before he became secretary to the Senate's ambassador in Rome. The friendship continued after Scarselli's departure for Rome in 1742 and was to prove very useful to Bassi.⁵⁸

At the same time Bassi was struggling to give regular lessons at the university, she began to give private lessons at home. At first, she taught mathematics, a course that apparently did not succeed. In 1749, Bassi switched to teaching experimental physics. This course became so popular that what began as a private enterprise aimed at young people starting off at the university soon grew into a course attended by grown men interested in physics.⁵⁹ The teaching of physics at the Institute of Sciences, unlike that at the university, was supposedly based on experimental work as well as on theory. However, as this teaching was the responsibility of the head of the physics section or, in his absence, his assistant, the type of physics taught there depended on their interests.⁶⁰ From 1734 to 1770, Domenico Galeazzi was professor of physics at the institute and Paolo Balbi was his assistant. In 1770, Balbi took over Galeazzi's position, and Bassi's husband Veratti became his assistant. All of these men were medical scholars, and, although they presented dissertations in physics, particularly Veratti, who had several on electricity, their dissertations were generally physiological in nature, and their teaching of physics tended to be applied to physiology.⁶¹ This focus provided an opportunity for Bassi, who had studied advanced mathematics, had done experiments in optics, hydrometry, electricity, and on Boyle's law, to offer a course in experimental physics, which was not readily available at the institute.

Some records of Bassi's teaching are left by her students at the Collegio Montalto and by Dr. John Morgan, a physician from Philadelphia who visited Laura Bassi in 1764, when she was teaching Newton's theory of light through a

⁵⁶ For the power struggle between the Senate and the central government, see Dal Pane, *Economica e Società a Bologna*, 415–20.

⁵⁷ For Aldrovandi's intercessions, see Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 183–84; Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 79; BCAB, Letter no. 219 of G. Zanotti to E. Manfredi, August 30, 1732, in B. 163: *Lettere famigliari*. For the role of senators as godfathers, see AAB, *Libro dei Battezzati della metropolitana di Bologna*: anno 1738: Die 7 mensis decembris 1738, the baptism of Joannes Maria Franciscus Nicolaus; anno 1745: Die 17 mensis martis 1745, the baptism of Catherina Maria Teresa, p. 58.

⁵⁸ See Scarselli to Bassi, in Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 104–25; BCAB, *Lettere di Flaminio Scarselli a Laura Bassi*, Ms. Scarselli, I, 3–17.

⁵⁹ See Bassi to Scarselli, June 14, 1755, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 148–49.

⁶⁰ ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Istituto*, serie: *Diversorum*, Busta 9, fasc. 1: "Le costituzioni dell'Istituto delle Scienze," December 12, 1711, cap. V, nos. 3 and 6, cap. VI, no. 1.

⁶¹ For Balbi's, Galeazzi's, and Veratti's dissertations, see Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 170–71, 207–25; Walter Tega, ed., *Anatomie Accademiche*, Vol. 1: *I Commentari dell'Accademia delle Scienze* (Bologna, 1986), 372; Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 180; Susana Gomez, "The Bologna Stone and the Nature of Light: The Science Academy of Bologna," *Nuncius*, 6, fasc. 2 (1991): 16–17.

series of experiments. According to her college students, Bassi first taught the theory and then demonstrated it with experiments.⁶² Morgan tells us that Bassi,

who was employed at our coming in giving lectures upon light & colours shewing the 4 primary original colours, which she said were red, yellow, blue and green, the purple, orange & violet being compounded of these . . . , made several curious experiments upon Phosphori [the Bologna Stone—barium sulfate⁶³] & to shew the reflection of Bodies—i.e.—ye attract'n of ye rays of light by ye Body it passes thro'—as in a slit or small hole or perforation thro' a Board with a ray of light let into a dark room from ye sun; thro' a perforation in a window shutt'r, by means of a speculum made to pass thro' the first mentioned hole. This rec'd at ab't a foot distance on a piece of paper, at a sort of focal point, shows how ye ray is attracted by ye sides of the slit so as to shew a separation of the col'rs & a Dilation of them into a kind of fimbria . . . After this she discoursed very learnedly on Electricity and other philosophical subjects . . . and when I left her, [I] was greatly pleased at her affability. She spoke in french.⁶⁴

Bassi continued to teach on the nature of light and later added instruction on the nature of fire when she became professor of experimental physics at the Institute of Sciences.⁶⁵

Historians have failed to grasp how important these private lessons were to Bassi and to Bologna. Teaching at home, Bassi was not constrained by the university's curriculum, which remained essentially Aristotelian even though modern philosophies were available, as Bassi's theses illustrated.⁶⁶ She could use her lectures to spread Newtonian philosophy and, as will be discussed below, the Franklinian system of electricity. Bassi kept abreast of the latest debates in natural philosophy, repeated many of the experiments herself, and most likely passed them on, at least to those students who wanted to pursue natural philosophy. Her young cousin Lazzaro Spallanzani had come to Bologna to study law but as a result of Bassi's teaching switched to the sciences, to which he made major contributions while she was still alive.⁶⁷

Teaching at home was commonly done in Italy and had been officially recognized by the Bologna Senate in 1665. Home lessons were used, as in Bassi's case, to impart new ideas and innovative methods to natural philosophy stu-

⁶² BCAB, B. 2727: "Pubblica Accademia di lettere avutasi nel Collegio Montalto."

⁶³ The Bologna Stone, after calcination and being exposed to light, would shine in the dark; several experiments were done with the stone to explain Newton's theory of light. Her friend and supporter Jacopo Beccari had worked on the Bologna Stone and other materials to explain *phosphori*, which in his definition were materials that retained even a minimum of luminosity when moved quickly from the light into the dark. See Dissertation no. 33 in Tega, *Anatomie Accademiche*, 1: 156; Gomez, "Bologna Stone," 3–32.

⁶⁴ Morgan, *Journal*, 98–99.

⁶⁵ In *Diario Bolognese Ecclesiastico e civile l'anno 1777* (Bologna, 1777), 142, 154.

⁶⁶ For an overview of the university curricula in natural philosophy, see Gabriele Baroncini, "La filosofia naturale nel studio bolognese (1650–1750): Preliminari di una ricerca," in Cremante and Tega, *Scienza e letteratura*, 271–92; Brandon Dooley, "Social Control and the Italian Universities from Renaissance to Illuminismo," *Journal of Modern History*, 61 (June 1989): 205–39.

⁶⁷ For Spallanzani's contributions to medicine, see Erwin H. Ackernecht, *A Short History of Medicine*, rev. edn. (Baltimore, Md., 1982), 136–37. For his relationship with Bassi, see BCAB, Introduction to Spallanzani's *De lapidibus ad aqua resilietibus dissertatio*, in Bassi, Laura, *Due cartoni, Cartone II: opuscoli e stampe riguardanti Laura Bassi*, no. 9; Lazzaro Spallanzani, *Le opere di Lazzaro Spallanzani*, Vol. 1 (Milano, 1934), xi–xii.

dents.⁶⁸ Bassi's private lessons were recognized by the members of the Assunteria di Studio, which increased her university salary because of them.⁶⁹ The success of Bassi's private lessons ensured her nomination as lecturer in experimental physics at the Collegio Montalto. The nomination did not alter the venue for her teaching, since the college had no institutional facilities of its own, and students had to attend classes either at the home of the lecturer or at the university. The nomination, however, did increase the number of students attending her course and her income: lecturers were paid approximately 54 *scudi*, or 378 lire, per year. There is evidence that Bassi sought this position: in a letter to Scarselli, she asked how best to approach Alessandro Albani, the cardinal protector of the college.⁷⁰

In 1776, the senators, who also controlled the administration of the Institute of Sciences, finally rewarded Bassi's many years of private lessons by naming her professor of experimental physics at the institution. She had requested admission to the professoriate of the institute since 1773. Her initial intent may have been to be assistant to her husband, who had been responsible for the chair of physics there since 1772, after Balbi, the holder of the position, had become ill. In the usual course of things, Veratti would have been made professor after Balbi's death in 1776, since he had been Balbi's assistant; apparently, however, Veratti had been unable to teach both the experimental and theoretical aspects of physics, which were his responsibility. Without doubt, Veratti would have had trouble handling the mathematical aspect of physics. He did not have the mathematical training his wife had, and his dissertations presented no mathematical solutions to physical problems; they leaned toward physics applied to physiology. In spite of Bassi's qualifications in mathematics, the administration decided to split up the physics section for the first time, thereby giving Bassi the experimental physics section with Veratti as her assistant. The physical mathematics section, which dealt mostly with mechanics, was assigned to S. Canterzani, the institute's secretary, with G. Bonaccorsi as his assistant. Another factor in the splitting of the physics section was a dispute between the Verattis and Bonaccorsi, who complained that the couple was impeding his access to the laboratories.⁷¹

For the first time after many years of struggles with the senatorial administration of both the university and the institute, Bassi was allowed to teach in public on a regular basis, but this good fortune came only two years before her death. The one advantage offered by the institute was its equipment resources.⁷² In

⁶⁸ Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto*, 100.

⁶⁹ ASB, Fondo: *Senato*, serie: Vacchetoni, Registro 71, f. 95, December 14, 1759; Registro 79, f. 45, May 10, 1776; Simeoni, *Storia dell'Università di Bologna*, 95.

⁷⁰ The author Cagni is not specific about whether the amount paid was on a yearly basis; see Cagni, "Il Pontefico Collegio 'Montalto,'" 24, 34; see also Bassi to Scarselli, July 16, 1755, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 150–55; see back of Pio Fantoni's letter to Bassi, Rome, July 19, 1766, in BCAB, B. 2024: *Lettere autografe*.

⁷¹ It is arguable how qualified Bonaccorsi was to act as assistant to Canterzani in the mathematical-physics section: most of his dissertations, of which he published none, tended, even more than Veratti's, to be concerned with the biological sciences rather than physics, which indicates that the splitting of the section was done to bring peace to the department; see Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 263–85; "De professoribus Instituti," in *Commentarii*, vol. 7: 1783, p. 6; ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Istituto*, serie: *Diversorum*, Busta 15, no. 42, letters dated April 25, 1776, and May 6, 1776.

⁷² For the facilities in the physics section, see Urbinati, "Physica," 123–83.

terms of what Bassi taught and the people she probably reached, it made little difference whether the teaching was done at home or at the institute.

LAURA BASSI WAS FAR MORE SUCCESSFUL dealing with Rome, where she indeed had powerful patrons, especially after Cardinal Lambertini became Pope Benedict XIV in 1740. In Rome, she also had Flaminio Scarselli, a family friend, and Monsignor Leprotti, who was an intellectual within the church. In the early 1700s, while in Bologna, Leprotti had been part of the Accademia degli Inquieti, the institution that predated the Academy of Sciences. Leprotti kept up his contacts with Bologna's scientific circles, had met Bassi while she was still Tacconi's student and been favorably impressed. Through his correspondence with Giovanni Bianchi, he continued to hear glowing reports on Bassi's abilities.⁷³ These contacts were to prove extremely useful in 1745 when Pope Benedict decided to create the group of Benedettini Academics within the Academy of Sciences out of funds controlled by the papacy. The new members were to be the heads of the scientific sections at the institute, their assistants, the institute's president, and its secretary, for a total of fourteen Benedettini. The other ten members, also from the Academy of Sciences, were to be selected by those fourteen, of whom Veratti was not one, and then the list was to be sent to the pope for approval.⁷⁴ When Bassi learned, probably from Beccari, who was the head of the chemistry section, that her name was not among the ten chosen members, she decided to appeal through Scarselli to the pope. Bassi suggested that an extra Benedettino Academic be created so that none of the scientists already selected could accuse her of taking his place. Bassi also offered an explanation of why she had not given dissertations at the academy's meetings: some scholars had deliberately attempted to stop her from participating in the life of the academy. Scarselli's advice was to find someone in Bologna who would mention her as a possible candidate to the cardinal legate, and then her name would appear in the list of Benedettini Academics when it went to the pope. This did not happen, and efforts on behalf of her selection shifted to the Vatican. Scarselli, Monsignor Malvezzi, the master of chamber, and Monsignor Leprotti all suggested to Benedict XIV that Bassi's name be added to the list of Benedettini Academics as an extra member, and the pope promptly complied.⁷⁵

Attempts followed on the part of some new members to limit her role among

⁷³ Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto*, 72–73; Marta Cavazza, "Giandomenico Cassini e la progettazione dell'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna," in Cremante and Tega, *Scienza e letteratura*, 26. For Bianchi's letters to Leprotti, see BGR, Sc.Ms. 963 alla data: *Lettere autografe*; for Leprotti to Bianchi, see BGR, March 4, 1733, in Fondo: *Gambetti*, Posizione: Leprotti; Mario Rosa, *Riformatori e ribelli nel 700 religioso italiano* (Bari, 1969), 72.

⁷⁴ Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 75.

⁷⁵ Beccari appears also to have nominated Veratti, his ex-student, to a Benedettina position. See Beccari's letters dating from 1745 to his cousin Scarselli in Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (hereafter, BUB), Ms. 243; Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 9: 193; Bassi's petition for a membership and her letters to Scarselli of April 21, 1745, May 12, 1745, June 5, 1745, June 19, 1745, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 103–09; Scarselli's answers, April 23, 1745, in Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 108–10; and BCAB, Letters no. 5, Rome, May 25, 1745, no. 6, June 12, 1745, no. 7, June 26, 1745, Ms. Scarselli, I, 3–17.

the Benedettini. In a letter to Scarselli dated November 21, 1745, Bassi reported that, during a meeting neither she nor her husband could attend, some academics tried to deny her voting rights in the new academy—a right she had held in the Academy of Sciences since 1732. Scarselli then contacted Galeazzi, the head of physics at the time, with the suggestion that if the Benedettini had any doubts about Bassi's voting rights, they were to contact the pope for clarification on that point. In a letter to Bassi, Scarselli voiced his opinion of the whole affair: "Monsignor Leprotti and I were surprised, not to say nauseated, by the extravagant difficulties the institute attempted to create without any reasonable foundation."⁷⁶

Her appointment as Benedettina Academic was of pivotal importance in her career as a scientist. It meant that Bassi could collaborate with her husband and others. Moreover, from then on, she had full access to all the academy's facilities, and her output of dissertations rose to the level of other Benedettini. She also received 100 lire for being a member of the academy, plus reimbursement for materials used while carrying out experiments at the institute.⁷⁷

It is important to look at some of Bassi's supporters, without whom she would have been unable to play a role in the intellectual life of the town. Among the laymen was Jacopo Beccari, a former professor of physics and then chemistry at the institute and a scientist of international renown.⁷⁸ Beccari, along with Gabriele Manfredi, had been Bassi's examiner during her first public debate. From his 1732 letters, one can surmise that Beccari had been impressed with Bassi's abilities. In a language free of misogynist statements, the scientist hoped that Bassi would be allowed to continue on her chosen path.⁷⁹ He also supported Maria Gaetana Agnesi after she had been named lecturer in mathematics at the university by the Bologna Senate. Beccari had begged Agnesi to come to Bologna and teach.⁸⁰ Later on, Bassi, Beccari, and Veratti collaborated in several experiments at the academy, one when Father Giambattista Beccaria—the foremost defender of the Franklinian system in Italy—visited the institute for several months. Bassi always considered Beccari a friend and teacher.⁸¹

Bassi's patrons included highly placed prelates, such as Giulio Alberoni, who helped Bassi in her struggles with the Senate. Cardinal Alberoni came from a humble background: his father was a gardener; his mother, a weaver. He was able to study because of a benefactor. His rise to the highest ranks of the church had

⁷⁶ Bassi to Scarselli, November 25, 1745, and December 11, 1745, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 115–17; BCAB, Letter no. 9 to Bassi, December 4, 1745, in Ms. Scarselli, I, 3–17.

⁷⁷ ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Istituto*, serie: *Diversorum*, Busta 9, fasc. 18, Accademia Benedettina: *Dissertazioni degli Accademici Benedettini, 1757–1776*. For Bassi's dissertations, see note 32 above; for those of other academics, see Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 222–65.

⁷⁸ Beccari had been made a member of the Royal Society of London for his extensive work on phosphorescence. See Rosen, "Academy of Sciences," 109–11; Maria Boas Hall, "La scienza italiana vista dalla Royal Society," in Cremante and Tega, *Scienza e letteratura*, 52.

⁷⁹ BCAB, see Letters no. 1730, 1734, 1736, 1737 of Beccari to friend, s.d., in *Collez. Aut. VI*, 1710–39.

⁸⁰ Tilche, *Maria Gaetana Agnesi*, 90–91.

⁸¹ Giambattista Beccaria, *Elettricismo atmosferico: Lettere di Giambattista Beccaria* (Bologna, 1758), 28–30; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter, BAV), Laura Bassi to Father Beccaria (1766), in *Lettere di Laura Bassi Verati a Giambattista Beccaria*, Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 45.

been achieved through his ability and determination.⁸² Cardinal Alessandro Albani, cardinal protector of the Collegio Montalto, who nominated Bassi as lecturer to the college, was, in addition, librarian at the Vatican. He had been responsible together with his brother for modernizing the teaching at the college; in this, they had the help of Cardinal Lambertini while he was archbishop of Bologna.⁸³

Bassi's most important patron was Lambertini, the Bolognese noble who later became Pope Benedict XIV. Lambertini was an intellectual with several publications to his name; he was also a self-made man who achieved his position through work and intelligence, not as a representative of a great family, as former popes had been. Lambertini was responsible for university reforms during his papacy. He founded several academies in Rome and reformed its university as well. In Bologna, besides the foundation of the Benedettina Academy, he donated instruments and materials to the institute, established a chair of surgery, and opened a school of obstetrics to train midwives. Lambertini also lifted the restriction on works defending the Copernican system, including Galileo's works. It is an indication of the intellectual turmoil the Italian Catholic church was going through in the eighteenth century that Lambertini was considered a moderate during that period compared to some of the prelates surrounding him, men such as Leprotti, Ruggero Boscovich, and Cardinal Querini, the Vatican Library's prefect. These men would have preferred to move faster and farther in the church's reforms of society, the sciences, and education. The fact that Bassi was determined to work for her money only served to endear her to Lambertini and others like him, who were very critical of lecturers who did not.⁸⁴ There is no doubt that Bassi would have achieved very little without Lambertini's support; however, she was not the only woman he helped attain academic positions or degrees. Agnesi was made lecturer in mathematics at the university through his efforts. Cristina Roccati received a degree in mathematics and philosophy from the same university in 1751. Also during Lambertini's lifetime, Faustina Pignatelli, Emilie du Châtelet, and Anne Marie du Bocage were made members of the Bologna Academy of Sciences, and Anna Morandi Manzolini was made a member of the institute's Accademia Clementina.⁸⁵ A combination of reformist currents within the church and the personal intervention of a few enlightened clergymen opened opportunities for talented women like Bassi.

⁸² See Bruno Pirazzoli, "La formazione filosofica del Card. Giulio Alberoni," *Archivio storico per le Province Parmense*, quarta serie, 39 (1987): 321–55.

⁸³ Cagni, "Il Pontefico Collegio 'Montalto,'" 81–100.

⁸⁴ For reforms in the church, see Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, 102–03; Rosa, "Benedetto XIV," 393–409; Rosa, *Riformatori e ribelli*, 50–85; Giuseppe Alberigo, "Cattolicità e Ecumenicità nel settecento," in G. Benzoni and M. Pegrari, eds., *Cultura, religione e politica nell'età di Angelo Maria Querini* (Brescia, 1982), 9–21. For the reforms that pertained to Lambertini and Bologna, see Viviana Lanzarini, "Il museo ostetrico di Giovanni Galli," in *I laboratori storici e i musei dell'Università di Bologna: I luoghi del conoscere* (Bologna, 1988), 105–13; W. Tega, "Introduzione," in Tega, *Anatomie Accademiche*, 1: 28–32; "Benedetto XIV e la scienza fisica: Nella Bologna del settecento nasce un papa Galileiano-Newtoniano," *Bologna Incontri*, 17 (giugno 1986): 26–30.

⁸⁵ For Agnesi, see Tilche, *Maria Gaetana Agnesi*, 90–91; for Morandi Manzolini, see V. Ottani and G. Giuliani-Piccari, "L'opera di Anna Morandi Manzolini nella ceroplastica anatomica bolognese," in *Alma Mater Studiorum*, 82–83; for Roccati, see *Alma Mater Studiorum*, 207; for Pignatelli, du Châtelet, and du Bocage, see Anne Marie du Bocage, *Recueil des oeuvres de Madame du Bocage*, Vol. 3 (Lyons, 1764), 180.

BASED ON THE DISSERTATIONS SHE PRESENTED YEARLY at the academy, Bassi's scientific output primarily concerned the physical sciences. With her training in mathematics, she was able to handle the classical sciences such as mechanics—which included hydraulics—and optics, as well as the Baconian sciences of electricity, magnetism, and heat.⁸⁶ When Bassi participated in any experiments in the biological sciences, it was usually to assist her husband or friends, such as in 1747 when Veratti was engaged at the academy's request in repeating Giovanni Francesco Pivati's experiments on the effectiveness of electric therapy.

The results of these experiments along with others were published as a book in 1748. In it, Veratti claimed, as did others, that the electrification of glass tubes containing medicinal substances allowed these substances to pass through the glass into the atmosphere. He also found that electricity by itself helped cure diseases such as arthritis. In the section dealing with the physical properties of electricity, Veratti criticized Abbé Nollet's double flux theory, which, according to Veratti, reduced electrical attraction and repulsion to a simple case of electricity "running from a body to another." To Veratti, the "electrical virtue, like attraction, was universally scattered and diffused in all corporeal nature," and the electric fluid, like light, had the property to be attracted by some bodies and rejected by others.⁸⁷ The book was discussed at the Royal Society of London and was attacked by Joseph Priestley, Benjamin Franklin, and others who did not accept the notion that electricity might induce porosity in glass.⁸⁸ Nollet, whose theory had been rejected by Veratti, made a special trip to Italy in 1749 to ascertain the Italian claims.

It is from Nollet's ensuing correspondence with the Bologna Academy, from Bassi's correspondence with friends in defense of the reputation of the Bologna scientists involved in the dispute, and from one of her dissertations published in 1791 (first presented to the academy in 1747) that we learn of her collaboration with her husband in some of the experiments.⁸⁹ Bassi's apparent contribution to Veratti's work received no mention in his book. If Bassi had not been made a member of the Benedettina Academy responsible for her own experiments, we could not have distinguished her contributions to Veratti's scientific research

⁸⁶ Thomas S. Kuhn, "Mathematical versus Experimental Traditions in the Development of Physical Science," in Kuhn, *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago, 1977), 31–65.

⁸⁷ In his book, Veratti defined electricity sometimes as a "force," other times as "matter," or "virtue," and still other times as a "fluid." See Giuseppe Veratti, *Osservazioni fisico-mediche intorno alla elettricità* (Bologna, 1748), 1–141; for the physical properties of electricity, see in particular 127–28, 140–41; J. L. Heilbron, *Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979), 354; Joseph Priestley, *The History and Present State of Electricity*, Vol. 1 (1769; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 179–88.

⁸⁸ I. Bernard Cohen, *Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science* . . . (Philadelphia, 1956), 477; Priestley, *History and Present State of Electricity*, 1: 179–88.

⁸⁹ "De immixto fluidis aere," *Commentarii*, vol. 7, 1791, 44–47; for the dispute, see BCAB, Letter no. 34 of Abbé Nollet to Francesco Maria Zanotti, July 3, 1749; attached to Letter no. 39 to Zanotti: *Extrait d'une relation lue à l'Académie des Sciences de Paris par M. l'Abbé Nollet*; Letter no. 45 of Nollet to Zanotti, Montpellier, March 21, 1750, all in *Lettere di diversi a Francesco Maria Zanotti*. For Bassi's correspondence with Scarselli, see November 12, 1749, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Veratti," 140–41; Scarselli's Letters no. 15, Rome, November 5, 1749, and no. 16, Rome, November 19, 1749, to Bassi in BCAB, Ms. Scarselli, I, 3–17. For Nollet's version of the events, see Bibliothèque Municipale de Soissons, Ms. 150: Abbé Nollet, *Journal du Voyage de Piemont et D'Italie en 1749*, 110–16.

from his. Bassi's initially acrimonious relationship with Abbé Nollet improved with time and was useful to her years later. In 1753, he sent her special converging lenses she needed to correct for aberrations in telescopes. The results of her subsequent experiments appeared as dissertations in 1762 and 1763 titled, respectively, "On Iceland Glass" and "On a Way to Correct in Telescopes the Inconvenience Derived from the Different Refractions of Rays, Which Unite at Different Points in the Axis Depending on Their Color." Since these dissertations were never published, and they have been lost, we do not know if she succeeded in making an achromatic lens. In the 1760s, Nollet also suggested several demonstrations in electricity that Bassi could present to her students to illustrate its principles.⁹⁰

After Bassi and her husband acquired a machine to produce electricity at home, they were able to assist young scientists in a disputation with Tommaso Laghi about Albert Haller's theory, presented in 1752, on the irritability of muscles and the sensitivity of nerves. In 1756, Laghi, an established member of the academy and university, attacked Haller's theory, a topic of particular interest to Veratti. Laghi, in turn, was criticized by several scientists in Italy, among them MarcAntonio Caldani and Felice Fontana, who set out to prove Laghi wrong but who had trouble gaining access to the machine and material necessary to carry out experiments to confirm Haller's thesis. The experiments were done at Veratti and Bassi's home. In a letter to Haller, Caldani acknowledged the couple's kindness and their most valued assistance in doing the experiments. Laghi's, Caldani's, and Fontana's experiments, along with later experiments by Veratti on the same topic, laid the groundwork for further work in the same academy by Luigi Galvani, who eventually arrived at the concept of animal electricity.⁹¹ Bassi never presented dissertations on irritability; however, when Madame du Bocage visited the academy in 1757, Bassi conducted several experiments on irritability for the benefit of du Bocage, a neophyte in natural philosophy. Bassi's dissertations to the academy at the time were on mathematics.⁹²

In 1769, Bassi participated in a debate outside her usual area of interest. It had been occasioned by the book of her ex-student and cousin, Lazzaro Spallanzani, *Podromo di un'opera sopra la riproduzione in animali*, published in 1768. Spallanzani had maintained that snails were able to grow back a new head if the original had been cut off. The scientist had assumed that when he removed the snail's head, he had also removed its brain or ganglia. Some disputed Spallanzani's results and

⁹⁰ Ruggero Boscovich's dissertation in which he reported the invention of achromatic objectives, which abolished the need for objectives with long focal lengths in telescopes, was published in the Bologna *Commentarii* in 1767. It had been presented at the academy by the end of 1763, several months after Bassi had presented her dissertation on the subject. See Dissertation 148 in Tega, *Anatomie Accademice*, 1: 242; for Nollet's letters to Bassi, see Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 95–102; and Abbé Nollet, *Lettres sur l'électricité: Dans lesquelles on trouvera les principaux phenomenes qui ont été decouvert depuis 1760* (Paris, 1770), 274–95.

⁹¹ Haller's theory stated that in the body there were irritable or non-sensitive parts, which contracted when touched (muscles), and that there were also sensitive, or non-irritable parts, which once touched transmitted the impression to the mind (nerves). Laghi believed that the movement of an organism was the effect of "spirits that flowed along the nerves"; see Tega, "Introduzione," in *Anatomie Accademice*, 2: 23–25, 32–35; BUB, MarcAntonio Caldani, "Sull'insensibilità ed irritabilità di alcune parti degli animali: Lettera scritta ad Albert Haller, 25 novembre 1756," 323–25.

⁹² For Bassi's dissertations in 1757, see note 32; du Bocage, *Recueil des oeuvres*, 180.

objected, correctly, that in those that survived, the ganglia had remained, and what the snail reproduced was only part of its head.⁹³

The controversy on the reproduction of the snail's head lasted several years, and Spallanzani, whose reputation was already considerable at the time, won out, in spite of his errors.⁹⁴ During the first years of the debate, Spallanzani had asked several scientists, including Bassi, to repeat the experiments. In the spring and summer of 1769, and again in the spring of 1770, Bassi conducted the experiments according to Spallanzani's instructions and on the snails provided by him, and Spallanzani checked the results in person. Nothing is known of Bassi's results, despite Spallanzani's assurance that they would be published.⁹⁵ When he published the various scientists' results on the reproduction of the snail's head in 1783, Bassi's findings were not among them.⁹⁶ The reason for this omission was not stated. Perhaps she had not completed the experiments to his satisfaction; perhaps Spallanzani felt that by 1783, four years after her death, it was not important to include her name; or perhaps Bassi had arrived at a conclusion that Spallanzani did not desire.

OF THE THIRTY-ONE DISSERTATIONS Bassi presented to the Academy of Sciences, ten dealt with fluid mechanics. By showing an interest in fluids, Bassi was following in the footsteps of other Bolognese scientists, such as Domenico Guglielmini. Water was of particular concern to the region's inhabitants, some of whom sought to ensure that the plain was properly drained and others that the water from the rivers arrived in the town by means of canals, since much of Bolognese industry (paper, hemp, or silk) was water propelled at the time. Through the study of fluid mechanics, the academy could prove itself useful to the town.⁹⁷ One of Bassi's published works, or *opuscula*, fit into this category.

The *opusculum*, published in 1757, tested the laws concerning the flow of liquids through openings. Bassi used Guglielmini's and Bernardino Zendrini's method, which calculated the quantity and average velocity of water exiting a hole and extended it to apply to two or more holes of known dimensions and positions under water. Once these solutions were found, and after considerable simplification, Bassi was able to derive an equation that could be used to determine the position and size of another hole of similar shape under water. Her method of finding a practical solution to a complicated problem was considered interesting and elegant by one of her contemporaries, as was her approach to solving a problem in classical mechanics that appeared in the same volume.⁹⁸ In this second

⁹³ Moreover, in the book, Spallanzani stated that salamanders and earthworms were also able to grow back certain parts of their bodies after ablation. But the debate centered on the snail's ability to reproduce its head; see Spallanzani, *Le opere*, 120–211, 211 n.

⁹⁴ Spallanzani, *Le opere*, 211 n.

⁹⁵ Bassi to Spallanzani, April 30, 1760, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 66. Spallanzani to Bassi, April 24, 1769–March 10, 1770, and Spallanzani to Charles Bonnet, in Biagi, ed., *Epistolario di Lazzaro Spallanzani*, 177, 180–86, 196–97, 201–03, 232–33.

⁹⁶ Spallanzani, *Le opere*, 211–78.

⁹⁷ Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto*, 187–88, 204–06; Dal Pane, *Economica e Società a Bologna*, 72–73, 98.

⁹⁸ Laurae Bassiae, "De problemate quodam hydrometrico," *Commentarii*, vol. 4, 1757, 61–73;

opusculum, Bassi used differential calculus to determine the motion of the center of mass of two or more bodies moving along any curved paths in a plane. If the two bodies had uniform rectilinear motion, rather than curvilinear motion, the problem was reduced to Lemma XXIII, Book I of Newton's *Principia Mathematica*. This work by Bassi was part of a trend in dissertations in the academy's journal, the *Commentarii*, which concentrated on classical mechanics and avoided the metaphysical and empirical assumptions about the nature of matter that had tended to characterize such analyses previously.⁹⁹

Two further works by Bassi appeared in the *Commentarii* in the form of summaries, one in 1745 and another in 1791. The first dealt with deviations from Boyle's law, which states that the product of the volume of a gas and the pressure it exerts on a container, at constant temperature, is a constant.¹⁰⁰ Doubts had appeared as to the general validity of the law. Domenico Galeazzi in 1732, while testing deviations in the Amontonian thermometer, which was based on Boyle's law, found that its deviations were caused by variations in the elasticity of the air.¹⁰¹ Bassi not only repeated the experiments in which the elasticity of the air was studied at different pressures and temperatures but also made new investigations using air taken in days that varied from being very humid to being dry. While she found that the relationship between volume and pressure established by Boyle's law was approached on dry days, it broke down on humid days. On humid days, Bassi could not contract the air to half the volume by doubling the pressure; this led her to ask whether it was possible that "humours" in the air affected its elasticity and therefore the results. Eventually, she concluded that the relationship between volume and pressure established by Boyle's law was not universally applicable. This was well before scientists had a detailed understanding of the behavior of vapor under pressure.¹⁰² The experiments were considered important enough to her Bolognese contemporaries that the institute's secretary published a summary of her results before the experiments were finished. A eulogy on her death pronounced them her most important contribution to physics.¹⁰³

The 1791 publication appeared thirteen years after her death, when physicists, according to the secretary of the institute, Canterzani, were attempting to formulate mathematically forces of attraction at the smallest distances, such as

BAV, Pio Fantoni to Giovanni Amaduzzi, April 22, 1778, in *Lettere a Giovanni Amaduzzi*, Vat. Lat. 9036, ff. 114–15.

⁹⁹ Laurae Bassiae, "De problemate quodam mechanico," *Commentarii*, vol. 4, 1757, 74–79. For the debate on *vis viva* as it affected the European scientific community in the first half of the eighteenth century, see Carolyn Iltis, "Leibnizian-Newtonian Debates: Natural Philosophy and Social Psychology," *British Journal for the History of Science*, 6, no. 24 (1973): 343–77; as it affected the Academy of Sciences of Bologna, see Luigi Neri, "Mechanica," in Tega, *Anatomie Accademiche*, 2: 175–78.

¹⁰⁰ *Opusculum* no. 36 in Tega, *Anatomie Accademiche*, 1: 158.

¹⁰¹ Leon N. Cooper, *An Introduction to the Meaning and Structure of Physics* (New York, 1968), 334–35.

¹⁰² Vapor does not follow Boyle's law as it approaches the critical point where it becomes saturated and begins to liquefy. "De aeris compressione," *Commentarii*, vol. 2, pt. 1^a, 1745, 347–53; A. W. Smith and J. M. Cooper, *Elements of Physics* (New York, 1964), 406; s.v. "Laura Bassi Verati," *DBI*, 7: 146.

¹⁰³ "De aeris compressione," 347–48; see the *Elogio* in BCAB, B. 2727: "Pubblica Accademia di lettere avutasi nel Collegio Montalto."

those that caused the raising and lowering of fluids in capillary tubes.¹⁰⁴ Bassi's dissertation, which was presented in 1747, had been motivated by Alexis Clairaut's *Théorie de la figure de la terre* (1743), in which he analyzed the capillary phenomena in terms of attractive forces acting between the molecules of a capillary tube and the molecules of a fluid.¹⁰⁵ Bassi's experiments concerned the action of air dissolved in various liquids that were contained in different shaped vessels, including capillary tubes, once the air pressure was removed. Finding that air bubbles appeared more intensely in capillaries, she assumed that this phenomenon was a result of the greater attraction exercised by the glass surface on the air and liquids. She did not find this idea contradictory, since in electric phenomena as well, pointed and angled objects showed a greater force of attraction.¹⁰⁶

Her work is interesting on several levels: first of all, it illustrates well Bassi's Newtonian tendencies; secondly, it demonstrates her knowledge of recent debates in the physical sciences; thirdly, the work reveals Bassi's early experiments in electricity and her awareness that pointed objects attracted electricity, a discovery made at approximately the same time, if not earlier than, Benjamin Franklin's explanation of the phenomenon. Fourthly, the publication of the paper after Bassi's death indicates that the academy then possessed her dissertations in manuscript form, although most of them have since been lost.¹⁰⁷

In the *Commentarii*, there is evidence of further scientific activity by Bassi, sometimes in collaboration with her husband. In 1747, Laghi, in his dissertation concerning the reddish ashes produced by the burning of two types of deciduous woods, mentioned that similar experiments had been carried out earlier by Bassi.¹⁰⁸ From 1756 to 1761, Bassi and Veratti also helped Gregorio Casali with two sets of experiments. The first dealt with the force released by gunpowder. Casali believed that the force was dependent on the elasticity of the air. Bassi, Veratti, and Beccari, who shared his views, not only advised Casali on what experiments might be attempted but also assisted him.¹⁰⁹ Before 1761, both Veratti and Bassi again assisted Casali in gathering data from a series of experiments dealing with the shattering of glass.¹¹⁰

Unpublished dissertations, summaries, and *opuscula* are evidence of Bassi's extensive activities at the academy, yet they represent only a fraction of the activities she described in her correspondence. Evidently, those activities did not translate into extensive publications. Fantuzzi in his eulogy wrote that such paucity of publications was due to domestic cares, pregnancies, and her constant

¹⁰⁴ The mathematical formulation that attempted to find molecular parallels to Newton's gravitation was published by Laplace in his *Exposition du système du monde* (1796); see Louis L. Bucciarelli and Nancy Dworsky, *Sophie Germain: An Essay in the History of the Theory of Elasticity* (Dordrecht, 1980), 68–69. For Canterzani's statements, see "De immixto fluidis aere," *Commentarii*, vol. 7, 1791, 47.

¹⁰⁵ The academy was very familiar with Clairaut's works. The author was mentioned in several of the academy members' publications. See Tega, *Anatomie Accademice*, 1: 186, 312, 325, 362, 422; Bucciarelli and Dworsky, *Sophie Germain*, 134 n–135 n.

¹⁰⁶ "De immixto fluidis aere," 44–47.

¹⁰⁷ "De immixto fluidis aere," 44–47; Cohen, *Franklin and Newton*, 436; Priestley, *History and Present State of Electricity*, 1: 206–07.

¹⁰⁸ T. Laghi, "De rubentibus lignorum cineribus," *Commentarii*, vol. 2, pt. 3^a, 1747, 392–402.

¹⁰⁹ G. Casali, "De ictu pulveris pyrii," *Commentarii*, vol. 5, pt. 2^a, 1766, 362–63, 371.

¹¹⁰ G. Casali, "De quorundam vitrorum fracturis," *Commentarii*, vol. 5, pt. 2^a, 184.

occupation with the course she taught in experimental physics.¹¹¹ While this course may have hindered her writing (it was given regularly after 1749), Fantuzzi's statements may also simply be indicative of what was expected of women. Bassi was scientifically active and published papers while her children were still young. Domestic cares probably had little effect on her; throughout her married life, Bassi always had female servants at her disposal and lived with her mother until the latter's death.¹¹²

In a letter to Abbot Giovanni Amaduzzi, Veratti provides us with the best clue to Bassi's low number of publications: "Her few publications can be found in the Acts of our academy; many other *opuscula* exist pertaining to several subjects in physics, which she recited in the public or private sessions of the academy but did not publish because on that point she was very difficult. I will communicate them to my friends in due time, letting them decide if they are worthy of being inserted in the Acts of the academy."¹¹³ Possibly Bassi was a perfectionist who not only lacked time but also had reservations about the quality and importance of her dissertations and so was reluctant to have them published. Since we know from the posthumous publication of one of her *opuscula* that the academy kept her dissertations, it also appears that Veratti's friends did not believe most of them were worthy of publication after her death. Even had she wanted to publish her five *opuscula* on electricity, which were presented after 1766, she would have been unable to do so; the journal of the academy was not published between 1766 and 1783.¹¹⁴ In fact, the number of her publications, two *opuscula* and two summaries, was about average for members of the academy. Of the seventy-five authors who appeared in the *Commentarii* during its existence, fifty-five had less than four *opuscula* to their name. Galvani, the most famous scientist at the academy, had only three of his dissertations published. As the journal did not appear often enough to include all the dissertations, many were left out, especially those on electricity, including all of Bassi's contributions.¹¹⁵ Consequently, information about her work on electricity and the debates with which she was involved are known to us only through the correspondence she maintained with the scientists involved and through the works of the scientists themselves.

Bassi appears to have become interested in the physical properties of electricity as early as 1746, when she and Veratti acquired their electric machine. She

¹¹¹ Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 2: 390.

¹¹² Bassi's publications appeared in 1745 and 1757; the children's dates of birth were: Giovanni in December 1738, Caterina Maria in December 1739, Caterina Maria Anna in January 1742, Ciro in February 1744, Caterina Maria Teresa in March 1745, Giacomo in July 1749, Flaminio in March 1751, Paolo in January 1753; see AAB, *Libro dei battezzati della metropolitana di Bologna*, for 1738, p. 264, 1740, p. 1, 1742, p. 8, 1744, p. 28, 1745, p. 58, 1749, p. 160, 1751, p. 74, 1753, p. 16. In 1755, only five of those children were still alive: four sons and one daughter. At the time of her death in 1778, only four sons remained. See AAB, *Status animarum*, per la Parrocchia di San Barbaziano, casa Sacchi, from 1739–56, and from 1776–78; Bassi to Scarselli, June 14, 1755, in Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 146–47; Bassi's epitaph at the Church of Corpus Christi in Bologna, x cal. martiis an. MDCCLXXVIII, placed by Veratti and sons.

¹¹³ Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatri di Savignano sul Rubicone (hereafter, RAFSR), Veratti to Amaduzzi, March 28, 1778, in *Lettere a Giovanni Cristofaro Amaduzzi*, vol. 1, no. 16, p. 47.

¹¹⁴ See *Commentarii*, vol. 5, pt. 1^a e 2^a, 1766, and vol. 6, 1783.

¹¹⁵ The institute's secretaries, F. M. Zanotti and S. Canterzani, tended to favor physics publications with a mathematical bent to them. See Urbinati, "Physica," 503–04; Tega, *Anatomie Accademiche*, 1: 503–04.

presented no dissertations on the subject until 1760. In 1756, however, Bassi met Father Beccaria, from the University of Turin, while he was visiting Bologna. She corresponded with him until her death, and he seems to have increased her interest in electricity. Beccaria, who had written in 1753 *Dell'elettricismo artificiale e naturale*, to "the applause of the learned," supported Franklin's theory, which expounded the idea of conservation of charge and rejected Nollet's notion of a double fluid. Franklin's supporters viewed electricity as one fluid, whose particles were able to act at a distance, run through conductors, and be arrested by insulators; they also believed that like charges repel and unlike charges attract each other. Franklin and others had understood some of electricity's fundamental properties, and they were instrumental in laying the foundation for the laws of the electrostatic force exerted between charged point bodies that were set forth by Charles Coulomb in 1788.¹¹⁶

During his stay at Bologna, Beccaria (in collaboration with Bassi, Veratti, and Casali) engaged in a series of experiments on electricity at the academy. In his book *Elettricismo atmosferico*, Beccaria recorded an experiment suggested by Bassi that, according to him, supported the theory of the universal diffusion of the electric fluid.¹¹⁷ Thanks to Beccaria, we have one of the few surviving records of an experiment in electricity suggested by Bassi.

It is from her correspondence with Beccaria and with Abbot Felice Fontana, one of her ex-students, that we know that Bassi was a supporter of the Franklinian system and that she continued to support it when many former Franklinians, such as Fontana and Carlo Barletti, had abandoned the field. In 1759, the Englishman Robert Symmer, through his experiments on the "contrary electricity" of black and white stockings, had resurrected the thesis of two distinct electric powers. Electricity did not consist of the afflux and efflux of those fluids as suggested by Nollet but the accumulation of one or the other of them in electrified bodies.¹¹⁸ In a 1768 letter to Bassi, Fontana expressed his doubts about the Franklinian system of electricity, which he believed too general to explain certain effects.¹¹⁹ This letter was indicative of the controversy that arose in the 1760s when the Franklinian system failed to explain why bodies deficient in electricity repel one another (minus-minus repulsion). The controversy recommended the Symmerian system to many and forced defenders of the Franklinian system, such as Beccaria, to justify it by repeating experiments. To refute Symmer, Beccaria coined the term *vindex* electricity, first mentioned in a 1767 letter to Franklin and illustrated by many experiments in his *Experimenta atque observationes*

¹¹⁶ According to Heilbron, Franklin did not "discover" conservation of charge but was the "first to exploit the concept fruitfully." See Heilbron, *Electricity*, 330, 365; see also Tega, "Introduzione," *Anatomie Accademiche*, 30–31; Priestley, *History and Present State of Electricity*, 1: 308; Emilio Segrè, *Dalla caduta dei gravi alle onde elettro-magnetiche: Personaggi e scoperte nella Fisica classica* (Milano, 1983), 147, 151–52; David Halliday and Robert Resnick, *Physics*, 3d edn. (New York, 1978), 566–75.

¹¹⁷ Beccaria, *Elettricismo atmosferico*, 28–30.

¹¹⁸ Priestley, *History and Present State of Electricity*, 1: 303–33; Antonio Pace, *Benjamin Franklin and Italy* (Philadelphia, 1958), 22–25; Heilbron, *Electricity*, 431–34.

¹¹⁹ BCAB, Fontana to Bassi, Letter no. 8024, Florence, June 10, 1768, in *Lettere di Felice Fontana*, Collez. Aut. XXIX, 7992–8054.

quibus electricitas vindex constituitur atque explicatur (1769), a defense of the one-fluid system.¹²⁰

Bassi, who corresponded regularly with Beccaria, also contributed to the debate. By March 1769, having received Beccaria's latest work on *vindex* electricity and having already done some experiments on her own, Bassi communicated to him her reservations about this new double-fluid theory.¹²¹ Bassi's participation in the controversy is also confirmed by an incomplete copy in her handwriting of a series of experiments done by Beccaria and repeated by her, along with her intention of doing new ones to disprove the double-fluid theory.¹²² In 1771, Bassi presented to the academy a dissertation on *vindex* electricity, but it was never published. This work was nevertheless sufficiently developed to be sent to Abbot Fontana in 1775. From Fontana's reply, it is clear that Bassi was certain of the validity of Franklin's theory, since Fontana answered, "You have expressed in most ingenious and subtle terms of physics a defense of the Franklinian system."¹²³

From Bassi's letter to Beccaria of March 26, 1769, we also know that she had discovered that glass conducted electricity when heated. Joseph Priestley had come to the same conclusion in 1767. It is not known whether she had been aware of his experiments.¹²⁴ Three years earlier, Bassi and her husband were testing the effect of electricity on various substances. Similar tests were also carried out by Beccaria and Priestley. In 1774, Bassi had decided to set up an "observatory" at the family's country house, where she hoped that she, Veratti, and Beccaria could spend time experimenting on atmospheric electricity. Bassi and Veratti were also interested in the effect of electricity on magnetism; they suggested correctly, like Franklin, that there was a close relationship between the two. Bassi gave no dissertation on magnetism. Yet, by 1774, she was interested in investigating variations of the magnetic needle.¹²⁵ Carried out during the period that preceded any significant quantification in electricity,¹²⁶ Bassi's experiments appear to have been up to the standards of most workers in the field. Following the methodology she had embraced in 1732, Bassi helped advance the understanding of electricity.

Laura Bassi's extensive commitment to physics is reflected in her correspondence, which after 1745, the year she was made a member of the Benedettina

¹²⁰ A. Pace, "Giambattista Beccaria," *DBI*, 7: 469–71; Pace, *Franklin and Italy*, 22–25; Heilbron, *Electricity*, 407–20, 446.

¹²¹ BAV, Beccaria to Bassi, December 26, 1768, f. 74, April 19, 1769, f. 70, in Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 48, *Lettere di P. Beccaria a Laura Bassi e Giuseppe Veratti*; BAV, Bassi to Beccaria, Letter no. 2, March 22, 1769, no. 3: April 26, 1769, in Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 45.

¹²² See the back of a letter by Spallanzani to Bassi, July 14, 1768, in BCAB, *Spallanzani, Lazzaro*, Collez. Aut. LXVI, 17923–963.

¹²³ In 1769, Volta explained the Symmerian effect as a case of electrical induction, although Beccaria did not accept it. See BCAB, Letter no. 8028 of Fontana, Florence, May 9, 1775, in Collez. Aut. XXIX, 7992–8054; Pace, *Franklin and Italy*, 24.

¹²⁴ Joseph Priestley was the discoverer of oxygen and the author of a book on electricity. BAV, Bassi to Beccaria, Letter no. 2, March 22, 1769, in Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 45; Priestley, *History and Present State of Electricity*, 2: 201–06; Segrè, *Dalla caduta dei gravi*, 148.

¹²⁵ BAV, Bassi's Letters no. 1, s.d. (1766), and no. 5, April 9, 1774, in Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 45; BAV, Beccaria to Bassi, s.d., f. 66, in Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 48; Priestley, *History and Present State of Electricity*, 1: xxxv–xxxvi; Giuseppe Veratti, "Experimenta magnetica," *Commentarii*, vol. 6, 1783, 31–44; BCAB, Bassi to unknown, November 26, 1774, Collez. Aut. CV, no. 23843.

¹²⁶ Heilbron, *Electricity*, 449–89; Segrè, *Dalla caduta dei gravi*, 150.

Academy, became almost exclusively scientific.¹²⁷ That correspondence continued to expand and involve young men just starting out in the field of physics such as Marsilio Landriani and Alessandro Volta. The latter, who went on to become a major contributor to the field of electricity, wrote her several letters, after he had learned from Spallanzani of her interest in electricity. He mentioned experiments done with a gun containing either metallic air (hydrogen) or swamp air (methane), which needed deflogistic air (oxygen) and the flame of an electric spark to trigger an explosion. Bassi wanted to acquire some swamp air and attempt similar experiments, since in 1775 she had received Fontana's eudiometers, which measured the air salubrity, and had already given a dissertation on the effect of flame on fixed air (carbon dioxide).¹²⁸ This correspondence with Volta and Fontana as well as her dissertation indicate that Bassi was becoming involved in a debate concerning Lavoisier and his new oxygen theory and Priestley and the phlogiston theory. In Italy, Priestley was being defended by Fontana, and Lavoisier eventually by Spallanzani. Unfortunately, as Bassi's activities were brought to an end by her death in 1778, and her dissertation on fixed air was lost, we do not know where she stood in the controversy.¹²⁹

ON FEBRUARY 20, 1778, LAURA BASSI DIED SUDDENLY. Just the night before, she had attended a session of the Academy of Sciences.¹³⁰ Bassi was the product of a society with a long tradition of offering a high level of education to certain women of the aristocracy and professional elite. The rewards Bassi received for her education—a degree, lectureship, and membership in an academy—cannot be considered unique and were not considered so by those who conferred them. What made Bassi unique was that she made use of rewards that would normally have remained symbolic to carve out a position for herself in the scientific community of her town and to contribute to its intellectual life through her research and teaching. She would not have been able to contribute to this life as effectively if she had not actively engaged the support of the men who encouraged

¹²⁷ For Bassi's correspondence with Caldani and Nollet, see Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 56–62, 95–102; also Caldani to Bassi in BCAB, Letters no. 3668, 3672, 3674, 3676, 3685–3687, Collez. Aut. XII, 3666–3764. For Bassi's letters to Caldani, see Melli, "Epistolario di Laura Bassi Verati," 164, 168–69, 178; for her correspondence with Beccaria, see BAV, Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 45; and for Beccaria's letters to her, see BAV, Autografi: *Patteta*, cart. 48; and BCAB, *Lettere di Giambattista Beccaria a Laura Bassi ed al marito*, Collez. Aut. VI, 1741–54. For Fontana's letters, see BCAB, Collez. Aut. XXIX, 7992–8054; several letters from men of science from the latter period of Bassi's life are scattered throughout the *Collezione Autografi* of BCAB, as are some of her answers.

¹²⁸ For Landriani's letter, see BCAB, July 7, 1777, in *Lettere di Landriani Marsilio a Laura Bassi*, Collez. Aut. XXXVII; for Volta's achievements in the field of electricity, see Heilbron, *Electricity*, 449–89; Segrè, *Dalla caduta dei gravi*, 159–60; Volta's letters to Bassi in Cenerelli, ed., *Lettere inedite*, 157–59; Bassi to Volta, September 20, 1777, in *Epistolario di Alessandro Volta*, Francesco Massardi, ed. (Bologna, 1949–55), 1: 187; Fontana to Bassi, Letter no. 8030, April 30, 1775, in BCAB, Collez. Aut. XXIX, 7992–8054.

¹²⁹ For the role of Italian natural philosophers in the chemical revolution, see Marco Beretta, "Gli scienziati italiani e la rivoluzione chimica," *Nuncius*, 4, fasc. 2 (1989): 119–45; for Fontana's role in the debate and his invention of the eudiometer, see Peter K. Knoefel, *Felice Fontana, Life and Work* (Trento, 1984), 163–90.

¹³⁰ Bassi's death certificate is found in ASB, Fondo: *Assunteria di Studio*, serie: Requisiti dei lettori, Busta 31, lettera B, vol. 2, no. 21, February 21, 1778; RAFSR, Veratti to Amaduzzi, March 28, 1778, in *Lettere a Giovanni C. Amaduzzi*, vol. 1, no. 16, p. 47.

a larger role for women in the academic and scientific world; she was fortunate enough to have encountered such men, Cardinal Lambertini for one, who occupied powerful positions in society and government.

Bassi's determination to teach privately if she could not teach publicly helped her with reformers such as Lambertini, Alberoni, and Albani and, ultimately, elicited recognition from those who had been reluctant to let her teach publicly: the Bologna senators. As a teacher, Bassi contributed to the spread of Newtonian physics and the Franklinian system of electricity in Bologna and in Italy. In her scientific activities, Bassi, unlike most women of the period, did not merely dabble in science but concentrated on narrow fields of physics, kept abreast of the latest developments, and successfully concluded many experiments, which were then presented as dissertations to the academy. Like most physicists of the past and present, she did not make key contributions to physics. Her level of professionalism, however, made her a pioneer female physicist, and as such she was an exceptional case for her time. Her role as a woman teacher of men of university age was also exceptional, and as a teacher her influence was long lasting. She contributed to the intellectual development of many men of science, particularly her cousin, Spallanzani, whose contributions to medicine had lasting importance.

The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic

RICHARD KIECKHEFER

IN HER IMPORTANT RECENT STUDY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL MAGIC, Valerie Flint argues that the sheer nonrationality of magic, kept within bounds, gave it positive value: "There are forces better recognized as belonging to human society than repressed or left to waste away or growl about upon its fringes . . . Many of our forebears knew this." She applauds early medieval churchmen for encouraging an "unreason deeper than . . . reason." To be sure, when magic outlived its usefulness, it could become superstitious and irrational, "that is, damagingly upheld," but Flint does not recognize this decay as arguing against the benign nonrationality of magic in the early Middle Ages, the era following the initial missionary efforts in Western and Northern Europe.¹

The rationality of magic is a classic problem in both history and anthropology. Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science* sought to show a historical link between magic and science, and Frances Yates argued that the occult sciences played a significant role in the early modern scientific revolution.² While Thorndike and Yates suggest elements of continuity between magic and modern scientific thought, more recent writers have proposed that magic represents an alternative form of rationality. Thus, writing on the magical songs of Marsilio Ficino, Gary Tomlinson argues for an unbridgeable divide between the rationality Ficino perceived in his magic and any rationality we might seek in it: we can view Ficino's magic from a "dialogical space" between his world and ours, but we "cannot cross over to his side." Even to ask precisely how his magical songs functioned, expecting an answer in terms of our own mental categories, is unwarranted.³ Similarly, Stanley Tambiah sees magic and religion as forms of rationality distinct from that of science—as ordering reality according to partici-

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¹ Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 12, 4, 406, see also 83 and following, 203 and following. For a highly illuminating review article of Flint's book, see Alexander Murray, "Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe," *Past and Present*, 136 (August 1992): 186–205. See also the review by R. I. Moore, *Times Higher Education Supplement* (December 20, 1991): 21.

² Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1923–58); Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964); and Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1979). See more recently Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (New York, 1986); and Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, eds., *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

³ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago, 1992), esp. chap. 8, pp. 247–52.

patory rather than causal principles.⁴ Many cultural anthropologists see magic not as causally efficacious but as symbolically expressive. In this interpretation, magic is not meant to work but to express wishes, or to encode in symbols a perception of how things do or should work. This is not to say that magic is *irrational* but perhaps rather that it is *nonrational*, or not grounded in a rational correlation of means and ends—a perspective close to that of Flint.⁵

I intend to argue that the people in medieval Europe who used the term “magic” thought of it as neither irrational nor nonrational but as essentially rational. To conceive of magic as rational was to believe, first of all, that it could actually work (that its efficacy was shown by evidence recognized within the culture as authentic) and, secondly, that its workings were governed by principles (of theology or of physics) that could be coherently articulated. These principles need not always have been fully articulated or always articulated in the same way: conceptions of magic varied in their degree of specificity and in the specific types of principle they invoked. But the people in medieval Europe who used, feared, promoted, or condemned magic, and who identified magic as such, not only assumed it worked but could give (or assumed that authorities could give for them) reasonably specific explanations of how it worked. Not all those who shared these assumptions were rational in the sense of being bookish, given to abstraction, or even particularly deliberative, yet they normally used words in ways that had reasonably specific meaning, and their language reflected the way the world made cognitive sense to them.

I will begin by reviewing briefly the rational principles seen as underlying the operation of magic.⁶ Then I will examine Flint’s notion that magic was recognized, tolerated, even encouraged and taken over into official usage as a nonrational practice. Finally, I will suggest that, while the rational principles seen as explaining the operation of magic might be variously articulated in relatively specific or unspecific terms, the basic principles were widely shared in medieval culture; thus distinctions between “popular” and “elite” conceptions of magic must be significantly qualified.

SOME RECENT HISTORIANS OF MAGIC IN ANTIQUITY have emphasized the rhetorical force of the term “magic,” suggesting that it merely expressed disapproval for the

⁴ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (New York, 1990). This characterization greatly simplifies Tambiah’s dialogue with numerous alternative views. Magic and science, conceived as alternative rational systems, can presumably coexist not only within a culture but even within a single mind: for example, T. M. Luhrmann, in *Persuasions of the Witch’s Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), examines the magical practices of modern-day English witches, seeking to explain how magic makes rational sense even to sophisticated people with scientific education.

⁵ On this issue, see especially Hans H. Penner, “Rationality, Ritual, and Science,” in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul V. McCracken Flesher, eds., *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict* (New York, 1989), 11–24; and Robin Horton, “African Traditional Thought and Western Science,” *Africa*, 37 (1967): 50–71, 155–87, reprinted in highly abridged form in Max Marwick, ed., *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 342–68.

⁶ In this section, I will in part be extending certain arguments of my book, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989). The function of this book as a concise survey did not permit extended discussion of potentially controversial issues.

rituals of alien cultures and that its force was emotive rather than conceptual. John Gager has argued that the label "magician" tells us little more than that the speaker views the person so labeled as "powerful, peripheral, and dangerous," while Jacob Neusner formulates the position concisely: "What I do is miracle; what you do is magic."⁷ But while "magic" obviously served as a polemical term, even its polemical usage presupposed a shared understanding of magic as a cluster of countercultural rituals worked privately for the magicians' personal ends or those of their clients. The term "magic" was sometimes used for the rituals of insiders (even members of elites) as well as outsiders or for the rites of people who became defined as outsiders only because they used magic.⁸ To brand a Christian, a pagan, or a Jew as a magician was to use a word with prior and independent meaning and to give it abusive, polemical application.

The terms *magia*, *magica*, and *ars magica* were standard in educated language throughout the Middle Ages. This point requires emphasis, because it has been argued that in medieval Europe various specific terms were current ("enchantment," "necromancy," "conjunction," or "sorcery") but that the generic term "magic" was not common until the sixteenth century.⁹ To be sure, collections of charms do not present these formulas as magical, and the records of the witch trials may refer to curses and sorcery rather than magic. But Augustine and Isidore of Seville had discussed the concept of magic at some length, and educated writers throughout the Middle Ages routinely used these generic terms when the context required them. The *Index scientiarum occultarum* in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia latina* shows amply that *magia* and related terms remained in common use.¹⁰ Rather than importing anachronistic definitions of magic into the study of medieval culture, it would seem appropriate to examine how medieval writers themselves used this language.

"Magic" could be used as a polemical term in medieval Europe as well as in antiquity. When Thomas Becket was reported working posthumous miracles, his adversaries "spread it around everywhere that the monks of Canterbury did these things by magical incantations and by such devilish arts that they seemed rather than were miracles." When heretics claimed to perform miracles, orthodox propagandists called their deeds magic.¹¹ The heretics were quite capable of returning the compliment: Lollard critics referred to Catholic practices as magical, not thereby redefining the concept of magic but suggesting instead that Catholics were engaged in wicked and even diabolical practices.¹² (There is

⁷ John G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York, 1992), 25; Jacob Neusner, "Science and Magic, Miracle and Magic in Formative Judaism: The System and the Difference," in Neusner, et al., *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 63. See also R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 2d edn. (New York, 1966), 93.

⁸ Gager recognizes this fact in *Curse Tablets*, 39, n. 119.

⁹ Keith Thomas, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6 (Summer 1975): 91–109 (esp. 94 and following), relying on Robert-Léon Wagner, "Sorcier" et "Magicien": *Contribution à l'histoire du vocabulaire de la magie* (Paris, 1939), 26 and following. (Wagner does recognize the use of *magia* as a generic term in theological discussion.)

¹⁰ J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina*, vol. 221, especially the *sectio prima* of this index, cols. 443–49.

¹¹ Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000–1215* (London, 1982), 12 and following.

¹² Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), 62, cites one clear indication that Lollards as early as 1395 were rejecting orthodox rituals as tantamount to a kind of magic: the

certainly no evidence that Lollards or anyone else thought of rites as magical simply because they were said to work *ex opere operato*.¹³) Yet these derivative applications of the standard pejorative language presuppose a shared understanding of what "magic" normally meant.

Because the meaning of "magic" was never absolutely uniform or constant, and because the same concept could be expressed by various terms, it is perhaps most accurate to speak of parallel histories of words and concepts. The notion of demonic intervention in the natural order on behalf of those who invoked demons was deeply rooted in the religious and theological literature of Christianity; the idea of occult powers and processes within the natural order was firmly established and variously developed in philosophical and scientific writings from antiquity through the early modern era. Parallel to this history of concepts ran the history of the term *magia*, which usually referred in medieval usage to one or both of these concepts. In some contexts, *magia* and related terms could have less specific reference, analogous to that of *superstitio*, but as a rule of thumb *superstitio* implied irrational and improper religious practice, while *magia* suggested more often either a sinister or an occult rationality.¹⁴ In early medieval writings, the

Twelve Conclusions of 1395 refer to the "exorcisms and hallowings, made in the Church" as "the very practice of necromancy, rather than of the holy theology . . . For by such exorcisms creatures be charged to be of higher virtue than their own kind, and we see nothing of change in no such creature that is so charmed, but by false belief, the which is the principle of the devil's craft." Note, however, that the reasoning in this polemic does *not* imply that orthodox ritual is "magical" because it is coercive; the point is simply that such "false belief" is diabolical and thus belongs to the "devil's craft" of necromancy. While the rituals themselves are branded as necromantic at the outset, and the reference to false imputation of superior "virtue" could suggest an allusion to the *virtutes occultae* of natural magic, it is false belief regarding them that is ultimately condemned as diabolical. The language was equally unspecific when Lollards spoke of Mary as the "witch of Walsingham" (p. 62) and when lay people (according to Reginald Pecock) held sacraments "to be points of witchcraft and blindings" (p. 74). It would be misleading to suggest on the basis of this evidence that the Lollards were proposing a new concept of magic and more accurate to say that they were using received notions of magic abusively to vilify the established church.

¹³ Sacraments were thought to function independently of subjective disposition, or *ex opere operato*, but only because God had ordained that he should operate through them in this manner, and in medieval theology it was the divinely ordained and accomplished efficacy of the sacraments—rather than assumed automatic efficacy—that was their defining feature. Thomas Aquinas discusses such questions in *In IV Sententiarum*, 2.1.4d ra. 2 and 4.3.2c ra. 1, in *Opera omnia*, Robertus Busa, ed., vol. 1 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1980), 429 and 441; in the latter passage, he speaks of baptism as effective "*ex opere operato, quod est opus dei*." See further the complex formulations of Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa theologiae*, iii.64. Aquinas's distinctions would obviously not have been replicated in the lay understanding of ritual; but, just as obviously, the basic idea that certain rituals were occasions for divine action was one that could be grasped by virtually everyone.

¹⁴ Dieter Harmening, *Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979), 33–42, traces the history of the word's meaning. Thomas Aquinas defined superstition as divine worship, rendered *deo vero, modo indebito* (in the wrong manner) or *ei cui non debet exhiberi* (to the wrong subject), in *Summa theologiae*, II-II, q. 92, art. 2; either form could presumably include magical practice *per accidens* without being essentially identified with magic. Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf, ed. and trans. (Ahlerstedt, 1989), illustrates the complexities of medieval usage: he routinely calls the "forbidden arts" superstitious and virtually never magical, although he clearly builds on a tradition of antimagical literature going back to Isidore, and he ascribes the efficacy of these arts to demonic agency. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, iii.19–29, makes no clear distinction between *superstitio* and *artes magicae*. George Ferzoco, "Historical and Hagiographical Aspects of the Religious World of Peter of Morrone," in W. Capezali, ed., *S. Pietro del Morrone Celestino V nel medioevo monastico: Atti del Convegno storico internazionale L'Aquila, 26–27 agosto 1988*, 227–37, argues that clerics in Pope Celestine V's entourage found his blessings

theory of demonic intervention was articulated in far more specific terms than that of occult natural processes, and only demonic intervention was commonly called magic. After the twelfth century, when the notions of occult processes received more specific articulation, the term *magia* could equally apply to these. While the word remained highly connotative and could easily devolve into an abusive and polemical label, it was primarily a term of learned discourse whose semantic development closely paralleled that of the concepts of demonic intervention and occult natural process.

The conception of demonic intervention on behalf of conjurers was rooted in New Testament notions of apocalyptic conflict with demonic forces, but it received fuller articulation in early apocryphal literature such as the *Clementine Recognitions* and in hagiography,¹⁵ and it found its definitive formulations in the West in Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.¹⁶ Even when Augustine and his early medieval successors did not give the term explicit definition, their use of *magia* makes clear that, for them, operation through demons was the only factor consistently found in all magical and no nonmagical transactions. Underlying this notion was a conflict model of spiritual process: the life of a Christian might be one of spiritual ascent, and it might involve a quest for purity, but most fundamentally it was a life of conflict with unseen, malevolent spirits. This assumption pervades the New Testament and retained its cogency until the Enlightenment.¹⁷ For writers who conceived the life of the spirit essentially in terms of conflict with demons, magic was the most explicit form of collaboration with the enemy. Magic might accomplish the same effects as prayer or natural techniques; its distinguishing feature lay not in its effects but in the causal principle it invoked, the intervention of demons.¹⁸

When Christian writers referred to magic as entailing the aid of demons, they

dangerously magical, but they would more probably have raised the question of *superstitio*. For an example of prosecution of a priest for defending superstition, see Robert E. Lerner, "Werner di Friedberg intrappolato dalla legge," in *La parola all'accusato* (Palermo, 1991), 268–81. The distinction between magic and superstition was not critical when the question was simply what sorts of practice should be allowed, and writers thus mingled these concerns in giving specific criteria for legitimate blessings or charms: see Heinrich Kramer (Institoris), *Malleus maleficarum 1487* (*Hexenhammer*): *Nachdruck des Erstdruckes von 1487*, G. Jerouschek, ed. (Hildesheim, 1988), ii.2.6, 86^v; and Johannes Nider, *Praeceptorium divinae legis*, in Henry Charles Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft*, Arthur C. Howland, ed., 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939), 1: 269.

¹⁵ The *Clementine Recognitions* are translated in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8 (Buffalo, N.Y., 1886), 75–211. The best compilation of relevant hagiographic material is probably one devoted specifically to Byzantine materials: H. J. Magoulias, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons," *Byzantion*, 37 (1967): 228–69; but see also, for example, Roy J. Deferrari, ed., *Early Christian Biographies* (Washington, D.C., 1952), 44 and following, 258–61.

¹⁶ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, viii–x (Turnholt, 1955), 216–314; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, viii.9, in *Patrologia latina*, 82, cols. 310–14.

¹⁷ See Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Elaine Pagels, "The Social History of Satan, the 'Intimate Enemy': A Preliminary Sketch," *Harvard Theological Review*, 84 (April 1991): 105–28; Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); and, for an important fifteenth-century example built on traditional formulations, Alisa Meyuhas Ginio, "The Conversos and the Magic Arts in Alonso de Espina's *Fortalitium Fidei*," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 5 (December 1990): 169–82.

¹⁸ See especially Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ii.51, H. Chadwick, trans. (Cambridge, 1953), 105. Francis C. R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen, 1984), gives a useful systematic survey of Christian attitudes toward magic, pp. 316–448.

were in part reflecting a Christian equation of pagan deities and lesser *daimones* with fallen and malign spirits.¹⁹ Many pagan writers would have agreed that magic had been invented and imparted by the gods, without accepting this characterization of their deities.²⁰ The idea that magic was devised, taught, and worked by demons would have seemed reasonable to anyone who read the Greek magical papyri or the *Sefer-ha-Razim* and found that healing magic appeared alongside rituals for killing people, gaining wealth or personal advantage, and coercing women into sexual submission.²¹ A long tradition in the West from Augustine to the *Malleus maleficarum* and beyond specified in considerable detail how demons could conjecture the future, delude the mind and senses, manipulate physical objects by processes such as locomotion, and exploit occult virtues within nature (at which point natural and demonic magic intersect).²² Doubts about the possibility of such demonic intervention in nature led the secular Aristotelians of fifteenth-century Italy, and Pietro Pomponazzi in the early sixteenth century, to dismiss the notion of demonic magic as philosophically unsupportable. Even if they nonetheless ultimately accepted the idea on faith, they called into question the claim that demonic magic was a rational concept.²³ In this respect, they distinguished themselves sharply from the great majority of their predecessors and contemporaries.

From the scientific literature of Greco-Roman antiquity, Christian writers inherited the alternative notion of occult powers and processes within the natural order. The category of natural magic differed from that of demonic magic in various ways: it often implied approbation, it was rooted in philosophical and

¹⁹ The clearest exception is the euhemerism of Snorri Sturluson, on which see Anthony Faulkes, "Pagan Sympathy: Attitudes to Heathenism in the Prologue to *Snorra Edda*," in Robert J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason, eds., *Edda: A Collection of Essays* (Winnipeg, 1983), 283–314, esp. 301–05.

²⁰ Christopher A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York, 1992), 28.

²¹ Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1992); Michael A. Morgan, trans., *Sefer-ha-Razim: The Book of Mysteries* (Atlanta, Ga., 1983); see also Chester Charlton McCown, *The Testament of Solomon, Edited from Manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna* (Leipzig, 1922).

²² See, for example, Augustine's *De divinatione daemonum*, in *Patrologia latina*, 40, cols. 581–92, and Saint Augustine, *Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects*, Roy J. Deferrari, ed. (New York, 1955), 421–44. A further mechanism is hinted at by Nicholas of Cusa: demonic magic was essentially futile, but at times the magician, assimilated as he was to the devil (in a parody of a mystical union with Christ), could actually accomplish results by his "faith," meaning presumably his imagination; see Jasper Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa on Learned Ignorance: A Translation and an Appraisal of De Docta Ignorantia*, iii.11 (Minneapolis, Minn., 1981), 152 and following. For the spirits' mastery of occult virtues, see, for example, Daniel Driscoll, trans., *The Sworn Book of Honorius the Magician* (Berkeley Heights, N.J., 1983), 4 and following. Stuart Clark, "The Scientific Status of Demonology," in Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, 351–74, argues that sixteenth-century demonologists saw demons as bound to the use of occult virtues in nature, so that demonic magic becomes conflated with the natural variety. These demonologists' purpose, however, is to show that demons cannot work genuine miracles; demons' capacity to use non-occult natural processes (such as locomotion) is assumed. In any event, demonic and natural magic could be collapsed only in their instrumentality; demonic magic remained distinct in its recourse to an agent not employed in strictly natural magic.

²³ See Martin L. Pine, *Pietro Pomponazzi: Radical Philosopher of the Renaissance* (Padova, 1986), 235–74; Brian P. Copenhaver, "Astrology and Magic," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Charles B. Schmitt, gen. ed. (Cambridge, 1988), 264–300 (esp. 267–74); and Brian P. Copenhaver, "Did Science Have a Renaissance?" *Isis*, 83 (September 1992): 387–407.

scientific (rather than theological) discourse, its history was discontinuous, and it met frequently with skepticism from those who doubted that magic could be natural. Pliny the Elder had recounted the wondrous powers within nature that magicians claimed they could exploit: a tiny fish called the *echeneis* could cause a mighty ship to stop dead in the water;²⁴ the blood of a goat could crack a diamond; animals, plants, and minerals of all sorts were repositories of strange powers. Galen had alluded to occult virtues that could not be explained by the physical properties of a medicine's ingredients but were attributable rather to the "whole substance" of a remedy. The Arabic tradition of occult sciences furnished ideas about astral emanations gathered and available in natural objects or extraordinary processes involving the human imagination.²⁵ All such occult (which is to say hidden, or non-manifest) powers and processes operated within the natural rather than supernatural order. Augustine recognized the reality of such processes, although he did not theorize in detail concerning them as Thomas Aquinas and others would later do; Roger Bacon took them as heralding a brighter technological tomorrow.²⁶ In medieval Europe, such phenomena were often called marvels or wonders (*mirabilia*) rather than magic,²⁷ but educated writers from the thirteenth century on increasingly cited these phenomena as works of natural magic, in effect reclaiming a classical sense of the term "magic." William of Auvergne in the thirteenth century was among the first Western writers to develop explicitly the notion of natural magic as a "part of natural science."²⁸ He and others, interested in probing the capacities of nature and extending the scope of natural science, reclaimed for such inquiry many phenomena that had appeared to be supernatural.²⁹ By the time Chaucer referred to "magyk natureel," the notion was well established,³⁰ and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it became the subject of extensive discussion and debate.³¹

²⁴ Brian P. Copenhaver, "A Tale of Two Fishes: Magical Objects in Natural History from Antiquity through the Scientific Revolution," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 52 (July–September 1991): 373–98.

²⁵ See Brian P. Copenhaver, *Magical Objects: The Foundations of Magical Belief in Western Philosophy and Medicine* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

²⁶ Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 10, D. E. Eichholz, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xxi.4–6, pp. 261–68; Joseph Bernard McAllister, *The Letter of Saint Thomas Aquinas De Occultis Operibus Naturae Ad Quemdam Militem Ultramontanum* (Washington, D.C., 1939); Roger Bacon's *Letter Concerning the Marvelous Power of Art and of Nature and Concerning the Nullity of Magic*, Tenney L. Davis, trans. (Easton, Pa., 1923); E. J. Dijksterhuis, *The Mechanization of the World Picture*, C. Dikshoorn, trans. (Oxford, 1961), 156–60; and Bert Hansen, "Science and Magic," in David C. Lindberg, ed., *Science in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1978), 483–503.

²⁷ *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also A Book of the Marvels of the World*, Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman, eds. (Oxford, 1973). Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1988), 27–44, discusses the relationship between the categories *mirabilis*, *magicus*, and *miraculosus*.

²⁸ Guillelmus Alvernus, *De universo*, i.1.43, in *Opera omnia*, 1 (1674; rpt. edn., Frankfurt am Main, 1963), 648 ("in ea parte naturalis scientiae, quae vocatur magica naturalis").

²⁹ Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 2: 338–71 (William of Auvergne), 517–92 (Albertus Magnus), 616–91 (Roger Bacon). See also Lynn Thorndike, "Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic," *The Monist*, 25 (January 1915): 107–39, for the general development of views on magic in the high Middle Ages.

³⁰ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, Franklin's Tale, v. 397.

³¹ Paola Zambelli, "Le problème de la magie naturelle à la Renaissance," in *Magia, astrologia e religione nel Rinascimento* (Wrocław, 1974), 48–79; Wayne Shumaker, *Natural Magic and Modern Science: Four Treatises, 1590–1657* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989); *Magia naturalis und die Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaft: Symposium der Leibniz-Gesellschaft Hannover . . . 1975* (Wiesbaden, 1978).

For those who accepted it, the concept recognized the limitations of ordinary scientific models and allowed for alternative explanatory paradigms within the natural order.

While the translation of Arabic texts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries vastly increased Western knowledge about occult processes and their interpretation, the same Arabic culture that gave powerful impetus to the recognition of natural magic also furnished ample material that could call into question the nondemonic nature of this allegedly natural art.³² Thus the claim that some magic was natural aroused deep suspicion, and defenders of this notion such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples sometimes grew suspicious of their own claims,³³ while other writers argued that all natural magic was merely demonic magic in disguise.³⁴ For those who accepted the reality of natural magic, it represented a distinct form of magical process alongside the demonic variety (whose reality few seriously doubted). For those who did not accept the notion of natural magic, the two conceptions represented not distinct forms of magic but rival interpretations of the same process, properly seen as always demonic. While there was thus no consensus in medieval culture regarding the notion of natural magic or its relationship to demonic magic, these were the chief conceptions of magic available to pre-modern Europeans. If educated people had been asked what magic was, they would have given something very much like one or both of these definitions.

Demonic magic entailed a complex interplay of wills: that of the magician, attempting to constrain the demons; that of the demons, seeking to deceive and ensnare the magician; that of God, whose permission was required for any magical effect; at times, that of a client, who secured the magician's service; and that of the victim, who might have some power to resist the magic.³⁵ Natural magic could be equally complex in its workings but was less fraught with personality. The powers it exploited were impersonal ones within the natural order. This is not to say that the use of these powers was necessarily mechanical; they exerted a greater or lesser (and perhaps indeterminate) influence, less like a machine than like a drug, which is assumed to affect the course of a disease whether or not it effects a cure.

To say that an effect was caused by occult powers and processes could in some cases be a programmatic assertion without the backing of a specific explanatory framework, but the writers who from the thirteenth century on reclaimed the term "natural magic" also developed highly specific ideas that explained not only the general operation of these processes (through occult virtues, sympathies and antipathies, astral forces, and psychological powers) but, in addition, the specific

³² See especially David Pingree, ed., *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the "Ghāyat Al-Hakīm"* (London, 1986).

³³ Eugene F. Rice, Jr., "The *De Magia Naturali* of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples," *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Edward P. Mahoney, ed. (New York, 1976), 19–29.

³⁴ Petrus Garsias, *In determinationes magistrales contra conclusiones apologetas Ioannis Pici Mirandulani Concordie Comitum proemium* (Rome, 1489); Thorndike, *History of Magic*, 4: 497–507.

³⁵ Jean Vincent, in Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1901), 228, discusses various complications involving conflicts of wills, including the question whether bewitchment performed with the power of one demon can be overcome by another witch with the power of another demon.

working of particular forms of magic. In other words, they could explain not only why the carving of astral images might be effective but why an image for a particular planet could have its specific efficacy. Marsilio Ficino, who drew his explanations from sources as early as Plotinus and as recent as Thomas Aquinas, represents a high point in this effort at specific explanation.³⁶ Nicole Oresme explained the workings of natural magic in alternative terms, as the result of properties or "configurations" inherent in sublunary objects and verbal formulas.³⁷ While such writers were perhaps exceptional in the level of the specificity of their explanations for natural magic, they shared with most of their contemporaries the conviction that various occult processes within nature were rational, in the sense that they worked and that their workings could in principle be explained. Theorists differed from other people not so much because they interpreted magic according to rational principles but because they had more specific rational explanations of how magic worked.

Anthropology has accustomed us to conceive of magic as distinct from both religion and science.³⁸ In a medieval context, however, the question is not so much the relationship between magic and either science or religion but its relationship to approved religion and to ordinary science: demonic magic is itself essentially religious (or perhaps irreligious but at least not nonreligious), while natural magic could easily be combined with devotional practice. The terms "magic" and "religion" were both current in medieval discourse, but they would not usually have been viewed as opposites or even as essentially distinct categories.³⁹ The distinction between "magic" and "miracle" would have seemed more familiar to medieval Europeans. Both were extraordinary phenomena, inexplicable solely by the known laws of nature, and in each case the defining feature was the operation of exceptional forces: demonic intervention, occult virtues within nature, or divine intervention. Ordinary science, natural magic, approved religion, and demonic magic could all be rationally explained but by appeal to different types of causal principle.

³⁶ Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark, ed. and trans. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989), 236–393. See also Copenhaver, "Astrology and Magic," 274–85; Brian P. Copenhaver, "Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the *De Vita* of Marsilio Ficino," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 37 (Winter 1984): 523–54; D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London, 1958); and Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, Margaret Cook, trans. (Chicago, 1987).

³⁷ Nicole Oresme, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature: A Study of His "De causis mirabilium"*, Bert Hansen, ed. (Toronto, 1985). See also Thorndike, *History of Magic*, 3: 424–39; and Eugenia Paschetto, *Demoni e prodigi: Note su alcuni scritti di Wilelo e di Oresme* (Turin, 1978).

³⁸ William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, eds., *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, 4th edn. (New York, 1979), 332–79.

³⁹ Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Der Mediävist und die Volkskultur," in Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter R. Bauer, eds., *Volksreligion im hohen und späten Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 1990), 34, points out that the concept of religion is especially inappropriate, paradoxically, in research on societies that from our viewpoint appear thoroughly penetrated by religion. But while the Latin *religio* often referred to a mode of religious life or to a religious order, it had other meanings as well. In patristic and medieval writings, it was argued that Christianity, unlike Roman paganism, represented a true *religio*, and in this context the word had something like its modern meaning: true *religio* combined proper worship of the true God with correct beliefs about God. See, for example, Augustine, *De vera religione*, i.1 (Turnholt, 1962), 189, and *De civitate Dei*, ii.27, p. 63. In medieval usage, "religion" often meant "piety" or "devotion," not a system of beliefs and practices; see, for example, Erich Heck, *Der Begriff "Religio" bei Thomas Aquin: Seine Bedeutung für unser heutiges Verständnis von Religion* (Munich, 1971).

VALERIE FLINT SEES MAGIC (and believes that medieval churchmen saw it) as a nonrational practice with essentially psychological efficacy; she thus cannot believe it was fundamentally different from any other rite with similar efficacy. For her, the churchmen's efforts to distinguish between what they condemned as magic and what they condoned as legitimate ritual mask a more basic similarity between the two. Yet it seems clear that Augustine and his successors viewed magic as a rationally explicable practice with objective efficacy—as a means for securing the aid of demons or (in later interpretation) for exploiting occult virtues in nature. When they branded rituals as magical, it was because they saw these rites as relying on demonic causality that was ultimately harmful, even if apparently helpful. When they encouraged or tolerated other rituals, it was because they perceived their causality as nondemonic. Considerations of power no doubt helped to give direction to these concerns; prior cause for enmity obviously made it easier to perceive another person as a magician. But Flint's book provides ample evidence that condemnation of magic was not in any simple sense an assertion of cultural hegemony: churchmen were willing to tolerate various forms of unofficial ritual so long as these did not transgress vitally important boundaries, and the thickest line of demarcation was that traced by early Christian demonology.

Flint wrote *The Rise of Magic* largely in response to the notion that medieval churchmen were unable to discern and prevent the seepage of superstition and pagan magic into Christian culture.⁴⁰ Reacting against this "faintly condescending colonialism in history," she argues that early medieval compromises with pagan magic were deliberate, the product of "a delicate social sensitivity or extended reasoning at the highest levels." Churchmen tolerated and even encouraged certain magic, to avoid conflict with existing traditions and leaders or to appropriate for their own religion the consolations, loyalties, devotional habits, and spiritual aspirations associated with non-Christian magic. They valued this magic "above some of the manifestations of 'reason' they saw about them."⁴¹ Rational judgment thus lent its approval to nonrational practice. Flint herself clearly values and wishes to defend a culture not yet affected by disenchantment, a culture still appreciative of the "mystery, miracle, and magic" that so offended sixteenth-century reformers.⁴² She sees the landscape of medieval culture as a land of grace, filled with diverse manifestations of extraordinary power. The historians she criticizes argue in effect that irrational medieval Christian rituals were equivalent to magic and just as bad; Flint revises this judgment, maintaining that nonrational medieval Christian rituals were equivalent to magic and just as good.

Ultimately, she views the distinction between approved and disapproved ritual as a distinction without a real difference. She insists repeatedly that many approved rituals were magical, even if churchmen said otherwise. But this

⁴⁰ The works in question are Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*; and J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine, Illustrated Specially from the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga"* (London, 1952).

⁴¹ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 404, 394 and following, 397.

⁴² On the "mystery, miracle, and magic" of medieval Christianity that the reformers repudiated, and on the theological implications of the shift in world view, see Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y., 1967), 111 and following.

ahistorical use of the word "magic" blurs distinctions vitally important to those who made them. In her attempt to defend early medieval churchmen and their acceptance of "magic," Flint seems to ascribe to them a kind of theoretical incoherence, a sacrificing of principle to practical necessity. She argues that in spite of their own protestations, what they were defending and perpetrating was also a kind of magic; they tried to distinguish between magic and approved ritual, but their distinctions were not cogent. Flint's effort to avoid condescension and recognize the integrity of early medieval Christianization might be more successful if she recognized more fully how and why medieval writers used the term "magic" as they did. In speaking of the church's own magic, Flint is on common ground with the historians she sets out to oppose, who refer to "the magic of the medieval Church" as if that phrase were unproblematic.⁴³ She thus concedes too much to the opposition, allowing them to define the primary terms for discussion. The task for early churchmen was, to be sure, one of negotiating cultural differences, but these churchmen conceived of magic and its relation to approved ritual in ways that made more coherent sense than Flint assumes and that did not compromise their theological principles.

Flint is aware of using the term "magic" more broadly than early medieval writers did: she admits that these writers distinguished explicitly between their rituals and magic.⁴⁴ Yet in cases where early medieval writers speak of miracles, wonders, mysteries, and grace, and even where they expressly contrasted such processes with magic, Flint wishes to correct this medieval usage and to speak of approved forms of magic. She defines magic as "the exercise of a preternatural control over nature by human beings, with the assistance of forces more powerful than they," thus arbitrarily absorbing much official and approved religious practice into the capacious sponge of magic.⁴⁵ She sees religion and magic as lying along a spectrum: in a cautious nod toward Frazerian categories, she writes that religion "at its best" requires "reverence, an inclination to trust, to be open and to please, and be pleased by, powers superior in every way to humankind," while magic "may wish to subordinate and to command these powers."⁴⁶ By her criteria, however, much (perhaps most) religious practice would then be magical.

⁴³ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, chap. 1, deals with "the magic of the medieval Church" and has done much to make such notions fashionable. In his exchange with Hildred Geertz, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic," p. 97, Thomas even goes so far as to suggest that the key distinction is between "those religions which, like medieval Catholicism, credited their rituals with physical efficacy" and "those which, like eighteenth-century deism, did not," and seems to mean by this that any religion using petitionary prayer of any sort is to that extent magical. But this makes the term "magic" a clumsy analytical tool indeed: if the only religion that counts as nonmagical is an extreme version of deism, then virtually all religion—Protestant as well as Catholic, insofar as Protestants also make use of petitionary prayer for physical well-being—is conflated with magic.

⁴⁴ Adamnan insisted that while competing with sorcerers St. Columba did not himself practice sorcery, and a Cotton Caligula manuscript maintains that its formulas are "no sorcery" but divinely bestowed knowledge (Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 326, 323).

⁴⁵ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 1.

⁴⁶ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 8. Thomas, in *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 41, uses more explicitly Frazerian definitions of magic and religion, while Leander Petzoldt, "Magie und Religion," in Dinzelbacher and Bauer, *Volksreligion im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, 467–85, retains this mode of definition as a heuristic construct. On Frazer and other theorists of magic, see Lessa and Vogt, *Reader in Comparative Religion*, 332–62. For more recent theories on religion and magic, see the materials collected in Leander Petzoldt, ed., *Magie und Religion: Beiträge zu einer Theorie der Magie* (Darmstadt, 1978).

I do not wish to argue that historians must always be restricted to a historical use of language, but it seems particularly unhelpful to use a historical term in a way that not only differs from but actually conflicts with its historical usage.⁴⁷ To say that certain rituals constituted magic even though medieval writers specifically excluded these rites from the category of magic as they defined it is to distract from the specific rationalities assigned to magic and to nonmagical practice within the historical culture. Flint uses her extremely broad definition of magic to highlight what she sees as the unacknowledged similarity, indeed, the functional equivalence, between magic and much Christian ritual. She sees the veneration of relics, the consultation of oracles, the use of charms and ligatures (medical use of magical objects bound to the patient), the devotion to holy wells, and the invocation of spirits all as salutary forms of nonrationality, and she classifies them as "magic." To observers in medieval Europe, however, these practices would have been grounded in fundamentally distinct rational assumptions. Invoking malign spirits might be illicit, but an observer who granted that demons exist and that they can be persuaded to serve human purposes could not think of such invocation as nonrational. Relying on the miraculous powers of saints might or might not be encouraged, but a contemporary who recognized the efficacy of the saints' intercession could by no means classify such recourse as nonrational. Wearing a gem or an herb to ward off evil influences might seem futile to some observers, but those who credited the gem or herb with occult powers were ascribing rationality to the practice. All three operations were practiced and defended because they were perceived as rational, yet the assumed causality that made them so was not the same: the intervention of demons, the intercession of saints, and occult powers within nature were causal factors in principle distinct from each other, each having its specific rationality, even if in some cases they could be combined or confused. It is only on the modern assumption that all these operations are irrational or nonrational that they can be grouped together as manifestations of "magic."

Flint sees the mainstream ecclesiastical policy (after the initial wave of conversion) as one of benign toleration, even encouragement, of pre-Christian ritual. Her articulation of this argument, which echoes earlier work, is on the whole convincing.⁴⁸ She maintains that the incorporation of pagan rites into the Christian culture of the early Middle Ages was not an accidental or grudging accommodation to the missionized populace but rather the result of conscious choice by monks and other churchmen who ascribed a positive value to the magic

⁴⁷ Thus, while I am using "rationality" in a context different from that of the medieval *rationalitas*, I would maintain that my usage does not conflict with medieval usage, first because no one could reasonably assume that I am claiming to articulate a medieval sense of that term, and second because my usage does not require me to take issue with medieval usage or to suggest that medieval writers were somehow wrong or incoherent. For discussion regarding the related issue of "emic" and "etic" terms in anthropology, see Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (New York, 1968), 568–604.

⁴⁸ On the theme of missionary accommodation to pre-Christian ritual, see Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," *Speculum*, 28 (October 1953): 705–40; and R. A. Markus, "Gregory the Great and a Papal Missionary Strategy," in G. J. Cuming, ed., *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith* (Cambridge, 1970), 29–38.

thus incorporated.⁴⁹ The initial effort of missionaries may have been to erase all vestiges of pagan culture, but (Flint argues) churchmen soon recognized that subtler and often gentler approaches were needed, and they came to value the skills of pagan magicians. The practices taken over by medieval Christianity, Flint insists, were not merely “pagan survivals.” They were vitally important elements deliberately absorbed into a new cultural *mélange*.⁵⁰ Flint does not argue that official attitudes toward Christianized magic were uniformly benign but recognizes a spectrum ranging from hearty approval to severe condemnation.⁵¹ She finds evidence of tension, for example, at the monastery of San Pedro de Montes, where a seventh-century abbot accused the monks of receiving magicians and other malefactors and charged the local priest as well with participating in orgiastic “nocturnal forest rites.” Flint plausibly suggests that these were ancient and innocent rituals which the monks and priest, unlike the abbot, were eager to accommodate.⁵² On balance, she finds more evidence of genteel toleration than of repudiation. She presents an image of a kinder, gentler Middle Ages, in which the relationship between shepherds and sheep, even black ones, was less conflictual than cooperative.⁵³

While Flint seems at times to overstate the case for toleration,⁵⁴ she has enriched

⁴⁹ Thus men such as Gregory the Great, Wilfrid, Cuthbert, and Bede cannot be seen as having “confused, all unwittingly, pagan echoes with Christian truths.” Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 310.

⁵⁰ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 74, 79, 71, see also 310, 324. Alexander Murray, “Missionaries and Magic,” 199–201, reformulates Flint’s argument, emphasizing not so much the strength of the new cultural amalgam as the dissolution of the old culture.

⁵¹ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, for example, 204.

⁵² Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 207.

⁵³ Flint’s views are paralleled in the fictional work of Brian Bates, *The Way of Wyrd: The Book of a Sorcerer’s Apprentice* (New York, 1984).

⁵⁴ Peter Damian surely did not mean to encourage the practices he described, and the existence of love charms in a monastic manuscript is no indication that they gained wide approval in monastic circles (see Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 298 and 312, on “encouraged magic”). The source is too sketchy to show that St. Vaast refrained from hostility because he felt “friendly association” with pagan magicians (p. 78). Flint speaks of compromise or accommodation where nothing was conceded from a traditional Christian viewpoint, as in the use of saints’ relics for healing or in natural astrology (pp. 28, 99, 128–46). Ecclesiastical punishments were usually more lenient than the secular equivalents but not specifically in the case of magic, and thus ecclesiastical penalties do not show a sympathetic and protective stance toward magicians (pp. 56–58, 296 and following): ecclesiastical penalties were generally less harsh than those of secular courts, largely because in principle they were penitential, even when they were also judicial, and because their formal purpose was not primarily to restore social order but to save the souls of penitents. Agobard of Lyon (p. 82) protected the victims of lynch prosecution not because he sympathized with their magic but because he believed the charges against them were false. (In discussing Agobard’s stance, Flint begins by using the term “supposed” magicians, then silently transforms them into real magicians.) Flint argues that blaming demons for the effects of magic could be a way of reducing the magicians’ own culpability (pp. 148, 156); but when magicians associated with demons, they did so knowingly and willingly, and the spiritual company they kept compounded rather than reduced their guilt. Flint does not show that magicians who wittingly consorted with demons were treated more leniently because they had been misled by these demons. A possessed nun was not blamed for associating with demons but was clearly perceived as a victim (p. 154); however, this fact has little bearing on the status of magicians, whose dealings with demons were voluntary.

Flint finds corroboration of her thesis in what she takes to be historical and anthropological parallels, in manifestations elsewhere of an intelligent sensitivity to “the social advantage of competing magic deliberately transferred” (pp. 404 and following). She adduces the Greek magical papyri, in which magic from Hellenistic, Egyptian, and other cultures mingles. But the churchmen of early medieval Europe, unlike the magicians of late ancient Egypt, were committed in principle to a monotheist doctrine of exclusive validity. Even when they borrowed from other traditions, they had

our understanding of the long-range dynamics of conversion, the process by which European peoples over several generations developed and adopted a new type of Christianity. In response to a critique inspired ultimately by Protestant polemics, she shows how the official representatives of Christianity engaged in a process of reasonable negotiation with pagan tradition. I sympathize with Flint's effort to approach medieval Christianity on its own terms; if on certain points my reading of the sources differs from hers, the disagreement is thus largely intramural and perhaps less significant than our common goal of contextual understanding, although the differences are nonetheless real and not negligible.

The best evidence for both toleration and systematic condemnation of unofficial rituals comes not from the chief period of missionary activity in Western and Central Europe but from roughly the ninth through the eleventh centuries. Why was it that many churchmen of the Carolingian and Ottonian ages could make accommodations that their predecessors and successors found problematic? Flint argues that these churchmen had come to recognize a positive value in the paganism and magic they encountered, and they realized that they could more effectively retain their following by exercising moderation. It would be useful to inquire further into the types of people to whom Flint refers and the circumstances in which they found themselves. The churchmen she has in mind came after the period of embattled polemics and heroic early missionary ventures⁵⁵ but before the period in which educated clerics (such as R. I. Moore's twelfth-century *clerici* or even later firebrands such as Bernardino of Siena) sought to reform Christendom according to abstract ideals.⁵⁶ They found themselves in a hiatus between two forms of zealotry. Essentially ecclesiastical functionaries, from a social and institutional viewpoint they resemble those Chinese bureaucrats of Philip A. Kuhn's *Soulstealers* who thwarted prosecution for charges of magic that they could not quite take seriously.⁵⁷ The clerics surely accepted the principle that the work of demons must be suppressed, but they could not persuade themselves that ordinary charms and ligatures were demonic. They were disinclined to see demons lurking behind every herb. These churchmen may indeed have been genteel and urbane in the ways that Flint suggests; Stephen Jaeger has argued that it was within their circles that ideals of courtliness first arose.⁵⁸ But we may be permitted to suspect that this urbanity manifested itself more in a sense of

to find some way of rationalizing this borrowing in terms of their own exclusivism. Their monotheist commitment could lead them either to reject magic or to transform it and deprive it (to their satisfaction) of its original character; in either case, magic was problematic for them in a way that it was not for late ancient magicians. Furthermore, the purposes served by magic should have been (and generally were) more problematic to Christian clerics than to authors of the Greek magical papyri.

⁵⁵ To be sure, missionary fields were still being opened in Northern and Eastern Europe, but the time Flint calls one of growing accommodation was one in which Christian structures had long been established in the parts of Europe she discusses.

⁵⁶ R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987); on Bernardino, see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 181, 194 and following.

⁵⁷ Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 187–222, 230–32.

⁵⁸ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985).

proportion, a recognition that certain problems are less vital than others, than in any positive valuation of pagan magic.

Flint's notion that early medieval clerics approved magic for largely pragmatic reasons shows affinity with other recent studies on magic. Much recent historical and anthropological work interprets magic as an expression of desire that has psychological rather than physical efficacy: it gives and sustains confidence or perhaps enhances the magician's sense of well-being; it serves as an emotional outlet and a means of emotional support for the practitioner, the client, or both.⁵⁹ This understanding of magic is central to Flint's work,⁶⁰ and it serves as a warning against a rationalist repudiation of magic: while the rationalist takes magic to be contemptible because it offends against reason, Flint and other writers in effect suggest that magic deserves sympathetic consideration because it is psychologically and socially useful. But to assume that magic either has power to coerce external forces or else has nothing but subjective efficacy is to create a false disjunction. It is indeed likely that people who practiced magic or had it practiced on their behalf experienced a powerful emotional reaction, which could be positive or problematic depending on the circumstances. But that this emotional effect was the reason for their practice remains highly doubtful, and writers such as Augustine, Isidore, and Hincmar of Reims certainly neither defended nor attacked magic because of its subjective effects. Isidore's category of ocular illusion (*praestigium*) might be seen as pointing in this direction, but he argues that *magi* are also called *malefici* because of the magnitude of their presumably real accomplishments of disrupting the elements, disturbing people's minds, and killing with charms alone, without poison. Reference to early medieval magic as a quest for "enrichment of human life" seems suspiciously anachronistic.⁶¹

Flint shows that much of the ritual tolerated or encouraged by medieval clerics resembled in certain ways what these clerics called magic and that these rites may have been derived from the ritual practice of pre-Christian culture. Indeed, on these points, further evidence might readily be added.⁶² Yet Flint does not

⁵⁹ Penner, "Rationality, Ritual, and Science."

⁶⁰ Flint sees the quest of emotional satisfaction as not simply an unintended result of magic but as the specific reason for encouraging magical practice: "many people" in early medieval Europe "became increasingly convinced" that magical practices should be preserved, "in pursuit precisely of the enrichment of human life with which some today are inclined to link the word *magic*" (p. 3). Not hesitating to write as cultural critic, Flint applauds this policy of cultivating "this form of energy" (p. 4). Use of preexisting magic lent an "emotional force" that was needed especially for a religion "weak or in its infancy" and thus unable to eradicate its rivals (p. 9).

⁶¹ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 3.

⁶² G. Ronald Murphy, "Magic in the Heliand," in Murphy's translation of *The Heliand: The Saxon Gospel* (New York, 1992), 205–20, shows, for example, that Christian formulas could be interpreted on the model of pagan magic: the letters in the words "Pater noster" were seen as combat runes in the Anglo-Saxon *Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, and *The Heliand* also suggests such interpretation—although Murphy's use of "spell" (pp. 4, 48, 49, 59, 67, 80, 81, 87, 126, 142) has the effect of giving uniform magical meaning to a term that surely has greater fluidity and in many contexts does not connote magic. Even more could be said about the healing and protective charms that Hugh of St. Victor included under the category of *maleficia* and that many later medieval writers listed under the rubric of natural magic. Clearly, these often mingled Christian formulas indiscriminately with pagan material; see Irmgard Hampp, *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet: Untersuchungen zum Zauberspruch aus dem Bereich der Volksheilkunde* (Stuttgart, 1961); and Karen Louise Jolly, "Magic, Miracle, and Popular Practice in the Early Medieval West: Anglo-Saxon England," in Neusner, *et al.*, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 166–82.

adequately explain why rituals that to us seem similar to magic were not so defined within medieval culture or on what grounds medieval writers distinguished between these rituals and those they did call magic.

If, as Flint suggests, early medieval churchmen could not recognize magic as such, why was this so? She argues that for them the term "magic" was too negative a term to be used for rituals they wished to condone.⁶³ They thus used the term only for rites practiced for unacceptable ends, or by inappropriate persons, or with reprehensible techniques. As she rightly shows, the distinction between beneficent and maleficent ends was crucial in the Theodosian Code. When saints were accused of using "diabolical enchantments," they could be defended on the grounds that their results were good, although the implication here *prima facie* is not that laudable ends excused diabolical means but that the means could not have been diabolical. Flint quotes Augustine as recognizing that magicians and good Christians "may do similar things"; the difference "lies in their means and ends." She takes this to be the message in stories about Simon Magus, who is criticized for using magic "in unacceptable ways and for unacceptable ends." But when she refers to illegitimate means, Flint seems to suggest that it was essentially a matter of good taste that made certain ritual means legitimate and others not: ligatures and magic potions were disgusting and therefore reprehensible. When she refers to means as a criterion for distinguishing legitimate from illegitimate ritual, she seems to have in mind chiefly the immediate, concrete means: potions that aroused disgust were thought reprehensible. Citing the council of Rome in 494, the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, and early ninth-century capitularies, Flint writes that the invocation of angels was sometimes condemned because it was "over-enthusiastic."⁶⁴

Flint sees the Christianization of pagan ritual as essentially cosmetic.⁶⁵ At times, her assertions of similarity seem particularly forced.⁶⁶ Thus her chief specimen of "Christian love magic" is the "ecclesiastical medicine" recommended by Hincmar of Reims for impotence: confession with contrite heart and humbled spirit, alms, prayer and fasting, and exorcisms. Flint views these as techniques "of a quite

⁶³ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 5, see also 31.

⁶⁴ On these issues, see Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 25, 31, 33, 163, 185, 240–53, 302 and following, 339.

⁶⁵ She suggests that "slight adjustments" were deliberately made, rendering the magical procedures acceptable to all concerned, preventing opposition from other churchmen, while keeping the audience from losing interest (*Rise of Magic*, p. 398). She refers to Augustine as sharing an openness toward "something very like the ancient magia," as approving wonders and miracles that "undeniably . . . contain magic of a kind," and as indirectly giving legitimacy to practices "very similar to the magical ones that had been outlawed" (pp. 31, 33, 301). Similar comparisons abound throughout the book (for example, pp. 185, 283, and 284).

⁶⁶ She compares the apostles' powers of binding and loosing to pagan defixion and the gospel declarations of the insolubility of marriage to the binding magic of the Greek magical papyri (p. 289 and following). But the power of binding and loosing seems to have involved essentially the authority to decide the spiritual and ecclesiastical consequences of actions; it was surely never construed, like pagan defixion, as a power literally to constrain actions against the will of the actors. And the gospel statements on marriage have the form and force of moral injunctions (which can, of course, be violated), not of magical spells. Elsewhere (p. 259 and following), Flint suggests that the blood-soaked cross in *The Dream of the Rood* may have recalled necromantic rites involving blood and that the unguent of Mary Magdalene on the Ruthwell cross may have reminded viewers of magical ointments. Flint takes a spontaneous vision warning of a subdeacon's fraud as "a Christianized and very studied type of thief divining," largely because both acts involve use of a chalice (p. 282). Morton Smith, in *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco, 1978), pursues a more radical version of Flint's argument.

clearly magical kind.”⁶⁷ But, if so, then the entire sacramental system is equally magical—a conclusion that could only be drawn outside the context of medieval sacramental thinking. Elsewhere, to be sure, especially in hagiography, the alleged similarities are more convincing: when magicians accomplished nothing with herbs and incantations, oil and wax from St. Martin’s tomb were immediately effective.⁶⁸ In such cases, the Christian rituals as reported appear closely similar in form and function to the magic of non-Christian culture. It does not seem frivolous to argue here that what looks like magic and sounds like magic must surely be magic. Even in these cases, however, we are left with the question why contemporaries did not perceive the similarities Flint wishes to underscore. The answer to this question, I would contend, is that medieval churchmen differed from modern historians in their distinctions between central and marginal concerns. From the perspective of Hincmar of Reims or Rabanus Maurus, to rewrite a charm and substitute Christ for Odin was not to make a slight adjustment. Even if a story originally told about Odin was retained as part of the charm, its transference to Christ made a substantial difference.⁶⁹ The adjustment did not result in a Christian type of magic; rather, it involved editing out the magical elements.⁷⁰ Flint seems concerned mainly with the outer forms and results of the rituals in question; what concerned medieval churchmen more deeply was the question *how* a ritual worked, the specific rationality assigned to it.

At one point, Flint tellingly refers to early medieval writers “associating demons with the magic they condemned.”⁷¹ This way of phrasing the point seems precisely backward, analogous to speaking of health inspectors associating rats with the restaurants they condemn. There may be corrupt, prejudiced, irrational, or even arbitrary inspectors who close down restaurants and use rat infestation as their excuse, but normally one trusts that the presence of vermin is the reason and not merely a rationalization for condemning restaurants. So, too, Christian writers did not argue that “magic is evil and therefore involves the intervention of

⁶⁷ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 290–96. Similarly, she seems to think of pagan holy places that became Christian shrines as magical per se, whatever use was made of them (pp. 254–73).

⁶⁸ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 60. See also the cases involving St. Junianus the Confessor (p. 61), St. Odile of Hohenburg (p. 266), and St. Monegunde (p. 302 and following).

⁶⁹ Rudolf Kriss, “Grundsätzliche Betrachtung zum 2. Merseburger Zauberspruch,” *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 6 (1932): 114–19. Hampp, *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet*, 110–15, deals more generally with the relationship between the “pagan form” and the “Christian content” of charms.

⁷⁰ Karen Louise Jolly, “Anglo-Saxon Charms in the Context of a Christian World View,” *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (December 1985): 279–93, argues persuasively that most Anglo-Saxon charms were so thoroughly Christianized that the users would have thought of them as essentially Christian and would not even have been conscious of their pagan elements. The crucial question is not whether Christian or pagan material was quantitatively more significant but rather what categories the culture offered for interpreting the inevitable blend of pagan and Christian elements. Jolly cites the sermons of Aelfric as allowing for an intermediate space between magic and miracles—a space that would later be identified with “natural magic.” Aelfric took demonic agency as the defining characteristic of magic, and he regarded medical practices such as the charms as neither magical nor miraculous but a tertium quid. Nor was Aelfric atypical in his use of these Augustinian assumptions and categories.

⁷¹ Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 152. Flint points out in this passage that these writers did believe this magic was real, but she does not seem to believe that for the early medieval writers its demonic source was its defining character, rather she seems to regard this as an afterthought. She repeatedly uses the phrase “rescue” of demons (esp. pp. 105 and 146–57), by which she seems to mean that the concept of demons was salvaged because of its utility. But she does not make it clear from what peril demons needed to be rescued; the cruellest of all fates, oblivion, surely never threatened them.

demons" but that "magic involves the intervention of demons and therefore is evil."⁷² Doubtless, certain classes of people were repeatedly singled out for condemnation (especially women, Jews, and political adversaries), and in individual cases hostile treatment may well have been rationalized by allegations of magic. But such accusations could be recognized as cogent precisely because the society shared a deep anxiety about collaboration with demons.

Flint sees pagan magic as an alternative form of religious practice and the magicians as alternative priests. Religious systems are not altogether interchangeable, however: they may promote different values, perform different functions within a culture, and involve different types of organizational structure. Without meaning to perpetuate a naïve equation of Haitian folk religion (vodun) with magic, Lawrence E. Harrison has recently argued that this religion has served as "a highly conservative force," has aided in isolating Haitians from progressive ideas, and has encouraged dysfunctional norms of behavior that are partly responsible for Haiti's political and economic problems.⁷³ The medieval critique of magic, like Harrison's critique of vodun, assumed that different cultural systems rest on distinct and potentially incompatible norms. Cultural conflict may arise from a failure to perceive shared values, but it may also emerge from a realistic perception of conflicting values. Medieval magic was not simply the religious ritual of a rival culture; it gave ritual (and therefore practical) expression to a system of values whose eradication was a basic goal of Christian missionary work and later preaching. It encouraged a privatization of numinous and dangerous powers, a removal of the spiritual process away from the public sphere and into a relationship of independent practitioners to their clients that was guaranteed to arouse suspicion.

Individual rituals taken in isolation may indeed suggest a close similarity between pagan and Christian rituals, and it may be tempting to construe the practitioners as pagan priests, analogous to Christian clergy. The "wizards" who appear in the legendary accounts of Celtic hagiography may indeed be distant reflections of historical Druids,⁷⁴ and the magicians confronted in the first flush of missionary effort in a particular region may well have been priests, such as Coifi the *primus pontificum* in Anglo-Saxon England.⁷⁵ But the later the period, the more likely it is—particularly by the Carolingian and Ottonian eras, from which Flint draws most of her evidence of accommodation—that the magicians were professional or semi-professional healers and diviners who worked privately, for a fee, on behalf of their clients, closer to Keith Thomas's "cunning men" than to Coifi. There is no evidence that such practitioners were expected to serve as community leaders, to teach, or to set any sort of moral example for people under their charge. Not being thought of as priests, they did not really have followers for

⁷² For example, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, viii.9, in *Patrologia latina*, vol. 82, col. 313, on the varieties of magic: "In quibus omnibus ars daemonum est ex quadam pestifera societate hominum, et angelorum malorum exorta. Unde cuncta vitanda sunt a Christiano, et omni penitus execratione repudianda atque damnanda."

⁷³ Lawrence E. Harrison, "Voodoo Politics," *Atlantic Monthly* (June 1993): 101–07.

⁷⁴ See Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910), 1: clviii–clxvii.

⁷⁵ Bede the Venerable, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, ed. and trans. (Oxford, 1969), ii.13, 182–85. Bede does not portray Coifi as the sort of person likely to engage in magic.

whose care they were regularly responsible. Granted, one should not overestimate the official or supralocal character of Christian priesthood in the early Middle Ages⁷⁶ or the possibility that Christian priests might practice what their own Christian culture defined as magic.⁷⁷ But in early medieval Europe, priests were at least in principle intended to exercise a public and regular ministry for a community,⁷⁸ and the role of magician (or local healer and diviner) was in this respect different. The ecclesiastical perception of magicians as diabolical agents who worked harm when they could and healed only to cause ulterior harm obviously cannot be taken as objective truth. But these distortions rested on realities that lent themselves easily to such interpretation: magicians in many if not most cultures are feared and distrusted even by those who employ them, and there is little reason for surprise if officialdom casts a suspicious eye on such practitioners.

This is not to argue with Marcel Mauss that religion is essentially official and magic unofficial;⁷⁹ much of the unofficial ritual practiced by medieval laity and lower clergy was tolerated, however grudgingly, as nonmagical, provided their rituals appealed to the same spiritual forces that orthodoxy recognized as legitimate.⁸⁰ Yet private practitioners using unofficial rituals for personal ends readily fell under the suspicion that what they were doing was fundamentally and not just circumstantially different: that they were in fact invoking demons. Unofficial healers and diviners were not inherently reprobate, but their status was ambiguous and they came easily into disrepute.

But is it not the case that people in medieval Europe would have *experienced* magic and approved ritual similarly, even if these were explained in different terms? Is it not legitimate to use "magic" as what Flint calls a "sounding word," suited to evoke the experience of various rituals?⁸¹ We can analyze hermeneuti-

⁷⁶ On shifting roles of the lower clergy, see Patricia A. DeLeeuw, "The Changing Face of the Village Parish: The Parish in the Early Middle Ages," in J. A. Raftis, ed., *Pathways to Medieval Peasants* (Toronto, 1981), 311–22; and Joseph W. Goering, "The Changing Face of the Village Parish: The Thirteenth Century," *ibid.*, 323–34.

⁷⁷ A twelfth-century field-blessing in Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague, 1948), 172–87, involves clearly pagan and magical elements, including invocation of a pagan deity, but it seems to have been intended for use by a rural priest in Christian orders. Storms proposes that the practitioner was a pagan priest, but the celebration of Masses and use of other Christian ritual indicates that he was a Christian priest borrowing elements of non-Christian ceremony. Even in the later Middle Ages, the loosely controlled lower clergy functioned at times also as magicians, analogous to the wandering monks Kuhn mentions in *Soulstealers* (pp. 105–18) as magicians or suspected magicians in China. In each of these cases, the magician-priests or magician-monks belonged to an ambiguous border category, sharing the spiritual powers but not subject to the same controlling structures as the higher religious elites.

⁷⁸ Joyce E. Salisbury, *Iberian Popular Religion, 600 B.C. to 700 A.D.: Celts, Romans, and Visigoths* (New York, 1985), 116–60, emphasizes the mediatory role of parish priests in the early Middle Ages. Compare Henry G. J. Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century* (Rome, 1950), 43–91.

⁷⁹ Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, Robert Brain, trans. (London, 1972).

⁸⁰ Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg i. Br., 1909), deals in principle with "ecclesiastical" blessings, but his compendious study includes a considerable amount of material that was not in any clear sense official.

⁸¹ Flint concedes that her use of "magic" is "terminologically difficult," yet she finds it helpful as a "sounding word" for exploring that "hopeful belief in preternatural control" in early medieval Europe; she uses the term "as one way into a time, and as one approach to sensibilities that were preoccupied to an extraordinary degree with the preternatural" (p. 5 and following).

cally how medieval people made cognitive sense of their experience, but how can we know about the unreflective, intuitive experience itself? It is interesting and not implausible to suppose that on an experiential level what churchmen called magic and what they called blessings or sacramentals had similar effects: that the two systems evoked similar feelings of contact with the mysterious or the numinous and that all the effort to define distinct areas of licit and illicit ritual on a cognitive map was in large part a strategy to gain a sense of control over dangerous terrain. Yet this is supposition; we are faced here with that barrier to historical understanding that Gary Tomlinson warns of. We can only intuit what medieval people might have intuited—but we may come to know what they claimed to know, although we will know it differently, because we cannot share the intuitions in which their knowledge was grounded.

IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT, in accepting the definitions of magic used by the educated in medieval society, I am presenting a distorted picture of medieval thought about magic. C. John Sommerville has contended in a different context that accepting the definitions of historical elites “robs dissent of its true voice and its nuance” and cloaks popular mentalities, whereas substituting “the sort of generic definition refined by anthropologists . . . avoids prejudging what we might uncover.”⁸² Indeed, while educated clerics thought of magic as a rational activity (in the sense specified above), it might well be argued that questions of rationality would not have occurred to most of the population. The evidence cited so far has come chiefly from clerical writings, in which notions of magic were formally articulated. It is not unreasonable to ask whether clerical distinctions were too subtle for the populace at large. On this point, the position of Aron Gurevich may represent something of a historical consensus: “To the majority of the population the difference between amulets, which were strictly forbidden by the clergy, and holy relics was not too clear . . . Magic was admitted by the church into its practices and rituals; the border dividing Christian magic from what was condemned as *maleficium* was indefinite and surely unclear to the parishioners.”⁸³

It might seem less prejudicial to use modern, anthropological definitions that do not commit us to the bias of any historical class and do not blind us to the perceptions of the illiterate. But when we attempt to use anthropological definitions of magic, we quickly find that they fit the historical material awkwardly at best,⁸⁴ and it is not obvious that medieval peasants are well served by

⁸² C. John Sommerville, in a debate with John Edwards, “Religious Faith and Doubt in Late Medieval Spain: Soria circa 1450–1500,” *Past and Present*, 128 (August 1990): 153.

⁸³ Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth, trans. (Cambridge, 1988), 62. See also Robert W. Scribner, “Magie und Aberglaube: Zur volkstümlichen sakramentalischen Denkart in Deutschland am Ausgang des Mittelalters,” in Dinzelbacher and Bauer, *Volksreligion im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, 253–74.

⁸⁴ For example, George M. Foster, “Disease Etiologies in Non-Western Medical Systems,” *American Anthropologist*, 78 (December 1976): 773–82, represents personalistic healing as indistinguishably religious or magical and naturalistic medicine as scientific—which seems to imply that leaping over a grave as an aid in childbirth, curing lunacy by suspending clovewort from the patient’s neck under specified astral conditions, or bearing an opal on one’s body to become invisible are not magical acts, while praying to God for a cure is magical.

conceptions imported on their behalf from Africa or Melanesia or by anachronistic redefinition of terms used by their learned contemporaries. If, for comparative purposes, we need terms that are free of specific historical associations, it is surely best to use genuinely neutral terms such as "unofficial ritual," rather than to invest historical words such as "magic" with anachronistic neutral meaning.⁸⁵

It could well be argued that "magic" must simply be recognized as chiefly a term of literate discourse. But, even so, how different were "popular" perceptions in this area from those of the theological and scientific writers? I have argued elsewhere that the distinction between "popular" and "elite" cultures can usefully be subordinated to a more nuanced and fluid distinction between "common tradition" and various specialized traditions; once this basic distinction is established, it becomes possible to see diverse "high" and "low" cultures as forms of specialized culture related in complex and shifting ways to common culture.⁸⁶ Much of the culture at any time was common: not universal or uniform but sufficiently diffused that it cannot be assigned to any specific subgroup and expressive more of solidarity than of either hegemony or dissent. Magical gems, for example, were primarily found in courtly circles that could afford such luxuries, but the use of image magic for bodily harm and sexual attraction seems to have been part of the common culture of medieval Europe, used by people of various positions in society and feared (to different degrees) by virtually all, even if its details and interpretation varied considerably.⁸⁷ Similarly, the basic idea of conjuring demons seems to have been widely enough diffused to count as part of common culture, although the fully developed methods of necromancy were practiced chiefly in a clerical underworld. When we hear accusations of diabolism (involving the witches' Sabbath and related phenomena), the voices we are hearing seem to be those of a theologically informed elite, at least in the early stages of the witch trials.⁸⁸ The question, then, is not whether "popular" notions of magic can be distinguished from "elite" conceptions but the extent to which the articulated understanding of magic found in educated circles rests on an understanding of magic that was "common," or widely shared.

It is only rarely that we have anything like direct access to the mental world of the nonliterate, and when we do we find words for specific actions and objects (curses, wax images) more often than generic terms suggesting a broad conception of magic. It is possible, however, to speak about the relationship between the Latin and the vernacular words with broadest application. The terms *magia* and

⁸⁵ Alan F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition," in R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden, 1981), 350 and following, argues forcefully that "no definition of magic can be universally applicable" because the meanings vary from one context to another. Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980), prefers the relatively neutral term even within his historical context.

⁸⁶ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 56 and following.

⁸⁷ See Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), 50–53, 59. Having recognized this basic distinction, we can then discuss how the specialized cultures related to the common culture, what pressures there were to diffuse specialized practices, and what safeguards arose (such as the alchemists' vaunted secrecy) to thwart this diffusion. See *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 140–44, and literature there cited. While the pretense of secrecy cannot always be taken seriously, many practitioners of the occult arts did make an effort to resist the popularization of these arts.

⁸⁸ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 153–56; and Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*.

ars magica, and related terms such as *nigromantia*, were themselves taken over by the vernaculars yet retained their character as essentially learned parlance; when Chaucer's Franklin uses "magyk natureel," there is no reason to think that the term meant anything different from *magia naturalis*. Native vernacular terms, however, such as *sorcellerie* and *wiccecraft*, had meanings that overlapped yet differed from that of *magia*. Without pretending to provide a full analysis, let me make two suggestions: first, these vernacular words, more than *magia* and *ars magica*, were used mainly for harmful and secretive magic; but, second, like the Latin terms, these vernacular expressions referred to activities that drew on either sinister or occult sources of power.

In vernacular texts such as the Icelandic sagas, for instance, sorcery appears primarily as a mysterious and unfair way of attacking one's adversaries.⁸⁹ Rather than approaching them openly with force that can be seen and confronted, the sorcerer attacks secretly, with a force that is unknown and thus not confrontable. Sorcerers tap into a hidden source of dark power disproportionate to their operations: it is not the carving of runes per se that works wondrous effects but the invocation of a mysterious power through the runes. Ultimately, it was this disproportion between means and effects that was puzzling and disturbing. Educated observers might try to make sense of the disproportion by speaking of occult virtues deriving perhaps from astral influence or by explaining magical rites as signs to the demons who carry out the magician's will. In giving these explanations, however, the elite observers were expressing a perception that surely did not differ greatly from that of any observer; they were rationalizing a sense of disproportion that aroused varying mixtures of wonderment and fear in anyone who suspected the workings of magic. Fear of magicians was widespread in medieval society; villagers and townspeople in the early as well as the late Middle Ages accused as sorcerers those of their neighbors who over several years had gained a reputation for working harm, even if many also served as healers and diviners. There is nothing extraordinary about this simultaneous fear of the practitioner and interest in the practice; it was found in the pagan culture of antiquity, and it would be surprising not to find it in medieval Europe.

The practitioners of magic, whether educated or not, also shared conceptions of magic at least broadly similar to those of the clerical interpreters of magic. Allegations of *wiccecraft* in Anglo-Saxon England, for example, make clear that people at all levels of society saw it not merely as a venting of wishes or frustrations but as effective.⁹⁰ The person who observed ritual taboos in gathering herbs, or who used a charm with *voces mysticae*, or who imbibed pulverized vulture kidneys to restore sexual potency clearly recognized that there was occult virtue in these actions, formulas, and substances. In somewhat the same way that *sorcellerie* and *wiccecraft* were most distinctly marked off from other forms of activity when perceived as maleficent, it is probably the case that in non-learned circles substances were more likely to be perceived as having occult natural power when

⁸⁹ See Konrad Jarausch, "Der Zauber in den Isländersagas," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, n.s. 1 (1929-30): 237-68; and Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 48-53.

⁹⁰ Jane Crawford, "Evidences for Witchcraft in Anglo-Saxon England," *Medium Aevum*, 32 (1963): 99-116.

they were repugnant and taboo: late medieval trials for sorcery, for example, suggest that such materials as menstrual blood, excrement, or dead animals could easily be seen as bearing mysterious and extraordinary power.⁹¹ Among the educated, the idea of natural magic might be given more specific articulation as the result of astral influences or other forces within nature. The educated and the populace at large seem to have shared alternative explanations having to do with sympathy and antipathy, the powers of elves, and symbolic resemblances. At any rate, the fundamental notion of exploiting secret powers in nature was part of a common culture that scientists and philosophers shared with practitioners and observers generally.

The basic ideas of demonic magic also belonged to this common tradition. The magicians of late antiquity who conjured *daimones* may not have understood them as specifically fallen spirits, but they, like Christian theologians, recognized that such magic worked through the deliberately sought intervention of spirits willing to collaborate in murder, seduction, and personal aggrandizement.⁹² The clerical necromancers of the later Middle Ages sometimes claimed to be conjuring neutral spirits but often explicitly identified their *spiritus maligni* with the demons of Christian theology.⁹³ Uneducated magicians seem also at times to have dabbled in similar forms of conjuration.⁹⁴ Once again, the ideas of practitioners, observers, and theorists about what was occurring were recognizably similar, even if the theologians had more specific notions of how demonic magic worked. The basic rational principles ascribed to magic were part of a common culture, even if the theological formulation of those principles was part of a specialized subculture. The concepts of magic here in question were not simply expressions of a hegemonic culture: even when prosecution for magic served as a means of asserting or establishing social or political control, it was effective largely because its legitimating conceptions were widely shared and thus elicited collaboration and built coalitions that cut across social and cultural lines.⁹⁵

As for Gurevich's notion that most people would not have distinguished ecclesiastical rituals from magic, much depends on precisely what is being asserted. One might argue that people without occasion to explore very deeply the rational assumptions entailed in the use of vulture kidneys or the rational postulates implied in making the sign of the cross might readily confuse or conflate these systems of behavior. But Gurevich seems to posit an implausible degree of cultural impenetrability. There is nothing conceptually difficult in the basic distinction between appeal to God, invocation of demons, and exploitation of mysterious powers within nature. To assume that the majority of the population was unable to grasp such principles is to underrate the capacity of the lay mind. Anthropologists have found distinctions no less subtle than these in

⁹¹ See Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*, 53 and following, 57 and following.

⁹² See Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, *passim*; and Gager, *Curse Tablets*.

⁹³ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 169 and following.

⁹⁴ See, for example, J. Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, 524–26, 553–55.

⁹⁵ For a detailed study of a case of political intervention by a centralizing city-state, see Arno Borst, "Anfänge des Hexenwahn in den Alpen," in Andreas Blauert, ed., *Ketzer, Zauberer, Hexen: Die Anfänge der europäischen Hexenverfolgungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 43–67; for examples of how witch trials could be instigated from either above or below, see Andreas Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen: Ketzer-, Zauberei- und Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1989), 87–109.

nonliterate cultures worldwide. And even if many people were nonreflective about these various forms of ritual, it would be more accurate to say that the conceptual relationship between the ritual systems simply was not an issue for these people. One cannot then assert that such observers categorized both forms of ritual (use of vulture kidneys and making the sign of the cross) as magic; one must maintain simply that they saw no need to locate either behavior in a system of abstract categories.

Some might still argue that on an intuitive level most people would have experienced the church's rituals and magical acts similarly. When historians rely on arguments of this sort, however, one suspects that they are expressing their own intuitions. It may well be that if members of the historical profession were to perform arcane rituals with hoopoe hearts, they would be unable to distinguish these from the rites performed in churches.⁹⁶ But if so, is this a fact of real historical significance?

⁹⁶ See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 6 (n. 4) and 142 (n. 31).

Review Article
Communism in Historical Perspective

DAVID JORAVSKY

THE TIME HAS COME FOR HISTORIANS OF COMMUNISM to draw a line and sum up, although, for the historians as well as the Communists, the difficulties may overwhelm the need. Historiography of the usual sort—"We have learned this but need to know that, within such and such contests of interpretation"—assumes a community of scholars debating a recognizable subject. In this case, the subject defies recognition and the scholars evade community. Most Communist parties, after decades of splintering and denouncing each other's claims to be Marxist revolutionaries, have renounced their own claims. It is as if the Reformation were ending with Protestant churches not only splitting but dissolving, declaring themselves Catholic after all. On the scholarly side, historians have mimicked the fission. Russianists and Sinologists, who must deal with the most significant cases of revolutionary Marxism, have kept apart, each group concentrating on the experience of Communism within its chosen country, as have the separate clusters of historians who study Communist movements and regimes scattered through the other national and regional divisions of the modern world. "World Communism" as a subject of scholarly inquiry has withered away since the 1950s, along with the ideologies that raged in hope or fear of a universal revolutionary party. Indeed, the most sensible studies of "World Communism" contributed to the withering away of ideological fury, by disintegrating the supposedly universal party into particular movements and regimes.¹

Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Kennan Institute and at several universities. So many friends have offered useful criticism and advice that I can thank them only in this general fashion.

¹ Sinologists focused on the particularities of Chinese Communism even before its victory, which provoked an ideological storm against them. See John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); Benjamin J. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* (Cambridge, 1951); Conrad Brandt, Benjamin J. Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank, eds., *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Cambridge, 1952); compare Paul M. Evans, *John Fairbank and the American Understanding of Modern China* (Oxford, 1988); Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York, 1984); Kathleen Hartford and Steven Goldstein, "Introduction," *Single Sparks: China's Rural Revolutions* (Armonk, N.Y., 1989). Thanks to Charles Hayford for giving me the last two.

The particularities of Russian Communism were the focus of the best reportage and memoirs from the start, and of such enduring works as Geroid T. Robinson's *Rural Russia under the Old Regime: A History of the Landlord-Peasant World and a Prologue to the Peasant Revolution of 1917* (New York, 1932), which forecast the turn to the social history of the revolution. The Cold War brought an obsession with "the totalitarian model" of "World Communism," which can be seen to recede in such sensible essays as Robert V. Daniels, *The Nature of Communism* (New York, 1962); Alfred G. Meyer,

As a longtime participant in that process, I hope to be properly understood if now I challenge the disintegrating vision, the partial scholarship—in both senses of partial—by which scholars have contributed to the cooling of ideological passions. It is fine to be cool and down-to-earth, but we still need to generalize, and therefore we must confront ideology, in our own minds as well as the minds of others. The need is most evident when Western specialists attempt discourse with Russian colleagues, who imagine that they are escaping ideology by changing the worship of Communist saints into the denunciation of Communist demons. The need is less evident but more demanding in the West, where complacent generalities are now the conventional wisdom of public opinion. Communism has collapsed, we are endlessly told, because it was fatally at odds with these truths we hold to be self-evident: markets generate wealth and multi-party elections produce self-government in nation states, which are the natural units of popular sovereignty. If scholars recoil from such supra-historical generalities, if they insist that diverse economic and political systems are slowly growing products of long-term historical processes, distinctive to particular countries and areas during particular periods of time, they have not escaped the need to generalize and to confront the ideologies that inhere in historical generalizations.

They must still ask, most notably, why the revolutions of the twentieth century have been so different from the classic originals in England, America, and France, which generated both the self-evident truths concerning markets and elections in nation states and the twentieth-century revolts against those truths.² We must ask why movements professing revolutionary Marxism cropped up almost everywhere in our century but gained significant support only in some places, with strikingly divergent patterns of belief and practice. With such questions in mind, I am offering a historical taxonomy of Communist movements and regimes, concentrating on the main type: preachers of revolutionary Marxism who secured a large popular base, for electoral politics in some cases, for violent revolutions in others. My effort is to summarize and to provoke, to disclose generalizing

Communism, rev. edn. (New York, 1963); in the bold turn to comparative history by Theodore H. Von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? A Reappraisal of the Russian Revolution, 1900–1930* (Philadelphia, 1964); and in Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966). For subsequent work, see Edward Acton, *Rethinking the Russian Revolution* (London, 1990); and Stephen F. Cohen, *Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History since 1917* (New York, 1985).

For notable efforts to set Communism within the history of socialism, see G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought*, 5 vols. (London, 1953–67); Jacques Droz, ed., *Histoire générale du socialisme*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1972–78); Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography* (London, 1949); and his trilogy *The Prophet Armed: Trotsky, 1879–1940* (New York, 1954); *The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky, 1921–1929* (New York, 1959); and *The Prophet Outcast: Trotsky, 1929–1940* (New York, 1963). The serials, *Problems of Communism*, 1952–92, *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 1968–, and the Hoover Institution's *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, 1967–, reveal trends in the field at large. Historical studies of Communism by scholars working within Communist countries may be ignored here; they evince the repression of any self-criticism except *sharakhani'e*, Stalin's term—and Khrushchev's, too—for spasmodic leaps from one extreme to another.

² See Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge, 1979), chap. 1, for a review of the literature. The supposed classic by Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1939, 1952), assumes that Western Europe provides a model of history everywhere. In the preface to a 1965 reprint (p. vii), he has learned from Von Laue the possibility of “a new category of modern revolutions,” the ‘revolution of backward countries.’”

tendencies that are implicit in special works on Communism, broad opinions that are concealed within narrow studies of particular cases. I will argue that there is a community of learned opinion, however elusive, that it is at odds with public opinion on certain crucial issues, and that it is internally inconsistent, if only because scholarly minds share in the public opinion they claim to rise above. The usual antinomies of historical thought—the claim to discover a past we are partly inventing, mixing “was” with “should have been” and “ought to be”—are greatly aggravated when we think about the tradition of revolutionary democracy, “our” tradition, which “they” turned to alien uses in twentieth-century Russia and China, Yugoslavia and Vietnam, to name the most famous shocks to complacent “us.”

Historians need to ask themselves how much of that “us”-“them” thinking links the scholarly community with the conventional wisdom of public opinion. In preliminary illumination of the problem, I offer Winston Churchill, supreme master of the blatantly ideological art that middlebrow readers look for in works of history. (They are sufficiently inquiring to seek reassurance in history and sufficiently smug to find it.) Churchill invoked “cold Semitic internationalism” to explain the Bolshevik agents of “Despair and Treachery,” who sank the Russian ship “in sight of port, . . . at the very moment when the task was done.” “The task” was victory over Germany in World War I and the triumph of democracy within the Russian empire—under a military dictator, perhaps, but one of the proper devotion, binding lesser men to the national goal that deserved the limitless sacrifice demanded by the war to end all wars.³ In time, Churchill and his middlebrow readers learned to repress talk of “Semitic internationalism” when explaining the Communist organizers of mass revolt against the first total war. But they went on believing that the revolt was a greater calamity than the war itself, and some learned specialists reinforce that sentiment.

Leonard Schapiro, to take a highly esteemed example, pictured the Bolsheviks as organizing a revolt against justice itself, whose universal and eternal standard he could define: “the need for reconciling all the conflicting interests which will always exist in practice in every state.”⁴ Schapiro invoked Augustine in support of that supra-historical rule for historical judgment, without pausing to puzzle over the obvious difficulties. Could the interests of slave holders and slaves, of church hierarchs and heretics, be reconciled in the modern historian’s mind as they were in Augustine’s? What conciliatory, nonrevolutionary concept of justice might the historian bring to bear on such revolting institutions as slavery and state churches? Schapiro did not stop to brood over such issues. He simply decreed the equation of modern liberalism with eternal justice and lamented the failure of the Russian liberals in 1917 to “save the country from chaos by calling on the loyal remnants of the army in time” to establish “a military dictatorship.”⁵ He took it for granted that the loyal remnants were right to continue the wholesale slaughter of World War I, that the disloyal masses were wrong to rebel against it. Somehow, he knew

³ See Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis*, 6 vols. (New York, 1923–31), 6: 695–97; and Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (1937; rpt. edn., Chicago, 1973), 128 and *et passim*.

⁴ Leonard Schapiro, *The Origin of the Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State, First Phase, 1917–1922* (London, 1955), x–xi.

⁵ Schapiro, *Origin of the Communist Autocracy*, 24.

that the just war to end all wars was the Wilsonian conflict between nation states—including the Russian empire—not the Leninist conflict within existing states.

Since the 1950s, most historians of Communist revolutions have moved away from such mixtures of hasty philosophizing and wishful dreaming about military dictators who might have saved this or that country for a liberal form of nationalism. They have moved, as E. H. Carr did, toward a worrisome relativism in the mixtures of causal analysis and moral judgment that are unavoidable in writing history. Schapiro's appeal to Augustine for an absolute liberal standard was provoked by Carr's massive study of the first Communist revolution, which opened with a chilling dismissal of any absolute standard: "No sensible person will be tempted to measure the Russia of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin by any yardstick borrowed from the Britain of MacDonald, Baldwin, and Churchill or the America of Wilson, Hoover, and Franklin Roosevelt."⁶

Carr might have called in witness Winston Churchill—not Churchill as historian of World War I and Lenin's revolution but Churchill as Stalin's ally in World War II, who supported Tito's Partisans while Stalin held back, and squelched a subordinate's worry about a Communist regime in Yugoslavia with a sneer: "Do you intend to make Yugoslavia your home after the war?"⁷ The relativism in that response lacked the respect that anthropologists bring to the study of cultures other than their own. When Churchill was not denunciatory, he was disdainful toward backward "them" in contrast to civilized "us." Carr was not free of condescension, but he did reach for the anthropologist's vision. His sharp distinction between standards appropriate to Russia and to Britain and America is immediately followed by avowal of "the dual task imposed on every serious historian: to combine an imaginative understanding of the outlook and purpose of his *dramatis personae* with an over-riding appreciation of the universal significance of the action."⁸

He could have called that a triple rather than a "dual task," perhaps even a groping for infinity: trying to measure the past both with "our" yardstick and with "theirs," while also seeking some "universal significance," which presumably transcends all particular yardsticks and may therefore be found only in heaven. Carr was aware of such philosophical problems, as he showed in the essay *What Is History?* which has been widely assigned by history professors in the United States and Britain. Most of them have moved, as Carr did, to the conviction that longing for a different past is an evasion of serious thought about the real past, the one that cannot be undone but must be made "usable," although we sometimes say it is a nightmare from which we are trying to wake up.⁹ Because I share that messy conviction, I want to press it to its limits, where ideological preferences are obliged to come out of concealment within claims of cold-eyed realism.

⁶ Edward Hallett Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923*, 3 vols. (London, 1950–53), 1: 5. That kind of dichotomy has been the rule among Sinologists all along, with occasional brooding over the philosophic problems it raises. For a recent example, see Stuart Schram, ed., *Foundations and Limits of State Power in China* (London, 1987).

⁷ Quoted in Fitzroy Maclean, *Eastern Approaches* (London, 1949), 402.

⁸ Carr, *Bolshevik Revolution*, 1: 5.

⁹ Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* (New York, 1961), reprinted many times. The metaphor of history as nightmare derives both from Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and from James Joyce, *Ulysses*.

In preliminary illumination of such limits, I offer not only a grand master of middlebrow history but even a policeman of public opinion: J. Edgar Hoover, whose tract on Communism has served as a textbook in American high schools. Following Stalin's death, he warned that "the Communist leopard frequently changes his spots, but the same blood—bad blood—continuously flows through his veins."¹⁰ This is an uncanny anticipation of the image used by a recent scholar, struggling to show how Communism in all its "protean" appearances is essentially one—"Proteus," who "eluded capture by continually changing from one form into another."¹¹ Most scholars have turned away from such magical metaphors, in part because they suggest demonology, in part because learned opinion has grown leery of any search for essences, the unchanging qualities that metaphysics posits to explain away change and diversification. Yet historians still try to discern patterns. We must use general terms, such as Communism, as if they had some persistent meaning, and so we continually skirt such confusions as the search for mythic Proteus in factual history or for the bad blood that keeps leopards on the prowl with or without spots.

WHAT CAN ONE FIND IN COMMON between, say, the Italian Communists, who were already absorbed in multi-party democracy while they revered Stalin, and the Cambodian Khmer Rouge, who are still guerrillas—or thugs—after ostensibly renouncing Communism? The most illuminating answer is implicit in this method of stating the problem, that is, in observing different types of discord between label and reality. If we expand such observation beyond accusations of deceit, to include self-deception, some version of the universal discord between the ways people perceive themselves and the ways they are, we note that most Communist parties through most of their histories have been merely imaginary vanguards, claiming a "mass base" that they could not prove to be there. Chronic political impotence has been the distinguishing feature of such groups, which have called themselves political parties, though they have in fact been isolated sects of unavailing believers, thrusting leaflets at indifferent crowds, or calling from mountains and jungles for armed volunteers who do not appear. That is one type, the most numerous if one counts by organizations, the least numerous if one counts by people.¹² In that disproportion lies their challenge. Historians of Communism must explain another of the ideologies whose failing claims of

¹⁰ U.S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, *The Great Pretense: A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party* (Washington, D.C., 1956), 172. For the textbook, see J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It* (New York, 1958).

¹¹ Adam Westoby, *The Evolution of Communism* (Cambridge, 1989), 4. Compare Geoffrey Stern, *The Rise and Decline of International Communism* (Aldershot, 1990), for generalization that is closer to current scholarly opinion. For an extreme case of essentialist thought, see Jean Ousset, *Marxisme et révolution* (Paris, 1992), which traces the revolutionary spirit to original sin and finds it at work in the Quakers, the Masons, even a pope (John XXIII).

¹² See Witold S. Sworakowski, ed., *World Communism: A Handbook, 1918–1965* (Stanford, Calif., 1973); and the Hoover Institution's *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, 1967–, for continuing counts on both levels.

universality crash against the stubborn particularity of human societies, endlessly fragmented, ceaselessly changing.

Communist parties are commonly typed as "ruling" or "non-ruling," but this crude dichotomy obscures more than it clarifies. A few Marxist parties gained a large following without coming to power, as in Germany before World War I and later in Italy and France. On the other hand, some impotent sects were abruptly raised to power by foreign armies, as in much of Eastern Europe at mid-century, or in Cambodia in 1979, and that is a distinct type. It merits study especially for the divergent ways in which such foreign impositions took native root, with the Hungarian regime at one extreme of creative adaptation, the Romanian at the other extreme of degenerative misrule. Analogous interest attaches to another type, the indigenous regime imposed by a native junta that turns Communist after it seizes power, as in Cuba or Ethiopia. There is no space in this essay to deal with any of those types: the impotent sect, the foreign imposition, the converted junta.

The basic challenge, to discover patterns of interaction between a supposedly universal ideology and a diversity of social contexts, is posed most urgently by the main type, the original source and continuing inspiration from which all others derived. Both native and massive in its appeal, it is the organization that becomes a major political force by preaching revolutionary Marxism, the vanguard that gains widespread support through elections, through upheaval from below, or through some combination of the two. The type appears first in Germany, then in Russia, later in China, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, Vietnam, and Angola, creating and nourishing the dream of revolutionary Marxism for approximately a century. In these cases, the claim to be a revolutionary vanguard was so realistic to so many people for so long a time that historically minded observers were frequently reminded of the Reformation era or of some earlier period of religious upheaval attended by political violence and social transformation.

No doubt the presence of Germany at the head of the list will provoke objection. We all know that the first party to gain a large following by preaching revolutionary Marxism emerged in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, but a conditioned reflex labels that great originator Social Democratic, not Communist, and thus excludes it from the history of Communism. This verbal shuffle brushes aside a major historical problem. Lenin's party was also called Social Democratic until 1918. German and Russian Marxists were comrades until World War I precipitated the split that attended the German comrades' support of the war, Lenin's violent denunciation of it, his seizure of power in the course of the Russian Revolution, and the change of party name to Communist. The change of names does not explain that split, which brings the main historical problem of Communism to a sharp focus.

Why was the border between the Russian and the German empires a line that divided Marxist comrades between the politics of revolutionary civil war and the politics of parliamentary elections? That division was the original instance in a persistent pattern. After the first world war, in Italy and in France revolutionary Marxists succumbed to parliamentary politics even while they called the German Social Democrats "renegades" and swore vehemently that they were following the Russian example of Lenin and Stalin. The opposite turn, through the rhetoric of

revolutionary civil war to the violent practice of it, occurred in "backward" countries—Russia and China, Yugoslavia and Vietnam—when their state systems collapsed under the impact of invasion by imperial powers. The problem that challenges historians is not the Communist derailment of so-called backward countries from the normal course of history, as conventional wisdom assumes. At least two different "normal" courses of despotism appear during the age of total war. Germany, Italy, and France experienced one-party dictatorships of the fascist type during that time, while Russia, China, Yugoslavia, and Vietnam began a much longer experience of Communist dictatorships. When dictatorships of the fascist type were overthrown in Italy and in France, the Communist participants in the overthrow laid down their rifles and resumed the curious precedent of the original Marxists of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany: preaching revolutionary overthrow, they collected a multitude of followers for parliamentary politics; urging class war, they brought workers into class conciliation.

Any talk of a normal, progressive course of history requires apologetic quotation marks. Faith in such a course, which this or that messiah nation reveals to the rest, justified the outbursts of wholesale slaughter that constitute the age of total war. The belief that our country and its special allies are the model of progress, which all other, less fortunate or less virtuous nations must follow, is still a fixture of popular politics, although academic historians have been trying to get away from it. We must ask ourselves how far we have moved. That is why I bring up Winston Churchill and Woodrow Wilson. They were proud to bridge high culture and popular politics—in the Enlightened tradition, we must note, which began with scholarly politicians such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and ended with the likes of Churchill and Wilson, learned zealots of a missionary creed who armed industrial nations with arrogant self-righteousness and accelerating fire power, especially angry at Lenin and Trotsky as rival zealots who would arm "backward" countries with a defiant faith and matching fire power.

Most academic historians nowadays shun the missionary and emulate the anthropologist—the anti-imperial anthropologist, who approaches alien cultures unarmed, trying to understand them in their own functioning, in their own right. I belong to the humble congregation, and I ask the brothers and sisters to confess the arrogance of our humility. Ideology is concealed within the claim that we dispassionate scholars have escaped ideology, have overcome the self-serving identification of our group's beliefs with truth for all. Let us acknowledge that tension between the missionary and the anthropologist is inescapable, that understanding of Communism can approach objectivity only if it struggles with such tension within the scholarly community, indeed, within the individual mind. Ideology is the secular equivalent of Emerson's Brahma, who boasted, "When me they fly, I am the wings."¹³

¹³ Thanks to the late Harry Marks for calling my attention to this fine expression of the dialectical mindset:

They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Brahma" (1847).

In Churchill's account, Stalin's regime rescued the Russian cause from the "Semitic internationalism" of Trotsky, but, Jewish or not, "the dull, squalid figures of the Russian Bolsheviks are not redeemed in interest even by the magnitude of their crimes. All form and emphasis is lost in a vast process of Asiatic liquefaction."¹⁴ Students of Antonio Gramsci, chief theorist of the Italian Communists, will recognize the kinship of that "Asiatic liquefaction" with Gramsci's notion of a "primordial and gelatinous" Russian society beneath an all-powerful state. The contrast between Western structure and Russian goo was central to Gramsci's insistence that Italian Communism would respect the Western tradition of limited government and individual liberties—"a correct relationship between the State and civil society."¹⁵ Indeed, students of Lenin will recall his urgent impatience for Russia to leap out of "Asiatic" backwardness, to have done with patterns of history that differed from the West European.

On the left as on the right, "the West" is not just a place on the map where democracy and industrial capitalism emerged; it is also an empire of the mind, imposing belief in an essential form of human society emerging from a progressive pattern of history, including the modern tradition of revolutionary democracy. Russia, on this mental map, laps over into the formlessness of Asiatic society. China is entirely there; Sun Yat-sen, a Westernizing revolutionary, accepted the belief of "foreign observers" that "the Chinese are like a sheet of loose sand," because they are allegedly loyal only to their families and clans, not to the nation.¹⁶ Progressive change, in this view, could begin only when Europeans and Americans breathed upon the formless chaos, creating structure of the Western sort. The Communist versions of this vision project a great leap ahead of the Western original. The anticommunist versions perceive such Communist leaps—whether in Russia or China, Yugoslavia or Vietnam, Cuba or Ethiopia—as monstrous perversions of the model revolutions in England, America, or France. With Gorbachev, the Communist perverts began to recognize their protracted madness, and so at long last they have begun to raise the Russian ship of state, which their grandfathers sank, and to resume the predestined journey to "the West."

Of course, I am oversimplifying and needling, to provoke the totalistic vision that shapes conventional beliefs about Communism. It is still present even when disguised by such sophisticates as Secretary of State Dean Acheson. He opened a major speech in 1950 with a declaration that "we," the leaders of the Western democracies, do not claim knowledge of history's goal, much less the course that must be followed to reach it. Communists make such a claim, to justify their wicked tyranny, which we must oppose, as good humble people have always

¹⁴ Churchill, *Great Contemporaries*, 203–04.

¹⁵ Quoted in John M. Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (Stanford, Calif., 1967), 206. Compare Paul Miliukov, *Russia and Its Crisis* (Chicago, 1905), *passim*; and Aleksandr Herzen, *From the Other Shore* (Oxford, 1979), 13, for liberal and radical expressions of this view, which has been traced back as far as the sixteenth century. See Samuel H. Baron, "Introduction," *The Travels of Olearius* (Stanford, 1967); and Matthew S. Anderson, *Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553–1815* (New York, 1958).

¹⁶ Sun Yat-sen, *The Three Principles of the People: San Min Chu I* (Taiwan, 1963), 2. Compare Chu-yuan Cheng, ed., *Sun Yat-sen's Doctrine in the Modern World* (Boulder, Colo., 1989). Note, too, the Iranian reformer quoted in the epigraph to Chapter 4 of Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 169. Thanks to Carl Petry for directing me to Abrahamian.

opposed wicked despots who claim to know God's will. With that pride in our humility, Acheson demanded that the Communists accept, as we do, the goal required by God-knows-who-or-what: self-determined nation states developing industrial prosperity under constitutional representative governments. And he made plain the readiness of his state to wage war, even total war, on behalf of that goal.¹⁷ Such self-deceptive clinging to a totalistic vision, while condemning the totalitarian mind, can be found in academic historians, too. Are we not obsessed with a historical norm—or the myth of such a norm set by “the West”—whether in Churchill's plainly imperial version or Acheson's smug humility, or in the rebellious versions of Gramsci or Sun Yat-sen or Lenin?

Two answers leap to mind, each contradicting the other. This obsession cannot be shaken off, for it is universally accepted as obvious truth; it animates and organizes even the minds that would dispute it. And, pointing in the opposite direction: this obsession is conventional wisdom in low or middlebrow culture; most scholarly historians have abandoned or subverted it. I confess a divided mind and hope to show that some such division is unavoidable. It is built into the contention between historical processes, which persistently mock any ordering myths, and our minds, which cannot help organizing experience in mythic patterns, since we are conscious and purposeful creatures, who need to know where we are headed and for what purpose. A particular expression of this division is the surly stand-off between low culture and high, between beliefs that mock reason while swaying multitudes and the subversive patterns that reasoning minds work out within powerless intellectual ghettos.

CONSIDER THE SUBVERSIVE PATTERNS that emerge in scholarly studies of the original revolutionary Marxist movement. The German context shaped a party that preached working-class revolution while adapting to the gradualist culture of trade unions and parliamentary politics. That negative integration, as one scholar called it,¹⁸ a self-deceiving drift through clouds of revolutionary refusal into the politics of status quo, brings smiles of satisfaction only to superficial minds. The democracy of election campaigns in an age of imperial nationalism carried the German Marxists and their followers into the wholesale slaughter of our century's first total war, which no historian any longer even tries to justify. Commitment to parliamentary politics and aversion to civil war also prevented the German Marxists from thoroughly destroying the militarist system during the Revolution of 1918–1919, which created a weak democracy, vulnerable to reactionary ferocity. Gloomy resignation, as if to a natural catastrophe that overwhelms good

¹⁷ See David S. McLellan, *Dean Acheson: The State Department Years* (New York, 1976), 229–30, for “an abbreviated resumé,” which softens the original to show that it “carefully refrained from espousing the goal of a moral crusade.” To me, a student in Acheson's audience, the speech sounded precisely like such an espousal, the American style of projecting our humble self-image as a model for the world.

¹⁸ Guenther Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany: A Study in Working-Class Isolation and National Integration* (Totowa, N.J., 1963).

people, is the dominant tone in histories of German Social Democracy, subverting the myth that gradualistic politics is the way to peace.¹⁹

That is the glory and the shame of the German Social Democrats, history's first party of revolutionary Marxists. They brought the working class of their country into an emergent parliamentary process and bent their country's internal policies toward justice in class relations. But that very process of sensible politics within Germany disabled those Marxists from effectively opposing the madness of external politics—until their country and all of Europe went through a blood bath of such magnitude as to choke off consoling talk of compensating progress in this model of revolutionary Marxists tamed by the electoral politics of an industrially developed nation state.

My précis of the German case pushes the scholarly consensus toward explicit subversion of the conventional belief that Communism is a mad refusal of the peace and prosperity that come with parliamentary politics. In Germany, from 1848 to 1945, adherence to such politics imprisoned democratic parties, Marxists among them, in nationalism and imperialism and therefore in total war. I would generalize further. The German case was an extreme version of a general pattern during the age of total war. Parties that engaged in the electoral politics of "great powers" were agencies of mobilization for wholesale slaughter. I am disputing the conventional belief that democracy generates prosperity and peace. It is seriously at odds with historical experience.

Some scholars will bridle at this generalization, especially at the concept of an age of total war that turned democrats into agents of mass killing.²⁰ Let me approach a response by distilling more poison from the German case. National Socialism was an extreme revulsion against Marxist socialism and any other democratic movement, but Nazism had striking elements of kinship with its declared adversaries. Conventional wisdom likes to dwell on the one-party state and the mass terror, which reveal affinity to Communist regimes, and to ignore the wider kinship with revolutionary democracy in general. When Hitler won power, Joseph Goebbels went on the radio to boast, "The year 1789 is hereby eradicated from history."²¹ But the genealogy denied is still there to observe. The mobilization of masses for apocalyptic violence emerged with revolutionary democracy in France and so did chauvinistic pride in the nation chosen to inaugurate the apocalypse. This is the ideology that most readily inspires citizen soldiers, forming battalions to fertilize the native fields with the "impure blood" of vicious aliens.

¹⁹ For an elegant summation, with a good bibliography, see V. R. Berghahn, *Modern Germany: Society, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1987), 38–81. Compare the poignant last chapter of Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy, 1905–1917: The Development of the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1955).

²⁰ Brian Bond, *War and Society in Europe, 1870–1970* (New York, 1983), 168, declares "total war . . . just as much a myth as total victory or total peace," but he notes that "the fragile barriers separating war from peace and soldiers from civilians, . . . already eroded in the First World War, virtually disappeared between 1939 and 1945." See also page 224, for "total war" as an ideal type projected by Carl von Clausewitz, which came close to reality in World War II. Note the estimates of 9.8 million killed in World War I, 50 million in World War II, in Berghahn, *Modern Germany*, 44, 176.

²¹ Quoted in Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism*, Jean Steinberg, trans. (New York, 1970), 10. Thanks to Peter Hayes for calling this to my attention.

I am echoing an ominous verse of the *Marseillaise* and calling attention to every day's news of democracy expressing itself in a frenzy to drain impure blood from the body politic, whether internally in civil war, externally in international war, or in wild mixtures of the two. To be sure, the tradition of revolutionary democracy rests on the dream of civil peace and fraternal internationalism—after the enemies of the dream have been destroyed in a “last and decisive battle” (thus the *Internationale*) or a “war to end all wars” (thus Woodrow Wilson). This ideal of peace and brotherhood was a major instrument of the Russian Communists in gaining power and holding it for seventy years—in violent and dictatorial fashion. The bitter irony is not unique to Communist regimes. In the two centuries since the American and French revolutions initiated the irresistible surge of democratic ideologies throughout the world, intermittent civil wars and persistent violence between nations have provoked us believers to blame not our sacred beliefs but villainous fiends, such as the Communists, or mistakes and accidents and unfortunate necessity.

Scholars need not be ashamed of the ideological judgments embodied in historical generalizations, if the judgments are not assertions of naked wishes and fears. They can be chastened by the scholarly ideology of facts, the faith that our beliefs must endure confrontation with factual reality or else we will change them. This is why I am disputing the conventional belief. We like to believe—let me spell out the common meaning of democracy-prosperity-peace—that nation states are the natural units of popular sovereignty, that constitutional representative government within them is linked both with increasing wealth that is equitably shared *and* with the avoidance of war at home and abroad, in a spiral of mutually reinforcing virtues lifting humanity toward beatitude. We sustain that belief by pointing to cases that seem to bear it out, brushing aside subversive exceptions even though they are very common. We ignore the failure of the West for a century and a half following the French Revolution to exhibit the supposedly interdependent development of economic growth, democratic government, and peace.

A grim inversion of the ideology would be closer to historical reality. Economic growth and the advance of democratic government brought on the age of total war: total mobilization of minds, bodies, and resources for mass slaughter that recognized no limits until the enemy was totally destroyed or reduced to unconditional surrender. The interlocking mechanisms of the process had national variations, but a generic diagram can be sketched. Military training of all healthy young males and a reserve system to keep them productively employed while instantly available for the call to arms (a Prussian improvement on an invention of the French Revolution) were linked with economic and cultural changes that made such mobilization increasingly efficient. An arms industry was paid for by a state that commanded the support of subjects trained to fancy themselves participants in the power that rules over them. That modern miracle required not only a network of rapid communication and transportation but also universal education and a mass press to make all minds participant in mass politics and beliefs. Elections nourished the belligerent faith in popular sovereignty, while a civic religion elevated the spirit above the pettiness of electoral politics through

ceremonies of reverence for the dead of past wars, with ubiquitous monuments for local celebrations and an awesome sacred space at the nation's capital, where pilgrims come to initiate their children and rededicate themselves. Add to those nineteenth-century inventions the accelerating progress of military technology and finally an alliance system that bundles together all particular international hostilities in a single conflict between two blocs.²²

With that final twist, all the elements for the age of total war were in place, as perceptive observers realized even before 1914. There is no moral equivalent of war, a worried William James pointed out after the shocking news that American troops were liberating the Philippines by killing Filipinos; without war, there is no inspiring enterprise that turns a sheet of loose sand into a community of lofty endeavor.²³

DOES THIS GENERIC DIAGRAM OF THE WESTERN MODEL erase the distinction between democratic and totalitarian regimes? No. It calls attention to underlying similarities that conventional wisdom ignores or explains away, blaming totalitarianism for the age of total war, even though the sequence of cause and effect points the other way. A century of democratic and industrial advance brought on the first cataclysm of total war, which generated totalitarian parties and regimes. In the second, wilder cataclysm, one great totalitarian regime was an indispensable ally of the democracies. Indeed, the Soviet Communists insisted all along that their one-party state was also a democracy, qualitatively different from Nazism or Fascism, and conventional wisdom wobbled on that claim until the Cold War set in.²⁴ Then, in the late 1940s and the 1950s, students of Communism rallied to the belief that the two different types of one-party state were equally totalitarian, utterly different from democracy. But the Cold War alliance of scholarship and conventional wisdom was brief.

Since the 1960s, historians of Communist movements and regimes have moved away from "the totalitarian model," as they like to say, for two good reasons. It is too obviously a self-serving contrast between virtuous "us" and sinful "them," and, as a moral claim rather than a scholarly category, it obscures instead of clarifies the nitty-gritty search for sequences of historical cause and effect. As dissident Communists began using "totalitarian" to accuse their own system, calling for radical reforms to achieve a truly democratic form of socialism—another process

²² For an incisive sketch, see William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments, 1871–1890*, 2d edn. (New York, 1950), 3–6; and Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism*, 2 vols. (New York, 1968), vol. 1, chap. 3. Compare Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Sceptre*, 4 vols. (London, 1972), vol. 2, chaps. 1–5. Thanks to Michael Geyer for calling my attention to the excellent essays in John R. Gillis, ed., *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989). For further leads to the large scholarly literature, see Bond, *War and Society in Europe*.

²³ See Gerald E. Myers, *William James: His Life and Thought* (New Haven, Conn., 1986), 436–45.

²⁴ The obvious evidence of wobbling is in the great swings of public opinion, as expressed by reporters. Their enduring works took for granted the democratic elements within the first Communist revolution. See, most notably, Louis Fischer, *The Soviets in World Affairs: A History of the Relations between the Soviet Union and the Rest of the World*, 2 vols. (New York, 1930); and W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1921*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935). For analogous reporters on Chinese Communism, see Edgar Snow, Agnes Smedley, and Harold Isaacs, vividly portrayed in John K. Fairbank, *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir* (New York, 1982).

beginning in the 1960s—Western scholars felt strengthened in their determination to avoid the epithet “totalitarian.”²⁵ Over there as here, it has been a missile in ideological combat rather than a concept in objective thought. Even more so when the highest officials of the chief Communist system adopted the dissident accusation and started the radical reforms, only to suffer a collapse of ideological self-confidence and conversion to a new dream of a utopian leap out of history, this time through worship of “the market.”

This historical sketch of the concept needs more substance, if “totalitarian” is to be used for precise analysis rather than crude accusation. The term emerged in Italy of the 1920s as part of a three-way conflict, not a simple polar opposition between democrats and fascists on the issue of terror and the one-party state but an attendant division among democrats. The Left was embarrassed by the liberals’ accusation: admiration of the Russian Revolution puts one in the totalitarian camp along with the fascists.²⁶ I have already alluded to Gramsci’s effort to shake off the accusation by separating the Italian way to socialism from the Russian way. I find a similar embarrassment or bad conscience on the Russian Left, not only among “fellow travelers,” people who supported the Soviet experiment without joining the party. Bad conscience was a major source of conflict within the Communist mentality; it expressed itself in furious denial of obvious realities and also in perennial bursts of dissidence and reform, leading to the ultimate collapse of ideological self-confidence. If space permitted, I would offer in evidence not only such obvious cases of inner conflict as Khrushchev and Gorbachev, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, but also inward division in Lenin’s evolving thought, even within the dark little minds of Stalin and Mao, energized and crippled by a blinding vision.²⁷ Communists believed themselves to be democratic agents of popular sovereignty, and they could not avoid the contradiction entailed by that faith: the sovereignty of the people’s agents, the power of the vanguard party, must be limited, if only in the interest of efficiency; the pretense of constitutional rule must become real.

Oblivious of such complexities, popular usage has established totalitarian as the polar opposite of democratic, as a pejorative term that simultaneously designates and disapproves of one-party states and mass terror. Scholars try to avoid such

²⁵ See H. J. Spiro, “Totalitarianism,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 16 (1965): 106–13. For samplings of scholarly efforts to preserve the concept, see Konrad Löw, ed., *Totalitarismus* (Berlin, 1988); and Ernest A. Menze, ed., *Totalitarianism Reconsidered* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1981). Compare Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 2d edn. (London, 1989), 12 and following, for explanation of the special commitment of German scholars, along with a brilliant critique.

²⁶ See especially Meir Michaelis, “Zum italienischen Totalitarismusbegriff,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 62 (1982). I wish to thank Ian Kershaw for sending me a copy. Thanks also to Abbott Gleason for valuable insights and bibliographic suggestions.

²⁷ See “Comrade Stalin and His Party,” in David Joravsky, *Russian Psychology: A Critical History* (New York, 1989), 311–34. Stuart Schram, *The Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (New York, 1989), does not use such terms as “little” or “dark,” partly because his main concern is the relationship between Mao’s vision and the basic problems of China’s development. Lucien Bianco, *The Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915–1949*, Muriel Bell, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1972), praises Mao for ignoring theory, but see his harsher view in a later edition: *Les origines de la révolution chinoise, 1915–1949* (Paris, 1987), esp. 333–40. For a Sinologist whose horror of Mao resembles the common view of Stalin among Russianists, see Simon Leys, *La forêt en feu: Essais sur la culture et la politique chinoises*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1988); and Leys, *L’humeur, l’horreur* (Paris, 1991), esp. 132–33.

combinations of naming and blaming, especially in a case like this, where Cold War talk of totalitarianism mobilized believers for an armed crusade against revolutionary movements in general. But the ideal of objectivity is poorly served by the self-righteous pretense of using no words that combine description and judgment. Tyranny, oppression, exploitation, which revolutionary democracy tries to overthrow—all these concepts are of the thorny type, which may be called ideological. Indeed, ideology is itself that kind of term: unavoidably pejorative, in its accusation of reason distorted by fanaticism or special interests, yet unavoidable, even in the analysis of our own thinking. Vicious circularity threatens the scholarly mind in its struggle with ideology, as we can see in works of the late 1940s and 1950s that tried to locate the totalitarian poison in certain traditions of Western thought and to purge it. A few products of that red-eyed philosophizing may facilitate abstract theorizing about ideas.²⁸ They obstruct the search for ideas at work in historical processes, for they reify or hypostatize some Idea. They imagine It as an almighty force that shaped incredibly powerful leaders who shaped incredibly passive societies to fit the Idea.²⁹

Many historians dislike such excursions into the sociology of knowledge, which threatens infinite regress by claiming to know the biases that warp any claims to know. For the sake of such scholars, I can return to the magisterial manner of the conventional historian, who sees all, knows all, and selects what is needed for a coherent story, without any bias. If totalitarianism is a name for an idea that creates a social system, it is a figment of the inflamed ideological imaginations of those who arm themselves for combat.³⁰ If it is a name for the actual process of mass mobilization for total war, then it was a nineteenth-century development, intrinsically connected with the rise of democracy and industrial progress. If it is a name for a particular way of achieving such mobilization—the single-party state and mass terror, as distinguished from mobilization with competing parties and the rule of law—then it is a twentieth-century consequence of total war and of democratic revolutions in backward or underdeveloped countries. Popular usage has firmly established this last meaning, and scholars should subject it to historical analysis, as they classify systems of mobilization, their levels of effectiveness and durability.

Let me offer a simplified classification. Fascism and Nazism explicitly extolled wars of national conquest and contemptuously rejected such democratic ideals as free thought, constitutional representation, the equality of nations and races and sexes, the dream of freedom as the absence of state power. Their frenzy for

²⁸ See Albert Camus, *L'homme révolté* (Paris, 1951), translated as *The Rebel* (New York, 1953); J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London, 1952); Hannah Arendt, *The Burden of Our Time* (London, 1951), which was retitled *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1958).

²⁹ A belated masterpiece of the genre is Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1978), an exceptionally rich account of the ideas clustering within and about the Marxist legacy, which intermittently declares that one cluster created the political and social systems of Russia, China, and so on.

³⁰ In its greatest inflation, "totalitarian" describes any social system that implicitly denies a liberal notion of individual freedom, in which every action is supposed to be "either a duty or a sin." So Marxism is lumped with Calvinism; even pre-literate societies can be put in the lump. See, for example, Maurice Duval, *Un totalitarisme sans état: Essai d'anthropologie à partir d'un village burkinabé* (Paris, 1986).

external wars of conquest was the major cause of their comparatively short life span; they drove their nation states to self-destruction. The Communist species of one-party state with mass terror emerged out of civil war, insisting that violent recasting of society is the way to achieve genuine liberty, equality, and fraternity while catching up with the world leaders of industrial development. This Communist species appeared in "backward" or "underdeveloped" countries, and it lasted far longer than the Nazi and fascist types, not least because it espoused democratic values and tended to avoid rather than seek international war and because its furious struggle for economic development achieved notable victories before suffering stagnation and collapse.

Civil war became a chronic disease of Communist states, flaring up or dying down according to many circumstances, among them the clash of zealotry and rationality within the ruling party, which could not conceal the long-term discord between its ideological justifications and the actualities of its rule. Ultimately, the self-confidence of the Communists collapsed, with consequences that are now unfolding. To understand such an astonishing combination of contradictory features, scholars are obliged to focus on the transformation of democratic ideologies by the social contexts that we call "underdeveloped" or simply "backward." The concept of totalitarianism is of little help in such inquiry, until one digs into the self-contradictions, the bad conscience, and the ultimate self-defeat of democratic revolutionaries who build one-party states while denying that they are totalitarian.

THAT IS WHY I BEGAN WITH "THE WEST" as the mythic concept that shaped the thought of "Third World" revolutionaries such as Sun Yat-sen and V. I. Lenin. They yearned to overtake and surpass the West in a journey through efficiently organized violence to democratic peace and prosperity. I picked two countries in which twentieth-century revolutions turned Communist but suggest that all the revolutions in our century have been fundamentally different from the classic originals—in their class base, in their organizing ideologies and parties, in their economic and political consequences. Whether in Russia or China or Iran or Mexico, revolutions broke out almost simultaneously at the start of the century now ending, and each has flagrantly diverged from the supposed Western norm. So, too, with the many revolutions that erupted later in the century: none has engendered prosperous capitalist democracy, let alone international peace.

Conventional wisdom responds to those unsettling realities with some reflex of reassurance, usually the leap to good guy–bad guy melodrama, such as Churchill's picture of Treachery playing on Despair to put Communists in power. Driven by fanaticism and lust for power, bands of evil men take advantage of temporary difficulties in the development of Third World countries and subvert the emergence of the First World model. Such tales are still favored by the Western public and now by the Russian public, too. Middlebrow readers are not aware that this taste is being satisfied by a dwindling cohort of elderly men, increasingly at

odds with their professional colleagues.³¹ Since the 1960s, Western historians of modern Russia have moved away from accusation of their subject, returning to the sympathetic inquiry that Sinologists never abandoned.³² The classroom crusader, mobilizing domestic virtue by denouncing fiends abroad, has become an embarrassing anachronism. Both sides of this development, the continuing public taste for the history of Communism as moralistic melodrama and the scholarly aversion to serving that taste, are opposite responses to a huge question that embarrasses everyone: Why are constitutional democracy and capitalist prosperity persistently frustrated out there in the East and South?

The myth of the West as norm is implicit in the question, and most First World historians of Third World countries have long since turned away from celebration of that myth. Pandering to the hunger for imperial self-congratulation becomes a humiliating trade as the age of imperial democracy and total war recedes. Chastened scholars want to grasp the experience of exotic nations from within, not to measure it against a mythic image of our Western selves, the model for humanity. They search within the experience of those others out there for social developments of sufficient magnitude and duration to explain such vast and complex processes as the Russian and the Chinese revolutions. Of course I applaud the turn from melodramatic accusation to serious historical inquiry. I have contributed bulky monographs of my own to the growing heap. But we should not be content with formless heaps of monographic insights. We should not allow historical particularity to become an end in itself, however commendable our distaste for invidious contrast between our "developed" selves and the "underdeveloped" multitudes to the east and south.

Permit me then to concede a major point to middlebrow culture. The blatantly ideological question—Why have "they" been so unsuccessful in following "our" example?—deserves a considered response. With needles and barbs to remind Western philistines of the boastful pretensions and the fearful anxieties concealed within their self-congratulatory question, scholars should extract the genuine question that is also concealed in it. Why do democratic ideologies take on drastically different meanings in "backward" contexts?

Marx's theory is part of the answer. His mixture of utopian vision and grim realism challenged the intelligentsia of poor despotic countries to seek a "mass base" for a great leap, not merely out of poverty and despotism but also out of the hypocritical pretensions to genuine democracy and equitable prosperity that Marx exposed in advanced countries.³³ Most of the parties created to achieve such

³¹ The most notable recent addition to the genre is Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York, 1990), which has provoked strong criticism from an impressive array of leading young scholars. See especially Peter Kenz, "The Prosecution of Soviet History: A Critique of Richard Pipes' *The Russian Revolution*," *Russian Review*, 50 (1991): 345–51; William Rosenberg, *The Nation*, 252 (1991): 202–04; Catherine Merridale, *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992): 959–68; Ronald Grigor Suny, review, *AHR*, 96 (December 1991): 1581–83; Diane Koenker, *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (1993): 432–35; John Bushnell, *The Historian*, forthcoming.

³² Hartford and Goldstein, *Single Sparks*, describe such an abandonment in the 1950s, but very few of the authors they cite were Sinologists.

³³ See Shlomo Avineri, *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization* (New York, 1968); and Stuart Schram and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Marxism and Asia: An Introduction with Readings*, new edn. (London, 1969).

a utopian goal proved to be politically impotent sects. But a few discovered a genuinely realistic political sociology for revolutionaries. It is apparent in the 1898 manifesto that proclaimed the emergence of a Marxist party in Russia:

The further east one goes in Europe, the weaker, the more cowardly, and the meaner in political relations becomes the bourgeoisie and the greater are the cultural and political tasks that fall to the lot of the proletariat. On its strong shoulders, the Russian working class must and will carry the work of winning political liberty. This is a necessary step, but only the first, toward accomplishing the great historical mission of the proletariat—the creation of a social structure in which there will be no place for the exploitation of man by man.³⁴

That was the common outlook of future Mensheviks as well as Bolsheviks, and of Socialist Revolutionaries, too, if “working class” includes peasants as well as urban workers. Utopian vision enabled them to perceive an emergent reality that liberal democrats tried to ignore: the “Third World” was generating a new social basis of democratic revolution, radically different from the “third estate” of times gone by. On the field of combat with decaying despotism, an absence is noted—“bourgeoisie”—and a presence—“working class.” Add another momentous presence—the radical fringe of the “intelligentsia,” whose vanguard role was emphasized by the Socialist Revolutionaries—and we are well started toward understanding the transformations that “Third World” contexts wrought in revolutionary democracy.

Meticulous scholars have picked apart the notion that “the bourgeoisie” won the battle for democracy in the West, but the fact remains that men of property were major leaders and major beneficiaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century battles to replace absolute monarchy with constitutional representative government. And a swift rise of industrial capitalism ensued. The pattern has not been repeated in Russia or China or indeed in any other democratic revolution of the twentieth century. In the Russian and Chinese revolutions, men of property were conspicuously feeble as leaders, and they were sacrificial victims rather than beneficiaries in the aftermath. As the old state systems collapsed, workers and peasants revealed great hostility to their social superiors and to the system of property that sustained them; the radical fringe of the intelligentsia mobilized that hostility, and a minority of the fringe was sufficiently inflamed with anger and hope to identify the democracy of the lower classes with the dictatorship of their single party.

Russia was the first-born of the “backward” or “underdeveloped” countries, that is, countries in which the sense of social inadequacy and the urge to correct it are focused on invidious comparison with “the West.” The sense of backwardness originated in borrowings of advanced technology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as an emergent nation state beat its way out of subordination to neighboring powers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the sense of backwardness became an obsession that shaped the thinking of statesmen as well as the emergent intelligentsia. Conservative statesmen could not find a way to correct the condition without fatally undermining the social and political institutions they wanted to conserve. That has been a common failure of conservative

³⁴ *Pervyi s'ezd RSDRP, mart 1898 goda* (Moscow, 1958), 80.

statesmen in backward countries over the past two centuries. Of course, there have been exceptions—aside from Japan, how many can we list? Their exceptionality underscores the common rule.³⁵

The sense of backwardness and the painful realities that feed it have been the source of the intelligentsia, a class that is different from the intellectuals or professionals of advanced countries. Bearers of a culture that derives from advanced foreigners, members of the intelligentsia are keenly aware of isolation within their native lands and of a consequent obligation to achieve wholesale change. They resist the specialization that replaced the *philosophes* and the *idéologues* of the Enlightenment with pure professionals and pure intellectuals, whose purity is defined by abstention from politics while selling the use of blinkered minds. The intelligentsia of backward countries succumb to such specialization, but they do so with great resistance, clinging to the vision of themselves as a fellowship of critically thinking individuals devoted to something more than careers, to the transformation of their backward countries. Given the political timidity of the bourgeoisie, political leaders in such countries often come from the intelligentsia, including the so-called military intelligentsia, that is, officers with an analogous sense of a political mission. All this within “the tendency to an equilibrium of poverty” and “accommodation to the hopelessness of the prospect,” as John Kenneth Galbraith summed up his observations on India.³⁶ He neglected to add a chronic incitement to seizure of power at the top, occasional precipitation of mass revolutions from below, and heady moments when the two merge to produce a Communist revolution.

I am summarizing the common opinion of scholars who have been studying the Russian and Chinese revolutions.³⁷ They do not support the conventional notion that the fall of the Russian tsar and the Chinese emperor brought those countries within reach of liberal democracy, only to have it snatched away by Communist fanatics. Scholars picture antique despotisms struggling ineffectually against mounting tensions from within and imperial pressures from without, culminating in armed invasion, political collapse, and civil war. The lower classes are shown entering the political arena with hatreds and hopes that realistic leaders felt obliged to repress, for the hatreds were destructive of any feasible order and the hopes were utopian. Thus would-be democrats were forced to choose between different notions of realism linked with different forms of tyranny. In the civil wars of Russia and China, the Communists won, not only by force of party discipline and terror but also by mobilizing lower-class hatreds and hopes. The utopian ideology of the Communists made them the supreme realists of such civil wars precipitated by international war, which occurred also in Yugoslavia and in

³⁵ See Moore, *Social Origins of Democracy*; and Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*.

³⁶ John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Nature of Mass Poverty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 46 and following.

³⁷ See again the historiographical works of Edward Acton, Paul Cohen, Kathleen Hartford and Steven Goldstein, as cited in note 1. For the scholarly consensus that reaches beyond specialists, see the favorite assignments for courses in modern history: Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution*; Von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?*; and Von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? Why Gorbachev?* 3d edn. (New York, 1992). There are no analogues in the Russian field to such large sympathetic works as Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895–1980* (New York, 1981); and John K. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800–1985* (New York, 1986).

Vietnam. (Of course, there were crucial differences among these four cases, but there was also this underlying pattern of similarity.)

The outcome was terrible not only for believers in liberal democracy but also for the Communist victors. They won with promises they could not keep: direct democracy of the lower classes; all land to the tiller and the fruits thereof; the same for factories and industrial workers; escape from international wars to enduring peace, based on the solidarity of working people across national boundaries. It is too easy to turn the democratic paradox into angry accusation of the Communists, indignant insistence that they should not have mobilized lower-class hatreds and hopes. Indignation of that sort is too easy because it avoids the other, the liberal side of the bitter paradox. In Russia and in China, believers in liberal democracy were obliged to support repression of the lower-class majority, while the mobilizers of the lower-class majority were obliged to support a dictatorship over it. Both sides tended to deny the terrible choice even as they drifted into it.

THIS IS NOT AN ARGUMENT FOR the inevitability of the Communist victories in Russia and China, whether the ruinous victory in the initial revolution from below or the still more ruinous victory in the "revolution from above" that came soon after, when the Communist chiefs used a combination of frenzied enthusiasm and mass terror to assault the peasantry and the intelligentsia while building an industrial base of advanced military power. When scholars brood over the revolution from below and the one that followed from above, they tend as usual toward a vision of vast processes involving millions of people, with contingencies accumulating into high orders of probability, as masses of human beings interacting with each other sweep toward catastrophes and achievements that no one intended or could have foreseen.³⁸ Effects of great scope and long duration must be explained by causes of appropriate magnitude.

It is shortsighted to call that sort of vision "revisionist social history," as if it was born yesterday, out of revulsion against a transient style of Cold War scholarship. The revulsion of the 1960s returned historians to a sense of history that emerged irresistibly in the nineteenth century. It may be called Marxist—or Darwinian or Tolstoyan. In their different ways, those thinkers undermined faith in the capacity of reason to discover lines of historical progress that reason can master to achieve further improvement. Each of those great minds had a subversive tendency to replace the vision of history as manageable progress with a vision of history as blind process. Each recoiled into ideological preaching, which could not restrain the drift of high culture toward the sense of history as tragic irony, irremediable by Marx's socialist revolution, or by the Victorian ethic that Darwin read into natural selection, or by Tolstoy's religion of love.

Indeed, the notion of tragedy was itself transformed. The classic tragedy of noble heroes entangled in a grand conflict of right with right gave way to the

³⁸ See, most notably, Spence, *Gate of Heavenly Peace*; and Fairbank, *Great Chinese Revolution*. The absence of similar masterpieces among histories of the Russian Revolution reveals the greater ideological difficulty Western historians have when dealing with Communism in a European country.

absurd tragedy epitomized in Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, which presents the dialectic of master and slave as a circus act. (At the master's command, the slave leaps about babbling wildly while three men beat him back into his customary silent submission.) I return to the basic division that I am confessing within my own mind. Beckett's vision is part of an irresistible tradition in Western high culture, reaching back to Voltaire's *Candide*. Showing how we are trapped within self-deceptive hopes of progress, such works trap us further, laughing at ourselves. Twentieth-century historians know that we cannot figure out where we are going by discovering where we have come from, yet we cannot abandon the effort. We are obliged to create a usable past; so we must expose the self-deceptive ideologies that are intrinsic to such creation.

That ambiguous "we" is the crux of my dispute with the conventional wisdom on Communism, whether in popular culture or in academic scholarship. Russians and Chinese need to create a usable past out of their own revolutionary history; neither Western scholars nor Western politicians can do that for them. Unctuous talk of "us" helping "them" continues the arrogant assumption that "we" in the West know better than "they" out there in the East and South. Better to challenge that conventional assumption, in the first place by confronting the incongruity between the Western model of revolutionary democracy and the twentieth-century experience of democratic revolutions in the East and South. On this level, studying the world-wide discordance between ideological expectation and historical experience, Western scholars may overcome the smugness that is endemic in conventional views of the "Third World." When speaking of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, Western scholars can earn the right to say "we" only by confronting the persistent failures of Western ideologies to fit the realities of those other countries. If scholars join in the popular celebration of "the West" as the model of progress, their voices should be a counterpoint of mockery and warning, of chastening and challenge. The ideological bankruptcy of Communism should be part of a world-wide liquidation of false promises and phony claims in the tormenting quest for genuine liberty, equality, and fraternity.

In 1648, it would have seemed absurd to project separation of church and state and the right of free thought as major results of the Reformation. Just now, it seems absurd to hope that the Communist revolutions of the past century may result in a new kind of democracy, based on federations of nationalities rather than unitary nation states, and a new kind of prosperity, sustained by equitable entitlements rather than invidious differences of ownership and income. Indeed, speculation of this sort is likely to provoke the observation that those intertwined socialist dreams—international fraternity and equitable entitlements—seem less utopian in the advanced countries than in the countries now emerging from Communist rule, which are still intensely aware of "backwardness," revolted by any talk of socialism as a mask for tyranny, period. Accusation of the past is the dominant mood, blocking discussion of how to make it usable. Outside observers may hope for a new birth of creativity, recalling the ideological exhaustion of Western Europe in the mid-seventeenth century and the subsequent recuperation that sought in "reason" the antidote to "enthusiasm." But analogies in the minds of outside observers hardly matter.

Imagine a monument to the victims of Communist tyranny in Red Square, confronting the tomb of Lenin, founder of Communism. (A group called "Memorial" has been pressing for such a monument and may yet succeed.) Imagine, later on, a similar confrontation in Tiananmen Square, a remembrance of Mao's victims facing the tomb of the Great Helmsman. Still later, when the mummies have turned to decent ashes, adoration and denunciation may give way to debate over the contending elements within the revolutionary legacy. We outsiders can hardly predict what those conflicting symbols will convey to each other in the minds of Russians and Chinese, and to the other nationalities entangled with them, as they reflect on their tumultuous experience. We can only hope that their arguments will involve some constructive dialectic of tragic irony and of achievement—such as the United States might experience if it decided to carve "Slave Holder" on the Jefferson Memorial or to confront the monument to the American dead of the Vietnam War with a reminder that Vietnamese were also killed, in much greater numbers, too great for individual remembrance. Of course, such extremes of self-criticism are quite unlikely in the United States; it is still an advanced country.

Featured Reviews

FRANCIS HASKELL. *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 558. \$50.00.

For more than a century, there has been a division between art historians who preoccupy themselves with thought about art as spiritual epiphany and those others who, as philologists, analyze works of art as documents of biographical or social events, perhaps as solutions for aesthetic problems. Scholars given to studying the work of art for what in some aesthetic sense it is argue that nothing else is central to the venture of art history. But philologists cheerfully pursue art, as a symbolic language and social artifact, for what it tells about, particularly about circumstances of production and consumption. By his studies on subjects such as patronage, stylistic revivals, and historiography, Francis Haskell has earned a leading place among philologists.

In broad outline, Haskell's book is an account of how history, one literary branch of the humanist tradition, regarded the visual arts between the fifteenth and the early twentieth century. Although at times Haskell addresses the specific discipline of art history, his general concern is with how historians of more general stripes employed (or did not employ) pictorial evidence in antiquarian studies, in biography, and in political, ecclesiastical, and cultural history. Because, in his audit, students of art history and students in other areas of historical investigation persistently see little for themselves in one another's work, Haskell implicitly poses fundamental questions. Some of them have to do with the social functions, or values, of art and of artistic and historical scholarship.

By its very nature, this audit of what scholarship has achieved is itself an interpretation of interpretations, and it is partial. What periods of history have been particularly illuminated by studies of art? Haskell maintains the two Burckhardian foci of the Roman empire (especially the later empire) and fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy (above all Tuscany and Venice). Much attention is also given to studies of medieval France. Historical works on other periods are considered, but in a peripheral, episodic way. The decision to relegate classical Greek, Hellenistic, and

Byzantine history to the paragraphs on Johann Gottfried von Herder, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, and G. W. F. Hegel cannot do justice to the massive changes in Greek history that studies in art and archaeology have brought about since the eighteenth century. Limiting discussion of verdicts on contemporary art (from the late sixteenth century onward) to one chapter, predominately to apocalyptic appraisals in the era of World War I, also expresses an unspoken authorial judgment that was by no means inevitable. Leaving aside such fields as Egyptology and ethnohistory, the book is a selective inquiry even into the historical self-awareness of Latin Christendom, chiefly along the Oxford-Naples axis.

I infer three periods from Haskell's narrative. In the first stage (the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), history was regarded as biography and historical change, as brought about by force of character. The demand for visual evidence came from this conviction, from humanists' fascination with Rome, and from the desire to supplement series of literary biographies with portraits, on the assumption that the face revealed the heart and mind. The supply came from coins and medals; numismatists were the suppliers; the medium was print.

During the second stage (the Age of Erudition), the range and volume of materials accessible through print considerably enlarged. Changes in style thereby became apparent; and writers of history turned to them as indexes of growth, decay, and regeneration between the late Roman empire and the classical revivals of the Renaissance and Baroque. Because history continued to be regarded as the deeds of the powerful, portraiture remained high in the historian's repertory, and new techniques of character analysis were expanded by study of gestures and physiognomy.

The development of cultural history in the third stage (the eighteenth and early nineteenth century) and aspiration for systematic study of history enlarged the number of uses to which historians could

turn visual evidence. Art was seen as an area expressing collective aspirations and achievements in which—as in politics and economics—the individual was transcended, an argument initiated by Voltaire and elaborated into a philosophical principle by Herder and Hegel. Jules Michelet, John Ruskin, Jakob Burckhardt, and Hippolyte-Adolphe Taine are especially associated with this stage in interpretation, as is the latest historian considered in detail, Johan Huizinga.

As it had been from the beginning, print was the chief medium by which art objects became available in general historical discourse, but the permanent holdings in museums and temporary collections in special exhibits increasingly became laboratories of historical research. One result of working directly from objects, instead of very imperfect images, was to reinforce mistrust of pictorial art in general as a structure of illusions, evidence notoriously subject to deformation, both calculated (as in forgery) and innocent. The validity of analyzing masterpieces as indexes of public virtue was likewise challenged by recognition of high art as an artifact of power, speaking with the voice of dominant orders in society, a witness often incompatible with that declared in arts and crafts or folk art. Thus, even as reasons for incorporating visual evidence into historical knowledge and resources for doing so multiplied, skepticism about the reliability of that evidence also widened.

Haskell's narrative sequence for the period before the nineteenth century is so much a composite of disparate elements and discontinuous subnarratives that the subject is bound to appear, if not a chimera, then chimerical. There seem to be no fixed coordinates for interpreting either art or history.

As this magisterial account passes in review the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and a miscellany of coins and medals, physiognomy, gestures, caricatures, catacomb paintings, and other forms of expression, one senses especially that Haskell has found in the materials no fixed conception of art to guide him.

Likewise, Haskell's definition of "historian" shifts a good deal. The place of art in totalitarian doctrines of history (particularly communism, socialism, and fascism) is entirely omitted. For practical purposes, no distinction is drawn between cataloguers of material artifacts and philosophers of history (notably Herder and Hegel) who placed the authenticity of art in the shimmering immateriality of metaphysics. Alliance with art was by no means inherent in historical criticism. Quite often, especially in the chapters on the period from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the appropriators of pictorial evidence were antiquarians, while certifiable historians, such as Paulo Giovio and Cesare Baronius, largely ignored it (with the one possible exception of portraiture), even if as collectors and connoisseurs they surrounded themselves with works of art. Later, as gentlemen were obliged to do, Edward Gibbon and Montesquieu

visited collections in Italy and noted their holdings without allowing artistic evidence to cross their thresholds of historical consciousness. Still later, even François Guizot and Louis-Adolph Thiers, who began their careers as art critics, paid little attention to visual evidence once they became historians. The subject appears less chimerical in Haskell's concluding chapters than in those on pre-industrial Europe. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, in some minds, a fusion of historical and aesthetic judgment did occur.

Haskell represents this fusion as the result of three centuries' experiments and false starts. But causality is not among the riches included in his narrative sequence; surely, other, quite recent conditions that made the change in supply and demand possible should be noted.

One complex of such changes pertained to the technology of pictorial printing. Scholars and artists alike were perfectly aware that woodcuts, etchings, and engravings were extremely variable interpretations of artifacts. Although never entirely precise, representations of visual evidence in print became increasingly exact with the development of lithography and steel-plate engraving at the turn of the eighteenth century, and, especially with the advances, beginning about 1850, associated with the mechanized lithographic press and photographic engraving on steel plates. Technological change permitted another, equally fundamental innovation: the establishment of large photographic archives, first commercial firms and a little later photographic collections in museums and libraries, essential for comprehensive and comparative analyses.

The technical circumstances for the investigation of visual material after 1880 were of a completely different order from those a century earlier. The multiplication and power of mass publications on art likewise altered the degrees to which scholarly investigations followed or modified public taste. Intellectual and institutional contexts also belonged to a new order. I refer particularly to the philosophical premise (framed in Romanticism) that history was (or should be) the object of aesthetic pleasure and, moreover, to the massive reorganization of learning which marginalized *dilettanti* (like Gibbon) and increasingly made institutions of learning (above all, universities) centers of historical study and the dissemination of knowledge. Like the mechanized lithographic press, the word "professor" marks a watershed in the assimilation of aesthetics to historical research, a quasi-sectarianism of academic disciplines, and possibly a point at which norms of academic taste began to depart from social norms.

The disputes that prompted Leo Tolstoy and many others to ask "What is art?" expressed divisions over the conception of art that sent artists in paths quite different from those art historians (chiefly philologists) who, like Burckhardt, regarded the art of their day as symptoms of decadence. Art history, as an

academic discipline, began to detach itself from literature in vocabulary and techniques of critical discourse. Many of the most prominent agents of this change (including Haskell's troika of Ruskin, Burckhardt, and Taine) were professors of art or of art history, and the amphibious character given them by the recent institutionalization of scholarship is indicated by the frequency with which they were taxed with dilettantism. Even so, the errors into which their faulty methods of appraising artistic materials as means for understanding the past and such authorial choices as Burckhardt's celebrated neglect of artistic evidence in *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860) continue the motif of separation between disciplines in artistic and historical studies.

Haskell's purpose was certainly not to compile a handbook or even to provide a complete topography of his subject. In my view, however, an adequate causal explanation of the phenomenon described would consider how such a theory came to live in the world: that is, some of the conditions that made it possible, such as the technology of print culture and the new institutionalization of learning, together with the general coordinates that it gave for locating "art" and "history" as categories of thought at least in academic curricula and publishers' catalogues. Given Haskell's narrative, it might also have been expected to elucidate his by no means self-evident conclusion that, in 1919, the fusion of art and history reached an apogee in the mind of Huizinga, to be abandoned by Huizinga himself and, as institutionalization of the humanistic and social sciences advanced, by later inhabitants of the academic institutions in which it had briefly flowered.

By its highly eclectic choice of materials, conspicuous silences, and narrative discontinuities, this immensely learned and elegant book displays its affinities to a personal literary genre, the essay. The decision to place Huizinga at the teleological apex of the study is an example of choices that, perplexing in a more impersonal genre, require no explanation in the essay as a personal experiment or challenge to further discussion. Nothing in the previous narrative prepared for a climax in Holland, and Haskell finds it necessary to begin his concluding chapter by starting all over again with a highly rewarding monograph on traditions of scholarship concerning Flemish Renaissance painting.

Huizinga was not an art historian; he rejected the Burckhardtian idea of the Renaissance, which figures so prominently in this book. In *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919), the only one of his works in which he gave extensive attention to the plastic arts, he concluded that the evidence of pictorial expression was inferior to that of literary expression. Haskell splendidly inventories the evidence excluded by Huizinga to enhance the plausibility of his ideas, witness to how "Huizinga's personal response to art shaped the very nature of his creative achievement" (p. 487). Such was the highly essayistic character of

that book that, even as its first readers acknowledged its literary power, they questioned whether it was history, so infused was it by what E. H. Gombrich called the "almost defiant subjectivity" that informed his whole *oeuvre*. (E. H. Gombrich, "Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*," in W. R. H. Koops *et al.*, eds., *Johan Huizinga, 1872–1972: Papers Delivered to the Johan Huizinga Conference, Groningen, 11–15. December, 1972* [1973], 148.)

How little Huizinga's ideas could be used in the gritty labor of interpreting individual works of art is illustrated by the almost total absence of references to him in the catalogue of an exhibition commemorating his famous book. (J. L. Schrader, *The Waning Middle Ages: An Exhibition of French and Netherlandish Art from 1350 to 1500 Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Publication of the Waning of the Middle Ages by Johan Huizinga* [1969], 5, 44–45.)

After *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Huizinga gave little attention to the visual arts: in *Homo Ludens* (1938) where philosophical discussions on music dominated the chapter on art; in *Dutch Civilisation in the Seventeenth Century*, with its allusive paragraphs on Hals, Vermeer, and Rembrandt, and even in the memoir of his friend, the artist Jan Veth, from which Huizinga omitted all discussion of Veth's paintings, alleging that they ought to speak for themselves. Huizinga's reflections on the visual arts in *The Waning of the Middle Ages* were a dead-end in Huizinga's own career. In fact, Huizinga's deepening pessimism toward the culture of his own day and his sweeping, retardataire contempt for innovative forms of painting (such as Impressionism, Surrealism, Expressionism, and Cubism) and for entirely new artistic media (such as cinema) as manifestations of barbarism accented the clarity with which he felt the end of the cultural tradition that nourished him, a tradition characterized in his mind by Christianity and reason.

Although this is not Haskell's assessment, Huizinga, hostile both to popular art and to the innovative styles of his day, appears to represent a mandarin inspired by illusions of a distant past and anticipating no future compatible with their values or work. Unless belief is prior to understanding, given the complex and rich developments in art history since 1919, it is by no means evident how Haskell was able to characterize Huizinga's reflections as standing "at the end rather than at the beginning of a voyage of discovery" (p. 488). At the beginning stand humanists in the age of Lorenzo the Magnificent (and after) reflecting on the breakdown of the classical tradition in the late Roman empire and its reconstitution in their own day. At the end stands Huizinga rejecting the humanists' self-glorifying idea of the Renaissance and lamenting what he judged the collapse of civilization into barbarism that encircled him.

Studies of iconology (including allegory), the history of cognition, visual narrative, and the social functions of art would seem to invalidate this teleology, unless one considers that flaws present from the

beginning in the nature of the project warranted Huizinga's abandonment of art history, and judges that events have vindicated Huizinga's conviction, amidst the carnage of universal war, that the humanist tradition was spent.

A different interpretation of historical interpretations, collective and limited to the golden age of Dutch painting, but also invoking the spirit of Huiz-

inga, occurs in David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, *Art in History; History in Art* (1991). Yet, here, the different spheres of value occupied by art and its various interpreters lack the weight and momentum of tradition that with rare discernment Haskell supplies.

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STEPHEN KERN. *The Culture of Love: Victorians to Moderns*.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 458.
\$34.95.

"Love," as the song goes, "is a many splendored thing," yet for historians it is often subordinate to the more absorbing theme of sexuality. "What's love got to do with it?" might be the counter refrain. In this urbane and finely worked account, Stephen Kern inverts current priorities and gives the history of love a new scholarly luster. Not that he takes his cue from popular culture, for he works the literary canon, with some excursions into art. Moving from the Brontës to Henry Miller, and from Victorian genre paintings to Picasso, Kern seeks out "what really matters" in history in the world of intimate personal experience, tracking the growing liberation of love among Europeans and Americans measured against an index of authenticity derived from Martin Heidegger and existentialism.

Kern proceeds astutely by way of the typical scenario of (primarily heterosexual) love: waiting, meeting, talking, kissing, and, often enough here, proposal, wedding, and marriage, before the ending of love. He also discusses less sequential elements: embodiment, gender, sex, power, selfhood, and the intrusion of others as rivals or the collective voice of society. Under all these headings, Kern's sample yields evidence of major change. Whereas Victorian women waited passively on male initiative and the daunting climacticity of the "now or never" moment with the "one and only," modern women could actively prospect for love with more time to choose from a larger pool of possible partners. Desire became more explicit, both in language and physicality. If modern lovers still fell short of Gustave Flaubert's ideal of words "that will melt the stars," they overcame reticence and cliché. Language heightened awareness of bodies now more adventurously engaged in love-making, while recording the deficient and absurd amid the glories. James Joyce is an unflinching resource in registering love's sticky modernity—"gumjelly lips"—while Kern makes telling use of sculptors—Rodin and Brancusi—in arguing for the transformation of the kiss from a single, heart-stopping incident under male command to more open-eyed mutual exploration. Such examples serve his further claims for the marked depolarization of

gender and the growing articulation of women's power in art and literature. Lovers continued to war between themselves, but their greater sense of relatedness united couples in resistance against a repressive society. Among other changes, writers revalorized their experience of love and sex as a source of creative energy, not debility.

For these changes, Kern offers "interpretation, not explanation," and disclaims any extensive concern with social context. He provides suggestive commentary en route on the determinant power of science, medicine, World War I, and so on, but little on the everyday materiality of culture or the correspondences across a wide range of phenomena that made his previous work on time and space in the late nineteenth century so stimulating. His engagement with current scholarship is very selective. In representing as a new venture his concern to redress historians' alleged preferences for noisy public events over more private feelings and emotions, Kern disregards an already rich vein of enquiry into the experiential, notably feminist studies. He also takes no part in today's culture wars. Michel Foucault is put in his place in a single footnote, and questions of ideology and representations are short-circuited by claims for the superior actuality of classic texts. Philosophy rather than cultural theory gives the book the thematic spine that Kern finds lacking in comparable studies, but also puts the book in a strait jacket.

In his running test of authenticity, the author acknowledges the lover's struggle with an internalized "they-self" of society's making, but he emphasizes the modern triumph of the "I-self," a fuller individualism realized in the more reciprocal relatedness of the inwardly resourceful couple. Authenticity could translate as agency, but its achievement here in terms of a largely asocial coupledness greatly underplays the counterforce of structure in a contested polarity that allows a fuller and more dynamic reading of the tensions of cultural determination. In contrast, inauthenticity as a counter condition reads narrowly and judgmentally as personal failure. Kern tellingly discloses some of the anxieties specific to modern love, but he ignores dissenting post-existentialist theories

of subjectivity in which modernity and choice compound rather than relieve the slippery problem of the autonomous self. Morality and convention may have been curtailed, but style, fashion, and taste replaced them in telling the consuming as well as the all-consumed lover what it was he or she was supposed to want, as Rachel Bowlby's reading of Émile Zola, George Gissing, and Theodore Dreiser demonstrates. Other studies combining history and literature suggest how identity and self-esteem were increasingly material constructs. Thus, Joyce's Gerty MacDowell, who figures in what Kern represents as an episode of unabashed modern desire, is, by Thomas Richards's account, the creature of her wardrobe and the language of mass advertising.

The book's essentially progressive thesis might be fruitfully challenged or tested in other ways, inside and outside its sample. The same novels might be

examined to see how far the prickings of guilt were superseded by fears of inadequacy, as love grew more expressively demanding. Kern's reading of the canon might be compared with the evidence of popular texts of the period that often seem to register a reverse trajectory in their increasing conformity. There is much to engage in this engrossing book that is richly instructive on the changing codes and consciousness of love, particularly in its revealing readings of visual texts. The book's liberal qualities of learning, humanity, lucidity, and wit are still welcome, but the therapeutic tone of Kern's main argument sits uneasily with this lover-historian, as it will with many others interested in "what really matters(?)."

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STEVEN L. KAPLAN. *Adieu 89*. Translated from English by
ANDRÉ CHARPENTIER and RÉMY LANBRECHTS. Paris:
Fayard. 1993. Pp. 903. 250 fr.

Steven L. Kaplan is a social historian of the eighteenth century. In this work, he tests the waters of the twentieth century to see how the commanding conjuncture of the eighteenth century has fared on the occasion of its bicentennial. The massive result of his inquiries is impressive in range, comprehensiveness, and bulk.

The author tells us that his book was meant as "a historical and ethnographic survey of France in that memorable year" (p. 9). It certainly covers most of the bases: the build-up to 1889, the chatter and celebrations of the year itself, the aftermath, and the participants—officialdom, church, political parties and factions of every coloring, academe, and individuals. The table of contents runs to six pages, the index of persons to fourteen pages. But there is little ethnography to be found, and the history largely chronicles the politico-historiographical debate that the occasion generated or accentuated.

This is not meant as criticism but rather as description. Historians and those who sneer at historians will diversely appreciate the blow-by-blow coverage of what was cast as a family celebration and ended up as a family row, as such occasions will. But there are rollicking moments. It had become fashionable, by the 1980s, to shift the revolution from the category of political issues to that of History. A chastened Left licked its ideological and economic wounds while, on the Right, even those who rejected the revolution wholesale put up with it at retail. Events demonstrated, as Kaplan makes amply clear, that alleged consensus stood closer to dissensus, and that proposed commemoration could lead to argumentation and hence to aggravation.

As questions long eluded festered once again, academic debate seeped into the media, media interest sharpened the debate. Was the revolution a block to be accepted or rejected in one piece, or a buffet where one could pick and choose? Was the revolution the forerunner of totalitarian regimes in Moscow or Beijing, and Joseph Stalin a kind of Robespierre writ large? Could the massacres of the Vendée aspire to genocidal status? How many Bastilles were still left to bring down? Candidates for emancipatory demolition multiplied: hunger, racism, poverty, schooling, media, fiscal authorities, the new Bastille Opera itself. A committee was founded to propose President François Mitterrand for the Nobel Peace Prize, on account of his work to advance human rights. But, in the shadow of Tiananmen Square, even *droidlomisme*—enthusiasm for the great Declaration—stood a bit less tall.

Kaplan lays this out with quiet ferocity. He describes the political rivalries and tensions; the pangs of the Bicentennial Committee, underfunded, understaffed, and overworked; the yeoman labors of Jean-Noël Jeanneney, appointed to head the committee at the last moment, after two predecessors had died; the commercialization of commemoration, with the bicentennial logo granted to phrygian bonnets but refused to miniature guillotines and tricolor condoms; and the culminating parade organized by Jean-Paul Goude. Goude triumphantly recast revolution as showbiz by turning the Champs Élysées into flow-along theater where rap, break dancers, rhythmic sneezers hosed by waterpumps, and the Florida A&M band marching backwards at last brought History to the masses. Although curmudgeons grumbled

that Goude *iznogoud*, 700 million television viewers the world over vouchsafed not fifteen but fifty minutes of true fame, and 43 million tourists (3 million for Paris that July) testified that publicity pays.

So far, so ironic. But Kaplan's heart and the heart of his book lie in the chapters that chronicle a French version of the *Historikerstreit*: an academic *Jurassic Park*, where primeval monsters tear at each other before a select public. Other dinosaurs make cameo appearances, but the main feature highlights the clash of François Furet, the revisionist, and Michel Vovelle, the eclectic traditionalist, with the former winning the running fight on points. The six final chapters, devoted to these discords, test Kaplan's objectivity and allows it to triumph over his sympathy for the underdog—Vovelle—and other assorted detractors of Furet. It does appear as if Furet's intellectual and intellectualizing approach, brilliant and fascinating as it is, tends to limit historical happenings to their intellectual debates. Reasoning or rationalization do, in fact, rule in universities and in those French media where intellectuals enjoy practically

Presleyan prestige. But not far beyond. Poor Vovelle who knew this was closer to ecumenism.

As a good social historian, Kaplan's sympathy for intellectualist reductionism is limited. Even so, he sometimes succumbs to the temptation to examine less ideas than their carriers, to discuss historians rather than their subject. He might at least have asked why so many eminent practitioners of our trade would waste so much time on political shenanigans; and how many books were laid aside for evanescent chatter that brings grist to Kaplan's mill. Yet if history is about preserving the evanescent, this book is yeoman work. If history is also about making some sense of what is said and done, the book leaves something to be desired. Still, I am glad to have it. I only wish that, alongside Kaplan's *Adieu 89* and Marc Angenot's different but equally compendious *1889*, someone could give us a study of the intermediary fiasco of 1939.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

JEAN DELUMEAU. *Une histoire du paradis: Le jardin des délices*. Paris: Fayard. 1992. Pp. 358. 130 fr.

Medieval and early modern people often invoked the image of the garden to express ideals of order, beauty, and perfection. To both Otto of Freising and Dante, Italy was a garden; to lawyers, the law was a garden in which there were no thorns. Jean Delumeau, the historian of early European religious sensibility whose subjects so far have been the range of human anxieties and their remedies (*Sin and Fear* [1990]), has now undertaken a history of happiness, the present volume the first of a proposed three. This volume deals with the history of nostalgia for the terrestrial paradise. The two succeeding ones will deal respectively with millennial kingdoms and paradise proper.

Delumeau begins, appropriately, with Genesis 2: 8–17, the planting of Eden, and the evocation of the lost garden in Isaiah 51:3 and Ezekiel 47:12. He continues with Greek myths of the Golden Age and the Fortunate Isles and their Christianization and linkage to Eden in the patristic age. Resisting the suggestions of Philo and Origen that the garden be understood only allegorically, later Christians insisted on an exact literalism, one pushed to the limits of geographical specificity by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Delumeau traces in chapter 2 the images of the terrestrial paradise as a place of restful waiting, *refrigerium*, originally appearing in Jewish and Christian apocalypses, and reopened by Jesus in his promise to the good thief. Medieval Christians also believed that the terrestrial paradise was somewhere on earth. Delumeau follows this idea through medieval geographic and cartographic literature in chapter 3, usefully including twenty-five black-and-white and color plates. Chapter 4 deals with the imaginary kingdom of Prester John, and chapter 5 with miscellaneous paradises: the Fortunate Isles, the isles of St. Brendan (including Brazil), and, at the end of this tradition, the initial excitement about the Americas. Chapter 6 treats the *hortus conclusus*, the walled garden as an expression of nostalgia for Eden, and its

giving way to Leon Batista Alberti's open garden, which expressed the *virtù* of its maker while controlling or obliterating nature, and still later to the vast fields of Eden in pictorial representations from Cranach the Elder to Nicolas Poussin.

Chapter 7 focuses on the place of the earthly paradise in the new and reformed learning of the sixteenth century and the slow retreat from characteristically medieval beliefs. Delumeau deals with the abandonment of fantastic paradises and the "scientific" search for the real thing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This process entailed a great emphasis on biblical geography and required information about Armenia, Babylonia, and Persia, which scholars and travelers were eager to provide. The next two chapters deal with speculations about prelapsarian chronologies and the life of Adam and Eve in paradise. The final chapter recounts the disappearance of the enchanted garden, particularly when confronted with fossils and the early stages of paleontology, ideas about evolution, and the new ideas about nature of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant.

Delumeau has read widely, if not quite everything on the subject, and the book is a pleasant relief from his earlier fascination with dechristianization, sin, fear, protection, reassurance, and pardon. It shows what a good historian can do when he or she looks at the other side of a usual subject, the upper side of the tapestry of history whose underside has for a long time occupied the attention of most historians. It also suggests that the consideration of a long sweep of time may break down conventional periodizations when following the right theme. Better yet, it may illuminate them and suggest others from the patristic age to the nineteenth century, even if only on the long trail of a once-ravishing and finally vanishing image of human happiness.

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JOHN R. MCNEILL. *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 423. \$64.95.

John R. McNeill knows the Mediterranean mountains intimately, and that knowledge has enabled him to write a history that convinces. Around the Mediterranean, mountains are rarely out of sight, and their historical role is correspondingly important. In his magisterial study *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1966), Fernand Braudel titled the initial section "Mountains Come First." Although they were neither the sites of great civilizations nor the political and economic centers of the modern world, they do establish a frame for events. Furthermore, because these mountain environments are marginal and more sensitive to changes, study of them reveals problems that impinge on the lowlands and urban centers that lie in their shadows.

The history of mountain peoples is a picture dominated by localism, so general statements must be firmly grounded in studies of particular districts. McNeill has chosen five of these: the western Taurus range of Turkey, the Pindus massif of northwestern Greece, the Apennines of Lucania (Basilicata) in southern Italy, the Alpujarra region of the Sierra Nevada in Spanish Andalusia, and the Rif in Morocco's Atlas Mountains. Together they bracket the Mediterranean and provide an excellent sample. For each of these, McNeill provides a brief background from prehistory through the early modern period and a more detailed study of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He argues convincingly that the majority of changes and environmental destruction affecting Mediterranean mountains has occurred within the last 200 years. Population growth, market integration, and concentrated demand on natural resources have corroded the ways of life of mountain peoples, threatening those ways with extinction if they have not ended them already.

No earlier book has so clearly delineated the relationships between mountain communities and their environmental setting in the Mediterranean zone. All Mediterranean mountains are ecologically fragile and have been subjected to fluctuations of population, settlement, use, and emigration. Paradoxically, both development and abandonment contributed in different ways to the deterioration of the land, as McNeill shows. A stable, minimally damaging association between farmers, shepherds, and the ecosystems on which they depend was perhaps possible in the past, he judges, but such a balance more often suffered from political, economic, and military interruptions. The result was that communities, with their characteristic modes of gaining subsistence, overshot the capacity of the local environments to sustain them and damaged them enough to reduce the numbers that could be sustained in the future. Forests were removed and soil exposed to ruinous erosion. Parenthetically, McNeill gives a succinct explanation of just why goats are so destructive of vegetation and soil. Technology offered few remedies for mountain conditions, where machines were less usable because of

the terrain and less affordable due to economic marginalization. Desperate people fell on expedients such as migrant labor, emigration, and brigandage, often with politically destabilizing effects.

The book as a whole is convincing, sensible, and accurate. Its conclusions have value beyond understanding Mediterranean history because they are in many respects applicable to other mountain areas and marginal regions around the world. There is a substantial and useful bibliography of published and archival sources. The tables and figures are helpful, the maps less so. The photographs, mostly by McNeill, are well chosen and would be far more valuable if they had not been poorly reproduced. In spite of that, the volume is attractive, readable, and an exemplary contribution to environmental history.

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S. A. M. ADSHEAD. *Central Asia in World History*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. vii, 291. \$39.95.

In his study of the role of Central Asia in world history, S. A. M. Adshead, a specialist on the history of late imperial China, argues that the active stage of Central Asia's involvement in the "global overlay" and the rise of world networks dates from the "Mongolian explosion" of the thirteenth century, and reached its height under the Timurids between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In explaining the role of Central Asia, Adshead focuses on a series of world institutions that form a world network, including the basic information circuit, the microbial common market, religious internationals, the republic of letters, the biological arsenal, the world commodity market, the world technological bank, and a common consensus (p. 4).

Adshead's geographical definition of Central Asia includes the three oasis regions of eastern Turkestan, western Turkestan, and Afghan Turkestan, and the northern steppe regions of central Kazakhstan, Semirechie, and Zungharia (p. 8). Dividing his study into three parts—the period prior to the Mongolian explosion, the period during which Central Asia is active, and the period during which Central Asia plays a passive role in world history (seventeenth century to the present)—the author explores these world institutions in the context of "the homelands" (those independent centers of civilization, namely China, Russia, Persia, and India) to which Central Asia transmitted ideas and institutions.

The bulk of the book, and the central point of his analysis, is contained in part 2, in which Central Asia assumes an active role in world history beginning with the Mongol invasion of Chinggis Khan, a "big bang event" that Adshead believes was the first global event that brought about a new conceptualization of the world. One of the recurrent themes in the study is the perennial relationship between nomadic and seden-

tary populations, and the related questions of state formation and the role of religion. Adshead raises important questions concerning the degree of compatibility between empire building, state formation, and nomadic pastoralism. Using the case of the Chaghatai Khanate, and later the Uzbeks, he illustrates the failure of the inju state and the many attempts made by rulers and the ruled to deal with this sometimes unstable situation.

Tamerlane, who is portrayed by the author as both a "second Chinggis" and an "anti-Chinggis," is a unique empire builder because of his ability to develop a method to maintain a balance (albeit temporarily) between the needs of nomads and sedentarists. In the process, he provided the impetus for two important world institutions, the global arsenal and the development of a composite army of both heavy and light cavalry with military personnel no longer tied to tribal organization. Adshead also analyzes the Timurid cultural legacy, the period of cultural efflorescence to which is often applied the European term "Renaissance." To specialists on Timurid history, however, Adshead's analysis of Timurid society and "the Republic of Letters" is problematic. There is little consideration of a wealth of new sources on Timurid social and economic history and culture. Close examination of this history, moreover, yields evidence that Timurid government was not simply "intelligent and secular" or representative of the sedentary side of society, as Adshead asserts. Rather, the Timurid successors maintained a dual government of Perso-Islamic as well as Turko-Mongolian nomadic political ideology that shaped not only cultural reproduction but political and economic structures as well.

A second problematic aspect of this study is Adshead's treatment of religion, specifically the role of the Sufi orders. Adshead's analysis of the role of Sufism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is essentially negative and anti-state; he in fact attributes the end of this "greatest civilized age in Central Asia" to subversion by dervishes and nomads (p. 135). This interpretation, although not attributed to him, is strikingly similar to that taken by the Soviet historian, V. V. Barthold, in his *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (vol. 2, 2d ed., 1963), but it is not reflective of current scholarship on the role of Sufism, or on Timurid history. In contrast to this negative view of Sufism, Adshead provides a more positive light for the role of "religious internationals" in Central Asia, a New World institution that he believes evolved between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. These Sufis are militant, missionary, and, in the face of a failed inju state, urban rejection, and internal repolarization between notables and the general population, they provide "cross-class, cross-ecology unity" (p. 151). In the case of the Uzbek state during the sixteenth century, Adshead asserts that Sufis "became the leading institution in state, society, and culture," resulting in what he refers to as a period of

clericalism (p. 156). Although the use of the term "clericalism" is questionable with regard to the influence of Sufi leaders and organizations, Adshead's subsequent reference to the common ideological, spiritual, and organizational patterns seen in Protestant and Catholic religious orders provides interesting comparative food for thought.

Adshead's analysis of Central Asia as a passive partner in world history from the mid-seventeenth century to the present provides meaningful alternatives to the views that the world market meant uninterrupted decline for the Central Asian region. He argues convincingly that there were different types of trade in Central Asia, and that while the central land route was disrupted permanently during the seventeenth-century world-wide depression, this process actually stimulated the north-south trade in necessities and different types of trade during the eighteenth century period of world market recovery (p. 170). The discussion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is necessarily precursory given the constraints of the book. The notion of a common consensus, the last world institution to be discussed by the author in the passive phase of Central Asia's role in world history, suggests that there is a common discourse and conceptualization of thought rooted in the Western tradition, which is mediated, routinized, and reacted to in different ways throughout the world, and, in particular, in Central Asia. Although the book was published in 1993, there is no inclusion of events since the breakup of the Soviet Union. In light of the transformations that continue to take place, the current agendas in the new republics and the significance of the issues of Islam, national identity, ethnicity, economic independence, and democracy open a Pandora's box of questions concerning the efficacy of any common political, ideological, or social consensus.

Adshead's study is a useful one for those nonspecialists interested in assessing how the history of Central Asia fits into the world community, particularly since his expertise in ecology, technology, and global history elucidates often overlooked historical factors such as disease patterns, patronage, the exchange of information, and world markets. The conspicuous lack of maps, however, is unfortunate. For the specialist, some of the conclusions concerning Timurid history and the role of Islam in Central Asia (specifically Sufism) will be problematic.

JO-ANN GROSS
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AMOS FUNKENSTEIN. *Perceptions of Jewish History*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 390. \$35.00.

Amos Funkenstein's book is one that defies categorization. It is not "about" a specific "something," nor is it bound by the conventional periodization that characterizes most treatments of Jewish intellectual his-

tory. It does not address a specific historical time and place, nor does it treat a particular genre of Jewish literature. Despite its title, the book's investigations are not limited to perceptions of Jewish history; they contain extensive discussions of historiosophy in the Western philosophical and Christian theological traditions as well. Opening a review with a statement of what a book is not may not seem all that helpful, but I think it sets its unique qualities in sharp relief.

Funkenstein's book is a remarkable set of reflections on the nature of Jewish history and the way in which Jews and others have perceived that history over some two and a half millennia. With breathtaking erudition, Funkenstein moves from the biblical books of Job, Jonah, Ruth, and Esther to contemporary Holocaust theology. Along the way he treats apocalyptic and rabbinic literature (in my view he is weakest here); medieval exegetical, philosophical, polemical, and mystical literatures, both Jewish and Christian; and early modern and modern philosophy. Insights into the nature and history of anti-Semitism abound; particularly illuminating is his treatment of "counter-histories" as, "in their most vicious forms," a means to "deprive the adversary of his positive identity" (p. 48).

Although this book is a wonderfully illuminating treatment of the issues it addresses, readers should be forewarned that, for all its extraordinary range, it is not a comprehensive treatment of "perceptions of Jewish history." There are two factors involved here. The first is that many of the individual chapters and subchapters have been published before. Whereas the book as a whole is certainly more than a mere collection of essays (as many of them have been reworked and updated, and they all revolve around a set of common themes, spelled out in the introduction), it is less than a complete synthetic treatment of these themes. Furthermore, it has an idiosyncratic quality that goes beyond its origins as discrete essays written over a period of more than two decades. Simply put, Funkenstein addresses what is of interest to him, and what he can best make interesting to his reader. To take but one example, he devotes more space to Karl Marx on the Jewish question than to any of the nineteenth-century Jewish historiosophers and historians, of whom only Nachman Krochmal receives any serious notice. My sense from the few stray references the book contains to, say, Abraham Geiger and Heinrich Graetz is that, other than Krochmal, he is really not impressed with the lot of nineteenth-century Jewish historians and/or they bore him.

This idiosyncratic quality is part of what makes the book fascinating, as it says much about the author. But it can be problematic. Let me return to the example above. It may seem perverse to say that the author should have focused on people who apparently do not interest him. But it seems to me that disregarding the nineteenth-century figures actually detracts somewhat from the successful realization of one of Funkenstein's principal goals. As he makes

clear in the first chapter, one of the unifying themes of the book is to show that the opposition of modern Jewish historiography to traditional collective memory is greatly exaggerated, if not altogether illusory. Yosef Hayyim Yerushalmi had argued in favor of this opposition in his book, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982), which has dominated discussion of Jewish history for a decade. Funkenstein argues that Yerushalmi does not take proper account of the mediating category of historical consciousness, and several essays in this book are devoted to demonstrating the many loci of that consciousness. Funkenstein succeeds in demonstrating that "Jewish culture was and remained formed by an acute historical consciousness, albeit different at different periods" (p. 11). Yet to complete his argument, he must show just how this dynamic consciousness actually did mediate between collective memory and historical narrative. He asserts that the latter arises from the former theoretically (p. 8), but when it comes time to show this concretely, he is content with a couple of pages of generalizations that advance the claim that Jewish historiography was devoted to maintaining and advancing Jewish memory (pp. 254–56, esp. n. 64), and was, in any event, largely irrelevant to the transformation of the Jews in Germany and France. These are weighty claims, but they are not amply supported. Without that support, Yerushalmi's thesis, while shaken, has not been refuted. I should add that Funkenstein and Yerushalmi seem to be arguing past each other, since Funkenstein's view of memory is much more dynamic than Yerushalmi's; Yerushalmi sees Jewish memory as deeply rooted in typological thinking and the cyclicity of liturgical time that precludes perceptions of real change, whereas Funkenstein quite explicitly rejects that approach (p. 16). Thus, where Yerushalmi sees disruption in the nineteenth century, Funkenstein sees, at least in some instances, a consciously historiographical contribution to the perpetuation of (a recent) Jewish memory.

This is a book of awesome learning and intelligence. By bringing together his different writings, Funkenstein has assured that in the coming decade and beyond any discussion of the perceptions of Jewish history will necessarily address the nature of historical consciousness and its role in the self-understanding of the Jews.

JAY M. HARRIS
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ÉDOUARD WILL and CLAUDE ORRIEUX. *"Prostélytisme juif"? Histoire d'une erreur.* (Histoire.) Paris: Belles Lettres. 1992. Pp. 398. 170 fr.

From the moment one spies the cover of this book, there can be no mistaking its tendentious, polemical character. The first phrase of the title is in quotation marks followed by a question mark, and the subtitle is aggressive. The meaning is clear: So, you think there

was an active seeking after converts to Judaism before the modern period? How wrong can a human being be!

Throughout the book the writing has this same tendentious, slightly patronizing tone, but that should not stop readers from investigating the thesis of the book closely. What Edouard Will and Claude Orrioux argue is important. They believe that there are two ways of defining proselytes. The preferred meaning, as they see it, is to consider proselytes as purely voluntary converts to Judaism. The meaning, however, usually given to the word, especially under the influence of the noun proselytization, is of a person brought through propagandistic and missionary means to Judaism. A proselyte in this definition of the term is the fruit of successful missionary activity.

Probably all periods of Jewish history have seen proselytes in the first sense; perhaps a great many at certain times. It is, however, in the authors' view an error to think that there has been much proselytization (missionary activity directed at winning converts) in the second sense. If, nonetheless, scholars have wanted to believe that there was, there must be an explanation. The authors see it in certain assumptions among critical thinkers of the nineteenth century, and they focus on the figure of Ernst Renan, among others. But their path takes them through Enlightenment critiques of religion, problems of anti-Semitism, and the forbidding edifice of German Protestant biblical scholarship in its classical period.

It is impossible for me, as a medievalist, to judge the use of evidence and the arguments of a book that ranges from testamental times practically to the present. The authors are specialists in biblical and ancient Greek history; and I defer to them in these areas. My impression—and it is only an impression—is that the argument is compelling. On the Middle Ages the discussion is thin, but, once again, it seems to me that the authors repeatedly uncover instances of where preconceived notions about an outgoing Judaism have clouded interpretation of very sparse evidence of conversion to Judaism in the Middle Ages and have led scholars to imagine a great deal more proselytization than actually occurred. The authors have some good cautionary words on the Khazars in this section, as well.

This book appears in a series of very distinguished titles, including translations of works by Arnaldo Momigliano, Robert I. Moore, and Peter Garnsey. From the works that I know in the series, it would appear that the goal is to make available to a French reading audience powerfully argued but controversial theses on historical development. This book is a successful contribution to that goal.

WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN
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JERRY Z. MULLER. *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours: Designing the Decent Society*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1993. Pp. x, 272. \$22.95.

This book should prove useful to readers unfamiliar with the historical context of Adam Smith's thought. Aiming to "read Smith's works through Smith's eyes" (p. 11), Jerry Z. Muller sketches the intellectual traditions that nourished Smith's thinking and how his views of morals, economics, and government were intertwined. By contrast with those who tell us that Smith conceived of the market as a self-regulating institution that could function without the support of strong moral traditions, Muller argues that he believed the efficient working of the market required its participants to possess virtues such as honesty and trustworthiness. In parts 1 and 2 his argument proceeds primarily by exploring the important roles Smith assigned to institutions such as the family, law, and religion. In part 3 he discusses Smith's historical reception and contemporary relevance.

Muller is right to insist that Smith "cannot be characterized as either a liberal or a conservative, philosophical or economic" (p. 6), but there are problems with his effort to recapture Smith's mode of thought. First, what he tells us adds little to what students of Smith's career and writings already know. Indeed, despite his inclusion of an apparently thorough "Guide to Further Reading," I suspect most specialists will come away from Muller's book wondering why he is reluctant to give due credit to the plethora of historically minded scholarship on Smith that has appeared in recent years. Several major revisionist accounts of his thinking, many of which cover the same ground as Muller, are given only brief citations or cursory descriptions. Because he is writing for nonspecialists, Muller does not need to emulate rigorous historical analysis of the kind Donald Winch, Duncan Forbes, Istvan Hont, John Robertson, and others have pursued before him. But he ought to have said plainly that the basic work of restoring Smith's thought to its eighteenth-century context has been done and done quite well. In the absence of such acknowledgement, nonspecialists may not gather that much of Muller's treatment is an adequate précis of other revisionist studies.

Muller's all-too-brief account of Smith's historical reception is more deeply flawed. He makes little effort to explain why the full range of Smith's speculations about the market proved so difficult to take in. Determined to demonstrate the "common denominator" in Smith's works (p. 6), Muller naively assumes that his writings have somehow stood by themselves since their first appearance, offering the same face to all readers.

Muller also fails to consider the possibility that Smith was largely uninformed about the market as we have come to know it. At the end of the eighteenth century, Smith may well have believed that the social order in which the market flourished would be one in which its participants had been moralized by the institution of the family and the authority of religion. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, it seems clear that the market had begun to produce a

distinct culture, unconnected to religion in any conventional sense or to traditional community and family values. Although Muller tells us that a historical understanding of Smith is a prerequisite to "deciding what is living and what is dead in his thought" (p. 10), his account too often disguises Smith's distance from us in time.

Finally, Muller's discussion of contemporary applications of Smith's mode of thought is disappointingly superficial. He holds up Smith's thinking as the proper starting point for a therapeutic self-examination that might help us to identify and rethink the mistakes of contemporary liberal theory and mainstream academic economics. Echoing a recurring theme in revisionist scholarship, he also insists that modern admirers and critics alike have never grasped the true nature of Smith's thinking. One obvious implication of this last view, however, is that under other circumstances Smith's overall design somehow might have been appreciated and retained in all its complexity. Yet what these circumstances might have been are never spelled out. (Apart from counterfactual speculation about events that might have sooner made Smith the subject of thorough historical scholarship, it is hard to imagine what they might include.) It may be fair to say that liberal theorists and mainstream economists only dimly understand all that Smith was about. But they can hardly be blamed for overlooking aspects of his thinking in which they have no obvious reason to be interested.

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JOHN E. ZUCCHI. *The Little Slaves of the Harp: Italian Child Street Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Paris, London, and New York*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History, number 13.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 208. \$34.95.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the presence of Italian child musicians on the thoroughfares of the principal cities of Europe and the Americas attracted the attention of urban reformers, public officials, and philanthropists. Their physical appearance and "music" elicited protests, and their proscription became the object of parliamentary debates, laws, and policing on several continents. John E. Zucchi relates these episodes of public outrage and remedial measures in Paris, London, and New York. Although the author himself appears to accept the characterization of the "Italian white slave children trade," he concludes that reformers were less concerned with the fate of the children than with the issues of begging, noise pollution, and offense to the Italian national honor.

Zucchi's efforts to analyze the trade in children as a form of migration were handicapped by the fact that the child musicians and *padroni* left few records of their own. Through assiduous research in four countries, he discovered abundant writings by Italian

consuls, journalists, and charity workers dealing with the problem. Zucchi cautions that their reports, which emphasized lurid abuse of the children, should not be taken at face value. Yet he devotes many pages to accounts of cruel treatment of the "little slaves" by *padroni*, leaving the reader with the impression that the lives of the child musicians were hard indeed.

Zucchi describes the experience of the wandering musicians within the context of the itinerant crafts and street trades practiced by artisans and peasants from the hill towns of the Apennines. Temporary migrations to urban areas had been a centuries-old strategy for survival in these resource-poor villages. As modes of travel expanded opportunities, their migrations spread throughout Europe, to Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Children, indentured by parents to a *padrone*, often a kinsman or townsman, comprised a significant portion of these peripatetic vendors and performers.

Zucchi identifies the larger significance of the traffic in children as a forerunner of the Italian migrations of the late nineteenth century. The street musicians reconnoitered opportunities and reported back to their villages. Certain *padroni* became labor agents, who initiated chain migrations and founded substantial colonies of *paesani*. One would have liked a more detailed analysis of this critical role of *padroni* in the transition from the traffic in children to large-scale labor recruitment.

Although the child musicians had largely disappeared from the streets by the 1880s, Zucchi points out that the *padrone* system by which youngsters were procured for industrial work continued unabated. He concludes the volume with a question: "What happened to the children?" His answer is brief and vague: some continued as street musicians; some returned home; some moved on to new occupations. To have traced the careers of particular children to adulthood would have been an arduous task, but undoubtedly revealing. In late-nineteenth-century Chicago, prominent members of the Italian colony were said to have begun their lives in America as "little slaves of the harp."

How did the publicity given to the Italian child slaves and the sinister *padroni* affect the future reputation of the Italian immigrants? Zucchi does not pose this question, yet negative ethnic stereotypes appear to have been one of the enduring consequences of this tragic episode in Italian migration history.

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ALAN MAYNE. *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914*. New York: Leicester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. ix, 228. \$59.00.

In this book, the poststructural linguistic Left meets comparative urban history and the result is stimulating indeed. Alan Mayne uses Sydney from 1879 to 1900, San Francisco from 1900 to 1909, and Birmingham, England, from 1875 to 1914 to test the provocative hypothesis that the late-nineteenth-century slum was a myth, but one whose construction had important policy consequences. Focusing on middle-class writing about cities by reformers and journalists, Mayne contends that urban historians should pay less attention to the material realities of the late-nineteenth-century slum and more to how slums were portrayed by middle-class observers. He rejects the distinction, carefully drawn by H. J. Dyos and others, between self-styled empirical observations of the slums by investigators like Jacob Riis, and sensational accounts such as *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (1876), for both were a cultural product "mediated by the cultural milieux within which they were framed, and upon which their creators depended for comprehension and credibility" (p. 3). Moreover, both social-scientific and entertainment discourses created stereotypes about the slums and their inhabitants that helped shape schemes of "city improvement" (p. 4); in the author's view, city improvement was driven by commercial motives and almost never benefited the slum dwellers.

The first section of the book draws on contemporary cultural theory and anthropology to suggest how postmodern theories of representation can help historians "read against the grain" of late-nineteenth-century depictions of the slum. Mayne wants us to read these newspaper accounts as "performances" where moral values were displayed and whose effectiveness came from their "mooring" (an effective metaphor in a text littered with them) in readers' understanding of moral order. Such narratives thus served to confirm the "common sense" (following Clifford Geertz) of the bourgeois community and to maintain the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

Next, Mayne devotes three chapters to a highly detailed description of the politics of slum eradication and urban renewal in the three cities, organized around themes of discontinuity, contingency, and indeterminacy. These chapters dealing respectively with the campaign against plague in San Francisco, the Birmingham improvement scheme, and slum clearance in Sydney, constitute an impressive performance of a traditional kind of history: empirical and densely documented in primary sources. This section, describing "the social and cultural milieux of city people which slumland representation addressed" (p. 12), seems to me valuable, even if somewhat extraneous to the book's stated thesis on representation.

In the final section, the author takes the reader on a stimulating tour of slum discourse with chapters entitled "Showcase," "Threshold," "Slumland," and "Faces of Degeneration." Here he "unpacks" such terms as "rookeries," "warrens," "labyrinths," and the metaphors of territoriality and contagion that are

familiar to readers of the genre. Mayne knows how to read these investigative texts and the result is both fun and informative. For example, Mayne suggests city authorities were making a moral statement about the inhabitants as well as about material housing conditions when they "condemned" housing as unfit for habitation. He quotes from sensational newspaper accounts of San Francisco's Chinatown that illuminate the nativism of the era. And he shows how, by depicting slums in moral terms, reformers portrayed their own efforts to eradicate the slums as a moral crusade.

After reading this book, few scholars would argue with the author's statement that "texts are not the unproblematic reflections of material conditions in the past." Yet the theoretical underpinnings of this book are, like tenement stairs, shaky in parts: one would like to see labels such as "bourgeoisie" and "middle-class" unpacked as thoroughly as Mayne analyzes slumland terms. And for a book that displays such sensitivity to rhetorical strategies in the texts analyzed, this one turns no critical or self-deprecating eye on its own artful rhetoric; Mayne could have been more self-reflective. On the whole, however, this is a stimulating and significant contribution to comparative urban history that scholars in the field should not miss.

RUTH CROCKER
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ELISABETH CRAWFORD. *Nationalism and Internationalism in Science, 1880–1939: Four Studies of the Nobel Population*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 157. \$44.95.

This concise volume by Elisabeth Crawford examines an elite segment of the international scientific community, the one thousand or so candidates and nominators for the Nobel Prizes in chemistry and physics between 1901 and 1939. In the book, tables and bar graphs abound, but the author supplements this prosopographical universe and citation analysis of the scientists in her narrative with clear prose and argument. Preparatory to four empirical studies (on the fate of scientific internationalism in World War I, relationships between the Central European and German scientific communities, Germany's Kaiser-Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science, and American Nobel laureates), Crawford lays out a methodological path that seeks to specify the dynamic relationships between science, nationalism, and internationalism from 1880 to 1914. The book treats nationalism as largely, although not entirely, coincident with nation-state building. The author's perspective is that of a historical sociologist of scientific development engaged in a critical examination of Joseph Ben-David's model of scientific development, particularly his notion of scientific centers and pe-

ripheries, and Harriet Zuckerman's treatment of Nobel laureates as a scientific ultra-elite.

The creation of the Nobel Foundation in 1900, like the late-nineteenth-century round of international congresses and drives to standardize measurements and electrical units, was linked to what Crawford contends were tensions between nationalism and internationalism. She documents how World War I effectively destroyed the international scientific relations that had flourished earlier in the century and traces the reconstitution of governmental, organizational, and personal relationships in the interwar period. Next she examines Ben-David's attempt to explain the dynamics of scientific development with a center-periphery model founded on the presumption of scientific competition. Here Crawford makes a welcome and effective plea for a more nuanced model of scientific development. Drawing on a careful study of physicists who studied under the Viennese physicist Franz S. Exner, Crawford shows that in comparison to their cohorts in Germany, an acknowledged scientific center in physics and chemistry, the physical scientists of the "peripheral" states of Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were not strictly imitative or dependent on the Germans.

After a glance at the ideological uses of Nobel Prizes and prize winners in Germany's Kaiser-Wilhelm Society and its associated research arm, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes, Crawford turns to Zuckerman's study of the American scientific community, in which he claimed to find great differences between those scientists who won and those who failed to win a Nobel Prize. She finds little value in Zuckerman's distinction between elite and nonelite scientists and disputes the utility of defining an elite on the basis of decisions made by the Swedish Nobel jury. Crawford issues a clarion call to examine in detail the alleged attributes of elites and challenges historians and sociologists to render more explicit the notion of elitism.

This book will have great utility for historians of the physical sciences and transnational scientific activity, and for sociologists of science. My rather minor objections center on the book's neglect of imperialism as an actor that interpenetrated much nationalistic and internationalistic scientific sensibility. Crawford's treatment of large themes such as nationalism and internationalism in relation to science, of great interest to the wider historical community, is indicative of recent attempts to contextualize scientific activity, a "mainstreaming" trend evident in some quarters of the history of science.

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W. DIRK RAAT. *Mexico and the United States: Ambivalent Vistas*. (The United States and the Americas, number 8.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 277. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.50.

W. Dirk Raat has written a whirlwind, breathless history of Mexico with particular attention to the relations between Mexico and the United States. The book is part of two recent, important historical trends. The first is the growing movement in Mexican studies toward viewing the nation from the perspective of the northern border region. The second is the increasing attention paid by scholars to the cultural and economic aspects of international relations.

From the time that the Aztecs arrived in the Valley of Mexico from the northern deserts to the ascendancy of the Sonoran dynasty of political leaders in the years after the Revolution of 1910 to the dominance of northern industry in the 1990s, the peoples of the North have periodically established (or attempted to establish) dominance over the rest of Mexico. The relationship between the United States and Mexico in the border region complicated this northern influence.

The histories of the two nations are inseparably intertwined. Can one envision what would have happened had not the United States conquered half of Mexico's territory in war? Or how the outcome of the Revolution of 1910 might have changed without the interference of the United States? Or how the Mexican economy would have developed without the enormous investment by U.S. companies and the huge influx of U.S. tourists? But the relations between the two nations have always had a distinct ambivalence, wrought with intolerance, admiration, and fear. The relationship has been, moreover, far from equal. "So far from god, so close to the United States," Mexicans have complained since the nineteenth century. Raat tries to explain this ambivalent relationship first in terms of cultural misunderstandings in chapters on "Gringos and Greasers" and "Space/Time" and then in terms of economics.

For the most part, Raat's interpretations accurately reflect the best recent scholarship. He admirably tries to put United States-Mexican relations within a world context. He applies the latest theories of anthropology, sociology, and international relations. There are only two minor instances where sharp disagreement is in order. In one he states that President James K. Polk's policies led "inadvertently" to war in 1846 (p. 68). Can one argue that the U.S. acquired an empire in a fit of absence of mind? The second is his obsession with United States intelligence operations (pp. 97, 151), which uses up valuable space in a very short book.

Apart from these criticisms, this book is a lively, balanced interpretation that students will enjoy and from which they will learn a great deal about Mexico.

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LLOYD C. GARDNER. *Spheres of Influence: The Great Powers Partition Europe, from Munich to Yalta*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1993. Pp. xvi, 302. \$28.50.

If Lloyd C. Gardner's latest volume is a pleasure to read, it is also somewhat selective in its presentation of fact and open, on this account, to charges of bias. One would never guess from its contents that Samuel Fuller, Sumner Welles, William Bullitt, Hugh Wilson, and Joseph Kennedy were up to their ears in appeasement, along with their chief, Franklin Roosevelt, who did all he could to beat Neville Chamberlain to the punch in 1938 and obtain a lion's share of the credit for Munich. Readers will likewise search in vain for any mention of FDR's tilt against the inclusion of the Soviet Union in an entente capable of halting Axis growth.

Much is made of Winston Churchill's pressure on Roosevelt to endorse spheres of influence agreements for Eastern Europe and the Balkans. But Gardner passes over other objectives that the prime minister had in mind, such as Allied assistance for the Warsaw uprising, electoral guarantees for Eastern Europe, a scrapping of the Lublin (Communist) government of Poland, and the occupation of Berlin and Prague by Western troops. Unlike Gardner, Churchill did not regard Yalta or its outcome as inevitable, and the reader has a right to know this.

Should a book about presidential vision be devoid of any reference to the fact that most of Roosevelt's assumptions regarding the postwar world—a weak Soviet Union, a dangerous United Kingdom, a practically non-existent France, and a powerful China—were hopelessly flawed? As far as one can tell, the president had no more policy than the emperor had new clothes. He was notoriously inconsistent and self-contradictory when it came to foreign affairs. Yet Gardner, while retailing a myriad of baffling, off-the-wall presidential pronouncements, seems unwilling to entertain the idea that any of this could have been the result of ignorance, ineptitude, or preoccupation with domestic politics on the part of FDR. Nor does he offer any explanation of his own.

Gardner seems most at home on the economic side of things as, for instance, when dealing with Cordell Hull's double-standard approach to imperialism. But economics doth not make a book. Gardner's bibliography is as notable for what it leaves out as for what it includes. One might expect to learn something about France's role in the prewar period; but French-language sources remain untapped. Canadian archives are also by-passed despite Ottawa's function as a key point of contact between Washington and London.

As the bibliography goes, so goes the analysis. Gardner avoids any detailed reference to what happened at Teheran, in particular Roosevelt's undermining of Chinese control over Manchuria, even though a strong case can be made for Teheran as the key to understanding Yalta. When Stalin wondered aloud at Teheran whether Chiang Kai-shek would go along with FDR's proposal to guarantee the preeminence of Soviet interests in Dairen, Roosevelt replied, in effect, "Worry not. Leave Chiang to me." The

point is that FDR behaved all along like a rich relation bent on loading "Uncle Joe" with favors, hoping thereby to jolly him along and breathe life into Russia as a postwar player.

Granted, FDR needed Stalin in order to win a two-front war, at least from the perspective of the time, and he had good reason to do what he could to hold the Allied coalition together. There is, however, a reverse side to the coin: Stalin had needs of his own. Monumental ones. It can be argued that his very life, along with that of the Soviet Union, depended on American aid. No one can prove that bargaining techniques of the classic kind would have won significant concessions for the Poles or the Chinese Nationalists. The point is they were never tried. Stalin pocketed all that he wanted at Teheran and Yalta while yielding virtually nothing in return. Notwithstanding the president's famous rejoinder to critics, "Do you expect us . . . to declare war on Joe Stalin?", there is little to indicate that he ever really feared Stalin or the things for which Stalin stood.

In sum, although Gardner has served up a tasty literary treat, he fails to satisfy because he omits a great deal while presenting little that is new.

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ANCIENT

PETER JAMES. *Centuries of Darkness*. Assisted by I. J. THORPE et al. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 434. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

Surveying the archaeological sequences for the entire Mediterranean basin, Near East, and Nile Valley, Peter James and his four co-authors (I. J. Thorpe, Nikos Kokkinos, Robert Morkot, and John Frankish), note a dearth of evidence for the Early Iron Age, the reemergence at the end of this period of apparently long-vanished technologies and art styles, and the discovery of Egyptian artifacts in contexts considerably earlier than expected. They conclude that the Dark Age that is supposed to have run from 1200 to 800 B.C. probably lasted only from 950 to 800. They attribute this discrepancy to the astronomical calculations that Egyptologists have used to date the New Kingdom, which they maintain are based on inadequate data and the unjustified assumption that no changes were ever made to the Egyptian calendar. They date the start of the New Kingdom around 1300 rather than 1550 B.C. by shortening the poorly known twenty-first and twenty-second Dynasties that followed the New Kingdom, arguing that they were largely contemporary.

Colin Renfrew correctly observes in his foreword that this book reveals the shaky nature of the chronology of this period. It is, however, a highly polemical study that employs a number of questionable assumptions. Although the authors acknowledge that

"there can be no general rules concerning the tempo of social development" (p. 315), they invariably argue that styles changed rapidly and continuously and that periods of decline were mild and brief. Yet their new chronology shortens the well-documented depopulation of Lower Nubia that began in the late New Kingdom by less than one-third. They also maintain that most artifacts were interred in archaeological contexts soon after they were manufactured. All these assumptions have been challenged to varying degrees in recent years.

In addition, they accept biblical chronology without question, with the result that the United Monarchy of Saul, David, and Solomon becomes contemporary with the late New Kingdom. Indeed, they prefer to locate the "Golden Age" of King Solomon in Late Bronze Age Palestine rather than in the poorer Iron Age that follows (p. 191). They do not discuss the implications for the Philistines, who appear to have settled in Palestine in the reign of Ramses III, which they would have contemporary with that of Solomon. They also interpret as anachronisms biblical statements that iron was already used routinely in the period of the Judges. If we accept the new chronology, it is extraordinary that no references to David or Solomon have been found in the records of the New Kingdom and of the contemporary Late Bronze Age societies of the Near East, since that period is much better documented than is the Early Iron Age to which these monarchs are usually assigned. Under these circumstances, it might be more satisfactory to assume that the United Monarchy was a mythical construction of later times.

The authors' treatment of radiocarbon dates is extremely arbitrary. They deny that such dates can resolve detailed chronological problems and argue reasonably that, because of old-wood effects, younger determinations are more likely to pinpoint events than are older ones. Yet, although they cast doubt on the large number of radiocarbon dates that support the traditional chronology, they welcome any that accord with their shorter one.

James and his associates have performed a useful service in drawing attention to the problems that beset Late Bronze and Early Iron Age chronologies throughout the Mediterranean region. Far too many dates are based on circular reasoning and inadequate data. I am less convinced, however, that they have discovered the solution to these problems. Their chronological revisions appear to create at least as many problems as they resolve. Moreover, existing sets of radiocarbon dates for the Amarna period and the reign of Ramesses II suggest that, however weak the astronomical calculations used to date the New Kingdom, its currently accepted chronological position may survive closer scrutiny by radiocarbon, tree-ring, and cross-dating.

BRUCE G. TRIGGER
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JOAN E. TAYLOR. *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 384. \$69.00.

Joan E. Taylor's book is concerned with whether Christians venerated sacred sites in Palestine prior to the time of Constantine. As its subtitle indicates, it attempts to counter the arguments of Bellarmino Bagatti, Emmanuele Testa, and other Franciscan scholars who claim that early Jewish-Christians identified and revered places related to the life of Jesus from the time of his ministry down to the fourth century.

After summarizing the Bagatti-Testa hypothesis, Taylor reviews what is known about the distribution of Jewish-Christians, Gentile-Christians, Jews, Samaritans, and pagans in Palestine during the early Christian centuries. She concludes that there is no clear literary evidence of heterodox Christians maintaining Jewish praxis in Palestine from the mid-second century onward. Therefore it is illegitimate to assume a Jewish-Christian origin for strange graffiti, symbols, and other archaeological remains of the second and third centuries. It is possible that pockets of Jewish-Christians continued to exist in Palestine's villages and cities. But before any remains can be credited to such groups, Taylor argues, it must be shown that no other interpretation is possible.

She then discusses the archaeological and written evidence for the authenticity of each of the Byzantine Christian holy places. Taylor notes that most of these sites are located in areas for which there is no evidence of Christian occupants in the second and third centuries. This fact, coupled with the ambiguity of archaeological evidence taken to indicate the presence of Jewish-Christians, leads her to conclude that none of the sites was venerated by Christians before the fourth century. The only site she thinks might be genuine is the Cave (not "Garden") of Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives, where the Synoptic Gospels say Jesus was arrested, but this site also does not seem to have been revered by Christians until the fourth century. If the later pilgrims correctly identified the location of Gethsemane, it was probably a happy accident.

The situation is similar with the presumed location of Peter's house in Capernaum. Later churches were built over an actual first-century house located near the shore in the working-class section of town where a fisherman might have lived. Taylor shows that the evidence used to support the contention that the site was continually venerated from the late first century down to the fourth century, however, is highly questionable.

It was Constantine, Taylor claims, who originated and promoted the concept of Christian pilgrimage to sacred sites. The idea that places were imbued with spiritual power because of events that took place there was a pagan concept introduced into Christian-

ity as it spread in the Gentile world. The evidence also indicates that several Palestinian "holy" sites where Constantine erected churches (including the cave of the nativity in Bethlehem and Golgotha in Jerusalem) were former pagan places of worship thus "redeemed" from pagan desecration. Taylor argues that they were chosen for veneration not because of their known connections with Jesus, but because Constantine wished to promote Christianity in Palestine by replacing pagan shrines with Christian ones.

This book is derived from Taylor's Ph.D. dissertation and displays some of the common characteristics of such works. Her research and discussion of the evidence is comprehensive, but her writing is often unnecessarily complex and difficult to read. Taylor's inclusion of plans, drawings, and photographs of the sites, however, helps the reader understand her descriptions and her critical analysis of the physical evidence. Her arguments are always well-constructed and generally persuasive. This book is must reading for all who study and teach early church history or the archaeology of the New Testament. It provides a healthy corrective to the excessive claims of the Bagatti-Testa school of thought.

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RAPHAEL SEALEY. *Demosthenes and His Time: A Study in Defeat*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 340. \$55.00.

This book by Raphael Sealey purports to cover the life of Demosthenes and the vicissitudes of Athenian history from 387–86 to 322 B.C. Nine appendixes treat various aspects of Demosthenes's life and speeches, chronology, and Athenian government. Athens suffered defeat at the hands of Sparta and Persia in the Corinthian War, only to rise again to power after 378–77 B.C., when it created the so-called Second Athenian Confederacy. Athens weathered the Theban Hegemony with its power largely intact, only to suffer considerable losses by the revolt of some of its most powerful allies during the Social War of 357–55 B.C. Under these circumstances Demosthenes entered public life, and from then until his death he and Athens unsuccessfully grappled with the challenge presented by the rise of Philip II and the growth of Macedonian power.

Those readers expecting a work even remotely approaching Arnold Schaefer's magisterial *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (1856–58) will be sorely disappointed by this book. Of the 269 pages of its text, excluding footnotes, only some 127 are devoted specifically to Demosthenes's life and his professional career. Sealey states that the Athens of the time of Demosthenes deserves the historian's attention (p. 4). I agree, but one wonders why therefore he devotes comparatively little space to it. Instead, Demosthenes is used as a pretext for an often superficial and

sometimes idiosyncratic survey of Greek events in the fourth century B.C. A great deal of familiar scholarship is used without proper citation. The German practice of giving full credit where due is the preferable model to be observed. Very little here is either original or new, with the exception of the study of the relationships among leading Athenian politicians of the period, which is in general quite enlightening.

Written in a turgid style, the book is unduly repetitious, with many events or issues discussed at length in several different places as though for the first time. One of the egregious failures of this book is its evasion of difficult yet vital questions. For example, Sealey avoids the topic of whether the Spartan Phoibidas acted under orders when he seized the Theban Kadmeia, an event subsequently fraught with grave consequences for Sparta (p. 40). Similarly, one finds this comment regarding Philip's intentions toward Athens in 352 B.C.: "That question cannot be answered and is of no great moment" (p. 125). The remark is stuporous from a historian pretending to trace the sequence of events of Philip's victory over Athens. The same cavalier attitude resurfaces later, when Sealey writes in reference to Demosthenes's *First Philippic*: "discussion of the date and occasion of the speech has produced acute observations and need not be continued" (p. 132), an astounding comment on one of Demosthenes's most influential speeches. A more glaring avoidance of crucial matters is Sealey's treatment of the vital and intricate events of 339 B.C., a tumultuous year that saw the Thebans seize Nikaia from Philip, a city strategically important in the Thermopylai corridor; Philip's campaign against the Scythians; and the quarrel between Amphissa and the Delphic Amphiktyony. Sealey merely writes that "The precise sequence [of events] is not crucial" (p. 193), this at a time when Philip began forming his plans for confrontation with Athens. Given the fact that Sealey conveniently dismisses many important matters that he does not even attempt to discuss, one wonders why he even bothered to write this book. Lapidary and unsubstantiated pronouncements are inadequate substitutes for reasoned argument.

The conclusion is as disappointing as the rest of the book. Sealey pronounces that both Demosthenes and Athens failed, but even so "neither the policy nor the strategy [of both] can be faulted" (p. 219). If not, then what was deficient and why? A systematic analysis of this verdict is lacking, and the last paragraph of the book is merely a banal sermon. Some vanity presses have published better books than this.

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DORA P. CROUCH. *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 380. \$65.00.

Because it is impossible to imagine a city flourishing without an adequate water supply, it is incredible that studies in ancient Greek history and archaeology have paid little attention to the subject. Dora P. Crouch has performed a valuable service in assembling much of the available evidence in one volume. She has asked the questions that need to be asked and provided an indication of the answers. She offers analyses not only of springs, fountains, pipes, aqueducts, and other structures but also explains geological factors underlying water supply. Most prominent is karst, the soluble limestone base of many Mediterranean aquifers. It is of undoubted importance, although hardly, as she calls it, "the hydrogeological basis of civilization" (p. 63). Not all cities, even Mediterranean ones, are located near karst.

Placing water systems within a wider context, Crouch makes some provocative observations. Her classification of city plans into five types, rather than the two usually recognized, is useful. She is right in observing that beauty, along with practicality, played a role in locating cities. Her comments on the relationship between water supply and vegetation, however, are less convincing. She believes that the ancients were concerned with ecological balance and the interests of posterity and complains that they "may have been unduly blamed for the deforestation of the Mediterranean countryside" (p. 313). She wants to connect loss of forests with changing climate, but paradoxically denies any major climatic alterations since classical times. She recognizes that military actions deforest land and break terraces, interfering with water supply, so it seems certain that the Greeks, a most warlike people, were responsible for many of these destructive actions. Crouch remarks: "The ancients were living very close to the edge in an ecosystem that sustains human life only if it is carefully, respectfully managed" (p. 123). The truth of this is suggested by the fact that many sites she describes were abandoned in ancient times.

The book provides a treasure trove of information on hydraulic systems of ancient Greek cities, including distant colonies. Crouch's examples are widespread and numerous enough for many helpful generalizations, such as that study of ancient water systems will be of use to those concerned with similar problems in the modern world. Greek cities generally provided for handling three types of water: potable, subpotable (like that from cisterns), and "used" water to be returned to the aquifer (pp. 151–53). A similar classification may well be useful today in cities where the supply of potable water is inadequate for total needs.

Overall, this book is informed by intelligence and good sense. It is a pioneering work in a difficult interdisciplinary subject. Future studies may assemble a more complete data base and expand on Crouch's conclusions, but that will be because she has made such an excellent beginning.

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EDWARD E. COHEN. *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 288.

Edward E. Cohen's book on Greek banking addresses the fundamental problems of the nature of the ancient economy by focusing on the commercial activities associated directly and indirectly with the Athenian *trapeza*. Although the book is a specialist study of the economic significance of this institution, Cohen is also eager to contribute to the larger controversy concerning whether Athenian society was oriented to profit-making and the opportunities of the market. The clear target of much of the argument is thus the so-called "primitivist" school, emanating from M. I. Finley but also represented by historians such as Raymond Bogaert and Paul Millett (pp. 32–34), which has sought to downplay the commercial and acquisitive character of ancient economic relations, implying that institutions like the *trapezai* had very little in common with their apparent counterparts of today.

For Cohen, the crucial question is whether the *trapezai* were involved in lending for productive purposes, for if this can be shown to be normal and widespread, the primitivist view would be dealt a severe, if not fatal, blow. In providing his answer, Cohen first makes some timely criticisms of previous statistical efforts to estimate the significance of Athenian lending activities. His own approach focuses primarily on the body of evidence emanating from the accounts of lawsuits relating to banking transactions preserved in the works of figures like Demosthenes and Isokrates. In Cohen's view, these writings demonstrate that the world's first "private banks" (p. 1), by which he means institutions of direct commercial significance and not the practices of lending for consumption purposes or pawnbroking, came into being shortly before the beginning of the fourth century.

But Cohen scrupulously avoids uncritically projecting modern arrangements back on to the conditions of the past; the form of banking depicted in the forensic evidence he reviews was a uniquely Athenian phenomenon without contemporary parallels. For one thing, unlike today, banking in ancient Greece was entirely free from state regulation or oligopolistic dominance of the market. This is related to another feature Cohen emphasizes, the "strictly personal" (pp. 62 and following) nature of the practice of banking; there never arose a complete separation of the bank as an enterprise from the personal wealth of the owner (and thus it never achieved corporate status). Cohen argues that it was in the nature of banking as a profession that the person and assets (*oikos*) of the banker was everything in contrast to the insignificance of equipment, good will, or staff. This is not to say that bankers did not use assistants or keep records (*grammata*); Cohen has much to say on such details, especially on the role of slaves and wives, who

often played a decisive role despite their lack of formal rights or status.

But what was the importance of bank lending in facilitating a market orientation? Here is perhaps the most difficult and least satisfactory aspect of Cohen's thesis, for it is one thing to show that bank-like institutions arose and were for many a routine feature of daily life, quite another to establish their precise economic function. Cohen's argument to prove the inherently commercial nature of lending, and thus the expansionary impact of banking from an economic theory point of view, rests on the crucial role bankers played in sea trade. He again uses evidence from Demosthenes, specifically the speeches relating to litigation about maritime loans, to show how common it was for bankers to be involved in such "productive activities" (see chap. 5). Although I concur with his estimation of the role of the banks in all of this, it remains unclear what precisely is implied about the nature of production and the market generally. At times Cohen all but suggests the emergence of a bourgeois form of economic life, but his remarks on the changing ethos of the *oikos* in the fourth century, while suggestive, are not entirely satisfactory.

On most of the matters alluded to, however, Cohen is reliable and thorough. He possesses an impressive knowledge of the relevant classical and modern literature as well as a close practical acquaintance with contemporary banking, an unusual but fortuitous set of qualifications. His book, despite its specialist nature, is highly readable and contains a wealth of interesting details on social conditions generally.

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SUSAN E. ALCOCK. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 307. \$69.95.

Susan E. Alcock's survey of the Greeks under Roman rule springs from the premise that, whether we accept or reject any of the traditional views—that they were "a great people in decline," or living in a "museum," or an "untroubled backwater"—more questions need to be asked, and from different perspectives, than have generally been posed. Reasons for the comparative neglect of this period must surely include the nature of the evidence, and the magnitude and variety of topics requiring attention if justice is to be done to the Greeks' experience as Roman subjects. Alcock dodges none of the difficulties, and if not all of her arguments are entirely persuasive, they are consistently stimulating. This is a topical rather than strictly historical study, but its coverage ensures that the nonspecialist should also find it a bracing introduction to the period.

Alcock's "alternative" view of Roman Greece is based on the "concept of landscape" (p. 6): the

preoccupations of Roman rulers and the subject Greek elite, which predominate in the (long familiar) literary and monumental evidence, are subordinated to the social and economic circumstances of society as a whole, best observed in the archaeological evidence. Her discussion starts not, as a more conventional account might have done, at the top of society and in the cities, but in the countryside; the comparatively new technique of archaeological survey is used throughout, first in her analysis of the rural landscape (chap. 2) to support the view that there was a significant shift of residence away from the countryside during the early Roman period (ca. 200 B.C.–A.D. 200). Where did the country residents go? Why? And with what consequences for land tenure or for the traditional link between a Greek city and its territory? Was this merely a shift or an overall reduction in the population?

The value of archaeological survey lies not in providing complete answers—for as Alcock herself allows, no survey, however complete, can ever tell us "who" or "why" (pp. 55–56)—but rather in prompting fruitful speculation of the kind we find here. Every possible explanation is related to what the literary evidence (here stringently reassessed) has to say. Sometimes one might wish for a less circuitous and more dogmatic statement of what Alcock would like the results to be, but in general the intricacies of the argument are justified by the subject's sheer complexity.

Alcock's treatment of the civic landscape (chap. 3) includes a hard look at the apparent preference for nucleated settlement, a concomitant of the perceived withdrawal from the countryside. Were small farmers dispossessed in large numbers? Did the tenants and laborers, now presumably working the land for great estate owners, live in town? What advantages had the city to offer? And how well did this still-agricultural economy serve the tax requirements of Rome?

The changing role of the Greek city forms part of the discussion of the provincial landscape (chap. 4). Good account is taken of imperial patronage and of relations between the Greek elite and their own and other communities as region-wide connections grew up. Here and in chapter 5, Alcock refers to many of the well-known monuments, always weaving them into her own design; for example, Augustus's foundation of Nikopolis is interpreted as a demonstration of the "Roman interference in Greek . . . demographic patterns" (p. 132), not discussed merely on its own merits.

Alcock considers the sacred landscape (chap. 5) in the light of the "geography of cult" (p. 173). Why were shrines where they were? How may the changing functions of sanctuaries have expressed Greek reactions both to Roman domination and to their own altering ethos? Here again archaeological and anthropological insights combine with conventional evidence to suggest matter enough for many further studies.

Alcock argues that Roman Greece was an evolving society. The fact of Roman rule, like Hadrian's aqueduct across Corinthia, could never be ignored, but neither did the Greeks simply lie down under it.

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THOMAS WIEDEMANN. *Emperors and Gladiators*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xvii, 198. \$49.95.

After a too-brief survey of recent scholarship, Thomas Wiedemann tells us in his introduction what his book is and is not intended to be. It is not to be "a comprehensive collection of the surviving evidence about *munera*," nor a description of different types of gladiatorial fighting, but an exploration of "the significance of gladiatorial combat in the context of Roman ideas about society, morality and mortality" (pp. xvi–xvii). Wiedemann succeeds in this aim in this well-documented study.

In chapter 1, Wiedemann not only outlines the origins of gladiatorial shows in Rome and its territory but also explains their significance for society. They began as *munera* or obligations in honor of the dead in 264 B.C. Georges Ville "persuasively argued" that "it was in Campania, not Etruria," that the Romans encountered gladiators fighting at funeral games (p. 31), but Wiedemann does not give the reference. These public displays of military power attracted attention to the dead man and his family, and with the advent of the principate it was inevitable that the emperors would take them over (pp. 2–8). On a higher level, the combats could be seen as a "demonstration of the power to overcome death" (p. 35). Fighters exemplified virtue (*virtus*): one of them survived; the other either died in a ritualized, not disgraceful way or might be spared by the crowd.

Chapter 2 describes fights with animals, which took place in the morning, and executions of convicted criminals by animals, fire, or crosses, which took place at midday, before the gladiatorial contests. There are next seventeen plates of archaeological evidence. The gladiators are described in chapter 3. They were slaves, war captives, and free men who had volunteered for the pay. Criminals could also be sentenced to fight in the shows. In chapter 4 Wiedemann shows that philosophical pagan and Christian opposition to games was weak. Christian uneasiness with the shows was not caused by their cruelty but by the fact that the gladiator could save himself by his *virtus* (p. 156). In his conclusion, Wiedemann discusses *virtus* and describes the games as a setting for the emperors to manifest themselves to the Roman people (pp. 165–83).

I regret that Wiedemann does not mention Keith Hopkins's chapter "Murderous Games" in *Death and Renewal* (1983) except in the bibliography. Hopkins described the contests as close to human sacrifice (p. 5) and as the products of a brutal and cruel society (p.

28; see also R. Auguet, *Cruauté et civilisation: Les jeux romains* [1970], 10). In an argument that parallels Wiedemann's discussion of *virtus*, Hopkins considered the gladiators as "culture heroes" (p. 21), and Hopkins's assertion that the shows were a "parliament" for the people (p. 16) echoes Wiedemann's conclusion. Wiedemann's book advances the level of discussion, and it is a useful, clearly argued, and convincing work.

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LUCIANO PERELLI. *I Gracchi*. (Profili, number 19.) Rome: Salerno Editrice. 1993. Pp. 280.

Admiration for the Gracchi pervades Luciano Perelli's new book. He supplies both a passionate and a reasoned defense of their motives, objectives, aspirations, and long-term influence. The prose is lucid and straightforward, but it expresses a heartfelt mission for this scholar of popular movements in Republican Rome: to elevate the esteem and repute of the Gracchi, the fountainheads of such movements. The mission, on the whole, is effectively discharged.

This is a scholarly work, but not one aimed exclusively at scholars. Perelli keeps his footnotes to a minimum and provides only a selective bibliography. The text is largely unencumbered, and the book will appeal to a knowledgeable readership beyond the experts. Perelli works from the ancient sources, primarily Appian and Plutarch, but scrutinizes them with a critical eye. The picture that emerges is his own, sometimes in accord with the texts, sometimes reconstructed in spite of them. The methodology is inconsistent, but the conclusions are coherent and forceful.

Some of the principal points can be briefly summarized. Tiberius Gracchus's central constituency was the rural peasantry, a class not so much oppressed as eager (quite justifiably) to share in the increased economic prosperity brought by Roman imperialism. Although his agrarian reform did not itself have a revolutionary character, Tiberius's affirmation of popular sovereignty threatened to break the oligarchic stranglehold on Rome's political system, thus leading to his demise. His brother Gaius had wider and equally worthy aims: to curb aristocratic injustice toward Italians and provincials, to extend participation in the Roman system to groups hitherto excluded from it, and to promote a greater equilibrium and collaboration among the social classes. Most of the Gracchan legislation remained in force even after the violent deaths of its authors and exercised significant impact on popular causes for the next century.

On specifics there will be argument, both pro and con. The work contains some welcome insights. Perelli rightly contends that Tiberius's reform was not prompted by motives often ascribed to him, whether personal pique, desire to improve military recruitment, or an effort to reduce excessive numbers of

slaves on the land. Nor did Gaius intend, let alone succeed, in setting senators and knights at odds. His measures reached beyond mere political advantage. The broader objectives are the more plausible ones.

Other vestiges of earlier views, however, still linger. Perelli offers what are by now conventional critiques of the thesis that aristocratic factions explain the workings of Roman politics. Yet the factions recur in his own text when they serve to buttress his interpretation. Similarly, Perelli acknowledges on occasion the hereditary bonds of clients to the families of the nobility but reverts on other occasions to a more simplistic division of Roman politics into two opposing camps.

Quarrels aside, Perelli's book represents a dedicated, readable, and defensible brief for the Gracchi. It merits a wide readership, perhaps even an English translation.

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LOUIS H. FELDMAN. *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 679. \$59.50.

This work is a major contribution to the study of the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman world, an area of research that during the past six years has produced such important books as Shaye Cohen's *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (1987); *Christianity and Judaism*, edited by Diana Wood (1992); and Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak's *The Jews among Pagans and Christians* (1992). Louis H. Feldman has published a book (*Josephus and Modern Scholarship, 1937-1980* [1984]) and a number of well-received articles on Judaism in antiquity (1950-1992). He displays excellent command of both the ancient sources and modern literature on his subject. The technical apparatus of his work is very fine. It contains an excellent bibliography, extensive endnotes for each chapter, and a full index.

Feldman commences with a study of contacts between Jews and non-Jews in the land of Israel and then estimates the strength of Judaism in the Diaspora. The next three chapters consider the anti-Jewish bigotry of governments in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and popular and intellectual prejudice against Jews. Chapters 6-8 investigate the attractions of Judaism to the non-Jewish population, such as Jewish antiquity, Jewish adherence to the four cardinal virtues, and the appeal of the Jewish hero and lawgiver Moses. The last three major chapters deal with the success of Jewish proselytism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, their success in winning sympathizers up to 300 C.E., and proselytism by Jews in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries C.E. Chapter 12 summarizes the entire treatise.

One thesis of Feldman's study is that "the lachrymose theory of Jewish history, highlighting the weakness and suffering of the Jews, would not, on the whole, seem to apply to the ancient period" (p. 445). This thesis is defended quite well for the first three centuries C.E., as it was earlier in the twentieth century by Jean Juster in *Les juifs dans l'Empire romain* (1914). But Feldman could have done more with the anti-Jewish writings of the church fathers, the canons of the church councils, and the anti-Jewish legislation of the Christian Roman emperors of the late fourth and early fifth centuries C.E., which succeeded in "demonizing" the Jews, ending their "vertical alliance" (p. 423) with the Roman state and their ancient privileges, virtually excluding them from society. It is in the fourth century, the age of the triumph of Christianity, that the "lachrymose theory" of ancient and medieval Judaism begins to apply.

A second thesis of Feldman's work is that there were almost no contacts between Jews and Greeks "certainly in the third century B.C.E. and arguably for a much longer period of time" (p. 56). The problem with this claim begins with the word "contacts," which Feldman never clearly defines. Although he decries the use of the "argumentum ex silentio" in other parts of his work (p. 92), he uses it here to show that there were no contacts between Greek and Jewish scholars, critics, and poets. But there must have been daily contact, especially in Alexandria. Otherwise, how can we explain why the Jews of the Diaspora quickly adopted the Greek language, as Feldman notes (p. 54)?

Another major thesis in this work is that by the first century C.E. there was a "vast increase" (p. 225) in the number of Jews in the Roman empire, largely due to proselytism. The evidence for this comes from the modern estimates of the number of Jews in the ancient world made by Salo Baron (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, 13 [1971], 866-903), inscriptions, and the works of Philo, Josephus, and other ancient writers. But the evidence to support this thesis seems rather thin, especially since we know the names of no Jewish missionaries to the Gentiles. Feldman states that Philo and Josephus do not write about Jewish proselytism for fear of antagonizing their Greek-reading audiences. Alternatively one may suspect that Christian writers such as Minucius Felix exaggerated the number of Jews in order to prevent Judaizing. Baron's estimates, as well as the ancient and medieval sources he employs, have been questioned, and Feldman relies too much on them when he writes about vast and tremendous increases in the Jewish population in the period 100 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. The jury is still out on these issues of Jewish population increase and proselytism.

Feldman's description of the success of the Jews in winning sympathizers is thorough and convincing. Here he emphasizes the evidence from inscriptions, such as the important ones recently discovered at Aphrodisias. His chapters on the attractions of Juda-

ism to Gentiles are fascinating, displaying his remarkable command of the works of Josephus and Philo.

This impressive scholarly study is highly recommended to all interested in the ancient world.

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EMERITUS
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T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS. *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 597. \$82.00.

The native law codes of the Irish and Welsh, dating from before their replacement by English law, have for too long been difficult of access for people (like myself) working in allied fields, periods, or areas. It has been too easy to argue that the laws were of no relevance to "real life," as much because they were inaccessible as because the assertion was true. T. M. Charles-Edwards's book takes a major step toward opening up the laws to nonspecialists, challenging them to contrast their evidence with his own. Charles-Edwards takes as his subject kinship, because a person's relationship with kin governed much of that person's general position in society in the barbarian world outside Rome, whether Celtic or Germanic in language.

The book is based entirely on the native laws, but it is more than a summary of law; Charles-Edwards offers a detailed argument, to be read as a whole. He starts with the basic structures of kinship in the two countries and the descent of land or kingship; disputed claims to inheritance; the interlocking of kinship and lordship; and kinship and neighborhood. A chapter on the Irish ruling kins gives a full and clear account of the various ideas of past scholars on the whole question of the descent of kingship, which is invaluable. Nor is kinship a matter of blood relations alone. It is presented in the context of other relationships; of lordship and of neighborhood. There is a full account of clientship, both base and free, in Ireland. These are invaluable in their own right, but they also go a long way to establish that the laws were not abstract schemes, but basic codes for normative behavior.

Two themes run through the book. One is the comparison between the law codes of Ireland and Wales. The second is the contrasting ways of describing one's kin between the short lineage of three generations or the long one of many; whether to include the mother's kin; or how far into cousinhood still counts as kinship. No common "Celticity" emerges from the comparison (p. 471), but it gives us a clear understanding of the underlying thinking of the codes. The Irish stressed the shallow lineage, firmly tied to the inheritance of land. The Welsh stressed wider, deeper lineage and broader kinship, which played a more political role, in lordship and society. Welsh lordship worked through the control

of land, while Irish lords used cattle to articulate their power.

No book as interesting as this will not provoke misgivings. Although I am sure Charles-Edwards is right that lords must have stripped their base clients of their surplus, the figures he cites, and on which he lays considerable stress, do not convince me (pp. 354–63). He is rightly always alert to the question of change over time (and the Welsh laws are at least 500 years later than the Irish), but in explanations he seems to look back rather than forward. The Welsh emphasis on land may derive from Rome, as he suggests, but it is as likely to have come from feudal England. There is nothing about the transformation of the Irish system after the ninth century; could it be that there was no way of accommodating change in the complex mesh of the laws? In the context of comparing Wales and Ireland, could there be a parallel between the Welsh lord of extended kin and the later Irish "captain of his nation"? It is odd that the grave mounds that in the Irish laws are said to mark land boundaries should have so completely disappeared, or that the Ogham stones, which the author suggests did the same, should have such a restricted distribution if they performed such an important function.

This is a book that should make its mark on many scholars. In the future, no one writing on the structure of society, land-holding, lordship, or farming in the two countries concerned will be able to ignore it.

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MEDIEVAL

JONATHAN J. G. ALEXANDER. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. vii, 214. \$50.00.

The material in this book first appeared as five James P. R. Lyell Lectures in Bibliography at Oxford University in 1983. At that time, medieval illumination was an understudied field, although in the intervening years it has received wider attention. This sea change explains the somewhat apologetic note on which Jonathan J. G. Alexander's work begins and its rather elementary methodological orientation. Conceived at a moment when the modesty of the field made it appropriate to offer an introduction, the lectures sought "to provide a general survey . . . and to trace patterns of continuity and change over 'la longue durée'" (p. 1).

The book expands the five original lectures into six chapters: "The Medieval Illuminator: Sources of Information"; "Technical Aspects of the Illumination of a Manuscript"; "Programmes and Instructions for Illuminators"; "Illuminators at Work: The Early Middle Ages"; "The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries"; "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." In addi-

tion, the book contains two appendixes and a bibliography. The appendixes give the reader a sense of the nature of illuminators' contracts and preliminary marginal drawings. The selection of contracts, having been compiled from printed sources and organized chronologically, contains no new discoveries. The bibliography attempts to account for the increase in publications on manuscript illumination in the last decade, although it is not comprehensive.

Alexander possesses a consummate historical knowledge of the field of medieval illumination. One could only expect from him the thoroughly researched and documented introduction to the subject that this book so richly provides. Beginning in chapter 1, with a review of the extant evidence on who the illuminators were, he seeks to situate them in their social and historical context. Although space and the lecture context limit the extent to which he can realize that aim, he offers rare examples showing painters and their assistants at work, indicating at once the hierarchical training system and—in one case, at least, where a mouse attacked the lunch table of the preoccupied artists—the material tribulations under which they labored.

Alexander's presentation of the technical aspects of manuscript illuminators and the programs and instruction for illuminations take the reader straight to the crux of these important material aspects of the art. Workmanlike and well-framed, the chapters offer an accessible synthesis without neglecting to show how important historical information could be conveyed and thus gleaned from initials. Thus, a historiated initial showing a bishop blessing a stole suggests "that the illustration had an important function for the Pope in the matter of ceremonial procedure." Whereas the manuscript told him what to do, it did not "tell him certain other things which he needed to know, such as whether to sit, or stand, or wear his mitre. So the pictures were an essential part of the manuscript" (p. 71).

Chapters 4–6 provide a surprisingly comprehensive historical survey of the range and breadth of illuminations. Mechanical as it may seem, the strict chronological approach has the virtue of allowing the reader to see how the changes that occurred in illuminations during the Middle Ages had less to do with skills or competence than function, a gradual assertion of artistic independence, and an ever-widening subject matter. Alexander ends his account, appropriately, at the point where the artist, having freed his illustrations from subservience to the text, finally liberated them from the book altogether.

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KATHLEEN CORRIGAN. *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 323. \$90.00.

In this important book, Kathleen Corrigan investigates the historical, religious, and political circumstances surrounding the illumination of the earliest Byzantine marginal psalters. Created by learned as well as impassioned clerics and artists, the ninth and tenth-century psalters contain scores of miniatures scattered through the margins in a way that mimics written commentary. The imagery combines historical scenes, New Testament typologies, and pictures from the Holy Land with solemn portraits or vicious caricatures of figures active in the Iconoclastic Controversy (ca. 726–843). Because of their nearly unique combination of didactic imagery and topical polemic of the liveliest sort, the marginal psalters have long attracted the interest of Byzantinists, and Corrigan benefits from their work. The great importance of her study lies in its extension of the explanatory framework well beyond any yet envisioned. In considering the artists' choices, scholarship long focused on the individual literary parallels from patristic commentary, liturgical offices, and the writings of the Orthodox polemicists. Corrigan establishes the overarching relevance of *adversus Judaeos* literature, a polemic genre practiced from late antiquity through the Middle Ages. In a number of instances such writings provide the only key to an artist's choice of subject. But this is not the particular significance of her emphasis.

The *adversus Judaeos* writings provide a literary genre with which the marginal psalters can now be identified. In such writings patterns were established that Orthodox Christians revisited for centuries. This insight provides Corrigan with a way to explore the most pressing issues surrounding the psalters: who formed their audience? Did the psalters have a unified message and, if so, what was it? After affirming the importance of the anti-iconoclastic component of the illustration cycle, she notes how many of the arguments raised on both sides of the image question repeated points raised in debates between Christians and Jews, the latter depicted repeatedly in the miniatures. Corrigan goes on to question just how seriously Jews and unreconstructed iconoclasts threatened the Christians of medieval Byzantium, since it was the Muslims who struck at the borders and made converts within the territory they had won. Corrigan seeks to establish the Muslims as one of the chief targets despite a troublesome silence: whereas iconoclasts and Jews are a strong presence in the illustrations, the Muslims are not. Corrigan vigorously argues that the artists' use of the prophets and insistence on subjects like Christ's baptism constitute arguments directed against the Muslims. This line of criticism will likely receive further testing and refinement.

What seems especially valuable is Corrigan's insistence that the miniatures in the early marginal psalters act in concert to create a statement of Orthodoxy. Within this framework the illuminators' treatment of heretics and Jews, and perhaps Muslims too, constituted an effort at self-definition through the careful

construction of the outsider. The central discussion of the sense and purpose of the images is supported by two chapters devoted to the questions of the artists' sources and the place where they worked; all are controversial issues that revolve around technical matters the non-specialist may find somewhat complex. Yet even in the most difficult passages the book is marked by exceptionally clear writing and careful argumentation. It is a work that will reward all interested in Byzantine culture and its creation in the Middle Ages. The monograph has been thoroughly documented and is illustrated with over one hundred black-and-white reproductions; it also includes an appendix with descriptions of the principal works of art.

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R. ROGERS. *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 292. \$62.00.

Medieval military campaigns were largely carried out by waging sieges. For every battle fought during the Middle Ages, perhaps a hundred or more sieges were undertaken. Yet medieval military historians have concentrated far more on the few battles than on the many sieges, at least until recently. Recently two monographs devoted entirely to medieval sieges have been published: Jim Bradbury's *The Medieval Siege* (1992) and this book.

R. Rogers's book is an excellent look at the medieval world's most bellicose century. The period from the mid-eleventh through the end of the twelfth century saw extensive campaigns waged in the Holy Land, in southern Italy and Sicily, in Lombardy, and in Spain. (Rogers does not attempt to tackle the also numerous conflicts above the Alps and the Pyrenees.) In each of these, numerous sieges on castles, towns, and fortifications were conducted. Some of these poliorcetics—the process of carrying out sieges—were successful; others were not. Rogers analyzes them all extremely well. For each campaign he discusses the credibility of the contemporary sources and then presents the story that they tell. He follows this with an analysis of the role of leadership, strategy, defenses, technology, and supply on the outcome of each major siege.

In all of these areas Rogers's analysis is first-rate. But let me focus on the one that touched on my own interests: siege technology. The twelfth century was a period of considerable evolution in this arena. The numerous sieges of the century led to extensive experimentation with siege engines of all kinds, including siege towers of diverse varieties, counterforts, armored roofs, battering rams, digging machines, cranes, Greek fire, and artillery. But what can the historian make of the technology of each of these

machines? Many chroniclers use different words for what might be the same machine. There are, for example, no fewer than five different Latin terms used to describe a siege tower and seven to describe armored roofs, while a digging machine was variously called "ericus," "mus," "sus," "talpa," and "vulpis." Even more confusing are the contemporary accounts of artillery pieces. What is described by the terms "mangonella," "mangana," "petraria," "tormenta," "ballista," or the ubiquitous "machina"? Were these torsion pieces descended from the Roman ballistae or onagers, or lever pieces representing newer trebuchets? If trebuchets, were they driven by traction or counterweight? Rogers examines these questions extensively, both within the text and in an appendix devoted to "The Problem of Artillery," and although I disagree with some of his conclusions, future debates on the subject will begin with his arguments.

I have little criticism of this book. A few more maps could have been included, both of overall campaigns and siege sites, and a comparative look at Northern European sieges waged at the same time would have been beneficial, although this would have greatly enlarged the book. But these are extremely minor irritants when compared to the overall excellence of Rogers's undertaking.

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HELEN NICHOLSON. *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*. New York: Leicester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xii, 207.

As the dates of this book by Helen Nicholson suggest, the subtitle should read "images of the military orders in the Holy Land." This becomes apparent in the references to the Teutonic Order, which committed considerable manpower and resources to Prussia and Livonia. These dates, however, have the advantage of excluding from consideration the Templar controversy that has molded our impression of the military orders' public image.

Nicholson uses relatively little of the North American scholarship, although several points in her text might have benefited from the additional nuances that these publications might have provided. The mitigating circumstance is that the author relied very little on secondary materials of any kind.

The text is a tour de force of research in primary sources: charters, chronicles, epics, and romances. Some may find the citations tiresome, but the very uniformity and repetitiveness of the references demonstrate conclusively the author's main points: that the "criticism of the military orders is no more significant than criticism of other religious orders or of the Church as a whole" (p. 129), and that the loss of Acre was a decisive turning point in public opinion, which

up to that moment had supported the crusading orders strongly. In short, in 1291 "the orders were not so corrupt that they could not be saved. The concept of the military order remained unquestioned, and abolition unthinkable; at least, no one appears to have thought of it" (p. 135).

Twenty years later, of course, almost everyone seemed to have thought of it; the archbishop of Riga denounced the Teutonic Knights in Livonia, Polish dukes protested the Teutonic Knights' occupation of Pomerellia before they could take possession themselves, and the king of France destroyed the Templars. The partisan arguments these accusers made, repeated by patriotic novelists and modern historians, have made a strong impression on textbook writers and the general public alike. Nicholson's greatest achievement, therefore, is to demonstrate that reading these attitudes back into the era 1128–1291 is an anachronism of the worst sort.

The most prominent criticisms of the military orders reflected disputes between popes and emperors, policy goals in the Holy Land, and jealousy of their privileges and influence. In a world where nobody can please everybody, we need to take seriously only those accusations that are more general—pride, greed, rashness, violence, and so forth—faults typical of the knightly class coming into existence as a coherent, self-conscious body at this time. The knights' piety or orthodoxy were never questioned. As propagandists, however, the military orders were never able to persuade patrons and pilgrims of the insufficiency of their resources, nor of the justice of their cause. We assume that when the orders were recruiting members, they emphasized their wealth, power, and prestige because prominent nobles (with families able to make gifts and bequests) were interested in commanding sizeable forces, in rubbing shoulders with princes and prelates, and in enjoying the pleasures of the table and the hunt; and poor knights could bask in the reflected glory.

Tightly organized, with solid summaries in each chapter, this volume can be skimmed quickly. Surprisingly, in describing the membership of the orders, Nicholson neglects to mention the priest brothers. Later, in noting that few members of the military orders became prelates, she appears to be unaware of the Teutonic Order's priests who became bishops in Prussia and Kurland (and since none were trained as priests by the order, some were inducted into membership only shortly before assuming their episcopal offices). Nicholson does note that Roger Bacon, who is often cited out of context, was a suspected heretic whose ideas were not taken seriously in his lifetime. In short, Nicholson's knights were neither saints nor social outcasts, and their contemporaries did not consider the military orders either dangerous or in opposition to the basic principles of Christianity.

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DICK HARRISON. *The Early State and the Towns: Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy A.D. 568–774*. (Lund Studies in International History.) Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 310.

Dick Harrison, in writing this book, is like an architect who leaves the scaffolding in place after he has erected the building. His purpose, stated in the introduction after a brief review of the tribal history of the Lombards, is to show "that the towns of Lombard Italy, by virtue of their socio-economic and institutional centrality, constituted the means for a successful social integration on the part of the early state" (p. 15). Instead of proceeding to the study of the early Italian towns, however, he finds it necessary to deal first in three chapters with the integration of early states generally in Europe, the infrastructure of society (emphasizing the towns as centers of integration), and with other possibilities of strengthening the early state. Only after all this does he turn to the Italian situation with three much longer chapters, carefully assessing the historiography of the Lombard towns and their socioeconomic significance, the institutional centers of northern Italy and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento according to Lombard and other sources, and the possible supports of central authority. What he is really dealing with in examining the early state is the authority of the Lombard kings in their capital of Pavia and of the at times autonomous dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. The analysis of the possible supporters of monarchical rule, the large landowners, the free peasantry, the townspeople, and the church prepares the concluding chapter. There he emphasizes the urban infrastructure as the most important element of strength for the Lombard monarchy and the two autonomous dukedoms because the towns were the residences of large landowners, the centers of administration for the royal estates, the locus of royal or ducal court sessions, and the seats of the Catholic bishops, who, while not integrated into the structure of government, lent support to it since the Lombard king and people became Catholic in the seventh century.

Ever since Ludo Moritz Hartmann's studies at the beginning of this century (*Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* [1903, 1908]), historians have acknowledged the importance of the towns in Lombard Italy. Chris Wickham (*Early Medieval Italy* [1981]) went one step further in highlighting the cities as the basis of the Lombard kingdom because they became the residences of the Lombard landowners on whom in turn the king had to rely for support, Lombards who gradually blended with the Romans under one Catholic bishop. Harrison, who acknowledges his close tie with Wickham, tests and develops the view of Wickham. Through his painstaking reexamination of the charters, narrative and literary sources, and published archaeological investigations, carefully grouped systematically and geographically in the three chapters, the towns are proven—as much as the

scant evidence permits—to be vital political centers, although they do not have their own autonomous town institutions. In a few instances, where quantification is at all possible, he offers tables (such as on the urban distribution of coinage in northern Italy and Tuscany [p. 121]). He also confronts related issues such as the ownership of land, the relative freedom of the peasantry, and the importance of the merchant and artisan element. He pays particular attention to the churches and monasteries, the latter both urban and rural, as these represent, in his at times overused sociological formulation, the “ideological” element in the Lombard state.

There emerges from Harrison’s study a more dependable and more differentiated picture of the urban-centered Lombard kingdom with variant developments in the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, a picture that does justice to the many specialized studies produced by European and American scholars as well. His listing of secondary works runs to fifty-four pages. It would be more accessible if it was systematically subdivided rather than presented in one alphabetical sequence, particularly as the list is encumbered with numerous titles not related to the topic but rather to the author’s general preparation.

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MAUREEN C. MILLER. *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 216. \$35.00.

This book, says Maureen C. Miller, is about change. Miller chose Verona because it is well documented and representative. Her focus rests on the years 950–1150, “a period of remarkable change in every aspect of Veronese ecclesiastical life” (p. 175), change whose essential character was “urgently innovative” (p. 176).

In an intelligent introduction, Miller observes that church history is now at something of an impasse. Old-fashioned institutional history seems no longer to attract interest or to answer urgent questions, whereas recent forays into religious history seem too often divorced from the very institutional realities that medievalists ignore at their peril. Miller aims to join these two approaches. Correctly, in my view, she states that only institutions have the permanence and stability to permit intelligent analysis of change over time. But Miller is sensitive to the need to view institutions themselves as works in progress and, as a result, she presents a nuanced account of both formal structures and communities of people in Verona.

In chapters devoted to the secular clergy, the regular clergy, lay and clerical donors, the organizational structure of the diocese, and the bishops, Miller tracks several important areas of change. Her major findings are five. First, Verona experienced a verita-

ble explosion of religious institutions after about 1000. Second, whereas early medieval Verona had highly fragmented authority structures, twelfth-century Verona had powerful, dominant bishops. Third, there was no crisis of Benedictine monasticism in Verona, although the Black monks may have suffered somewhat in competition with other religious groups. Fourth, laypeople were definitely not more attracted to new religious movements than to old ones. As Veronese society became more complex, patterns of beneficence grew more complicated, to be sure, but no single pattern is discernible. Fifth, although Verona was a loyal imperial city, it was by no means hostile to or unaffected by the vast reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Indeed, Miller shows that the Veronese clergy were living more communal—or fraternal—lives, easily differentiated from the local lay society, intellectually respectable, morally aware, and active in ecclesiastical governance. In her lucidly written, meticulously documented chapters, Miller subtly calls into question many conventional truths about the medieval church in this dramatic age.

What accounts for all the changes at Verona? Demographic and economic growth, according to Miller. I have no doubt that she is right. But I do not think that this is the whole story. Verona, after all, merely shared in the expansion that characterized every corner of Europe after 1000. Why, I wonder, did expansion take the course it did in Verona?

Miller makes clear that there were changes in Verona. But were they “remarkable”? I do not think so. I think that Miller has, on the contrary, proved that Verona was basically representative. But she also claims that, and she cannot have it both ways. Each element in her story is familiar. What is new in this book is that it brings many familiar elements together in one sustained account. Not many Italian cities in the early Middle Ages can be studied in this level of detail, so Miller has performed a real service. I hope that her book will be widely read and that it will spur additional case studies.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
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RICHARD J. GOY. *The House of Gold: Building a Palace in Medieval Venice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 304; 113 plates.

In 1406 Marin Contarini (ca. 1385–1441), a member of one of the noblest patrician families of Venice, married into the Zeno family, a clan of equal distinction. By 1412 Contarini had purchased the old palace of his wife’s family, situated on the Grand Canal near the Rialto bridge, a property that furnished the site for a lavish new palace that came to be known as the *Cà d’Oro*, or the Golden House.

Richard J. Goy has already published two notable studies of Venetian vernacular domestic architecture

and of the history of the villages and the town of Chioggia surrounding Venice. Now he has compiled a superb history of the new Contarini palace in forty-four often brief chapters, commencing with an outline of the political and economic background of the city in the early Quattrocento and of the affairs of the Contarini family, including the failure of Marin's father, Antonio, to achieve the ultimate Venetian political honor, election to the dogeship. By far the major consideration is a history and analysis of the palace, its painstaking detail based on ledgers kept by Marin of the construction. These documents identify the source and cost of the acquisition of building materials; the names, duties, wages, and hours of the craftsmen employed in different capacities over a twenty-year period; and the step-by-step erection of the building.

The earliest records of the new palace date from March 1421, by which time Contarini's wife had died. He remained a widower during most of the building of his luxurious palace, as if his domestic life were concentrated solely on its construction. By 1432 most of the basic structure was complete. Contarini probably took up residence in the palace at the same time that he remarried in 1436. Minor construction or decoration, however, continued until his death in 1441 at the age of fifty-four.

The Cà d'Oro was a traditional Venetian *palazzo-fòntego*, combining a sumptuous patrician residence with a ground-floor warehouse (*fòntego*) for the off-lading and storage of spices and cloth, the principal products of Contarini's commercial activity and the source of the money necessary for his new building. The Cà d'Oro standard tripartite plan is common in Venetian palaces, with a long *androne* or hall running through the center of the structure and rooms opening off each side, but the façade on the Grand Canal is asymmetrical, with three stories of loggias toward the left side. The foundations of the older Zeno palace were reused by Contarini, leaving the cistern cortile in the right wing, but new pilings and foundations were laid at the front of the site to support the façade loggias and presumably to move forward and regularize the Grand Canal elevation.

The accounts reveal that the building process was an organic one, with no initial master plan. Although there were two chief master masons, the Venetian Zane Bon and Matteo Raverti from Milan, no single *capomaestro* was in control of the entire construction. Contarini himself acted as the principal director of the work, which therefore proceeded at times in a haphazard manner. And it was he who directed the stone carvers to examples of contemporary architecture such as the ground floor loggia of the Ducal Palace. Built of brick, the entire façade consisted of lavishly carved stone loggias or was clad rich in marble sheathing, many of its features highlighted with gold leaf, hence the later appellation of the Cà d'Oro.

Soon the grave classical style of ancient and Renais-

sance Rome inundated Venetian taste. It was only John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851–53) that reawakened interest in the Venetian Gothic, particularly in England. It is thus appropriate that a British architect and architectural historian should write the definitive history of the Cà d'Oro. This is a magnificent example of architectural history, examining in detail every aspect of the construction and also offering much to interest economic and social historians.

DAVID R. COFFIN
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AUGUSTINE THOMPSON. *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 244. \$59.00.

This fascinating assessment of the religious revival of 1233 called the Alleluia deserves to be read by any scholar interested in conflict resolution, heresy, and preaching in thirteenth-century Italy. Whereas Carl Sutter and André Vauchez interpreted this movement as an antiheresy campaign, Augustine Thompson argues that it was primarily a peacemaking movement that often "propelled the preacher into the role of legislator" (p. 24). Meticulously researched, this is one of the first studies to analyze medieval preaching in its social, political, and legal contexts.

The study has at least four principal aims: to recount the actual events of the Alleluia; to reconstruct and interpret the style of preaching associated with it; to recover the "actual personalities or actions" (p. 22) of the preachers as well as popular perceptions of them; and to examine how and why these men rose to positions of political influence within the communes.

Unfortunately, there are no surviving sermons from the revival of 1233, nor are there any surviving Alleluia peace pacts between communal factions. Except for the work of Gerard of Modena in Parma, there exists fragmentary evidence of the preachers' involvement in the revision of communal statutes. Therefore, to achieve the goals Thompson sets for himself, he must draw on a plethora of other (often later) sources, including chronicles, saints' lives, communal statutes, sermons, and papal letters.

In part 1 Thompson re-creates the actual events of the Alleluia. For ten months several mendicant preachers orchestrated a religious revival that swept across Emilia-Romagna and the Veneto. Drawn primarily from elite families, these preachers included John of Vicenza, Gerard of Modena, Jacopino of Reggio, and Leo dei Valvassori. They preached moral reform, inveighed against usury, attacked extravagance in women's dress, and crusaded against heresy. Furthermore, they served as mediators in local disputes, revised communal legislation, and even became chief magistrates (*podestà*) of several communes. In part 2 Thompson offers an interdisciplinary inter-

pretation of the events. He concludes his study by arguing that these men shared at least three common traits: a reputation for miracle working, engagement in peacemaking, and a tendency to become involved in legislative reform.

The book successfully uses the religious revival of 1233 as a case study to address larger issues associated with thirteenth-century politics and preaching. Readers will find the observations about the role the preachers played in the legitimization of new communal regimes and the relationship they established with their audience especially enlightening. Some of Thompson's conclusions, however, are not as persuasive as others. He may overstate his case somewhat when he writes that the Alleluia preachers wielded "vast political power over the cities in which they preached" (p. 1). Furthermore, his argument that the movement was primarily a peacemaking campaign and only secondarily an anti-heresy crusade seems to rely on an artificial distinction between the two. Conflict resolution and the repression of heresy usually went hand in hand, and the former was often a necessary prelude to the latter.

All in all, this book is a welcome addition to the field of Italian medieval studies. Not only is it the latest authoritative study of the Alleluia but it also underscores how important the work of early thirteenth-century mendicant preachers was to the political development of the communes.

GEORGE DAMERON
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DANIEL BORNSTEIN and ROBERTO RUSCONI, editors. *Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale*. (Nuovo Medioevo, number 40.) Naples: Liguori. 1992. Pp. 264. L. 30,000.

In 1980, Caroline Walker Bynum could still remark that medieval women's spirituality was a neglected field of study. Fourteen years later, this can no longer be said. English and French literature in this field is now voluminous, and, although many Italian studies have also appeared, these remain relatively unknown to English-speaking readers. In this volume, Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi have collected a sampling of such essays, all previously published, to serve as an introduction to this Italian scholarship.

Bornstein's essay, "Donne e religione nell'Italia tardomedievale," which serves as a postscript to the collection, traces the scholarly investigation of medieval spirituality over several decades and positions recent Italian research within it. Those unacquainted with Italian scholarship on late-medieval spirituality should read this "postscript" first. It would appear from his opening paragraph that Bornstein prepared the essay for an American edition (in English?) of the collection and only subsequently had it translated into Italian.

Bornstein's essay still assumes an American audi-

ence. He reflects on two reasons why Italian scholarship is not well known in America: first, it has been published as scattered articles or inaccessible conference papers; second, many American medievalists have only a secondary research competence in Italian. This collection addresses the first problem by presenting a sample of contemporary work. It does nothing to remedy the second problem. The chosen essays give the reader an accurate idea of the strengths and limitations of recent Italian writing on late-medieval mystics and saintly women. The works presented are all by members of what Robert Brenntano has called the "new generation of Italian scholars," and they contrast markedly with parallel scholarship in France or the United States.

As Bornstein himself notes, even contributors such as Anna Benvenuti Papi who have studied at Paris and been exposed to the methodology of the *Annales* school have not adopted its methods. In contrast to writers like Jacques Le Goff, they avoid "grand paradigms" and "vast structures." Rather, we find carefully focused essays on particular local churches (for example, Padua in Antonio Rigon's first contribution) or particular groups of women (such as the followers of St. Francesca Romana in Anna Esposito's essay).

Using unpublished archival documents in preference to published mystical writings and printed sources, the scholars focus on the social and economic backgrounds of the women studied (for example, Clara Gennaro's essay on the community at San Damiano), analyze their family and social networks (as in Esposito's essay), or identify distinctive forms of mystical activity (for example, Gabriella Zarri's suggestive essay on court prophetesses, a topic that calls for a book-length monograph). Bornstein calls this an open-ended form of "micro-history," one always attentive to larger social, demographic, and political questions.

Although understated, larger themes recur: the central role of women, especially those who were not nuns, in late-medieval Italian piety; the church's attempts to institutionalize charismatic women and their followers, either by isolating them in cloistered monasteries or by subordinating them to the established mendicant orders; and, finally, the creative, often revolutionary, impact of the *dévôte* on the institutions and practice of piety.

These essays also contrast with recent studies of medieval religious women in English. American writers, beginning with Richard Kieckhefer and Bynum, have focused special attention on the spirituality expressed in medieval hagiography and the prophetic and visionary productions of late-medieval women. André Vauchez's analysis of the forms of holiness presented in canonization documents provides a French parallel to this work. Nearly all the contributors acknowledge a debt to one or more of these authors. Nevertheless, the thematic, almost literary, analysis so important to these three scholars is virtually absent from the essays presented.

When a contributor draws on the literary monuments of a mystic or saint (for example the testament of St. Clare in Gennaro's essay, or the sermons of St. Bernardino of Siena in Rusconi's second essay), the emphasis is less on religious ideas and images than on what these documents can tell us about the charismatic's relationship to the institutional church or how the documents reflect social and demographic developments. The two essays that might have addressed distinctively religious or devotional themes, Chiara Frugoni's on visions and religious iconography and Enrico Menestò's on the long canonization process of Chiara da Montefalco, either collect a number of images without systematically developing them or focus more on church institutions and procedure.

As a whole, the collection presents an accessible sampling of contemporary Italian writing on late-medieval women and provides enlightening and thought-provoking contrasts with American and French scholarship. But as a vehicle for exposing English-speaking readers to this literature, it presents the same linguistic barrier noted by Bornstein in his postscript. One can only hope that the editors have not abandoned the idea of publishing the collection in English.

AUGUSTINE THOMPSON, O.P.
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THOMAS MICHAEL MARTIN. *Auf dem Weg zum Reichstag: Studien zum Wandel der deutschen Zentralgewalt, 1314–1410*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 44.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 457. DM 124.

Whereas the tricameral nature of the Parliament of England (Lords, Commons, and, until 1664, Convocation of the Clergy) emerged in the fourteenth century, the parallel development did not occur in the Holy Roman empire until the fifteenth. What happened there in the fourteenth century, argues Thomas Michael Martin, was the appearance of "dualism" in the *Hoftag*, as an institution distinct from the monarchy, setting the stage for the full flowering of the tricameral *Reichstag* during the next century.

Curiously, Martin suggests, the study of the early history of the *Reichstag* remained fairly static from the time of Leopold von Ranke until comparatively recently because of the force of Ranke's views and the vast task of editing the *Reichstagsakten* that Ranke inspired; I believe we can also credit the positivist conceptions of constitutional history regnant among German historians until Otto Brunner assaulted the premises of their outlook in his extraordinary book *Land and Lordship* (1939; 1992). One German historian clearly moved by Brunner to a more dispassionate analysis of the relevant sources was Peter Moraw, who in a series of articles has looked closely at this seminal period. Martin appears to be a member of

this Moraw school, if one may call it that, engaged in a detailed examination of the personal and institutional world of high German politics in the late Middle Ages.

After an introduction tracing terminological changes (from *parlementum* to *curia*, *Hof*, *Tag*, and eventually *Reichstag*) and the relevant historiography, Martin undertakes a minute analysis of the twenty-seven diets meeting between 1317 and 1400 (but essentially excluding the seven that convened without Wenceslaus between 1394 and 1400). Martin's principal concern is one of grueling detective work: to tease out of the sources exactly who attended each diet. In this he provides a real service, especially in forty-seven tables displaying the results not only for each diet but also according to comprehensive criteria (grouping of the lords and cities attending by rank, frequency of visitation, and diets ordered according to the number of participants). There are also twenty-eight maps showing the place of origin of each representative in relation to the site of the diet. Aside from the immense usefulness to historians of all this handily arrayed information, there are some interesting results. For example, the bishops of Speyer were present at twelve of the twenty-seven diets, a figure higher than for any other nonelectoral prelate and two of the electoral princes (the margrave of Brandenburg, who attended ten, and the king of Bohemia, who appeared at eight), and almost as great as that of another elector, the archbishop of Cologne (represented at fourteen).

There are some problems with Martin's treatment. First, he seems not to take adequate account of the novel princely practice in the fourteenth century of sending representatives or deputies to court. Second, he is excessively concerned with distinguishing among various kinds of diet in this period (*Wahltag*, *Rätetag*, and others), an anachronistic passion from which one hoped Germans had by now recovered. Third, he mistakes and exaggerates the centrality of the Golden Bull of 1356 for the development of the *Reichstag*, which he calls the "unplanned child" of the system of the electoral monarchy (p. 329). Although the bull did constitutionally legitimate meetings of the electors without the king, Martin perhaps should have underscored some of its less obvious features, especially the attempt to minimize conflicts among the electors by resolving questions of precedence and authority and by mandating the majority principle. The result was to enable the electoral "college" to develop greater coherence and to direct its energies outward. Martin also underestimates the extent to which the bull sanctioned what had already happened, particularly the fixing of seven specific electors by the late thirteenth century. On this point Martin is evidently unaware of Armin Wolf's brilliant article in *Francia* (1983), an omission that reflects his zeal to magnify the significance of the fourteenth

century in imperial constitutional history at the expense of what preceded and followed it.

LAWRENCE G. DUGGAN
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TERESA WEBBER. *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075–c. 1125*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 220. \$59.00.

This work is a major contribution to Anglo-Norman studies, an analysis of books from the largest collection to survive from a single English center from this period and a paleographical study of the scribes who wrote them. *Scriptores* affiliated with the post-Conquest Wiltshire bishopric, which moved to Old Sarum from Sherborne after 1075, engaged in notable bureaucratic work such as the Wiltshire Geld Accounts and the Exon Domesday, but most of what survives of their activities are various types of nonadministrative books and booklets. And what a story Teresa Webber makes them tell. They reveal the paleographical characteristics of some thirty-six scribes who staffed the Salisbury *scriptorium* (however that is defined) over a fifty-year period.

The scribes' differing terms of service and work patterns divide them into two groups. Seventeen Group I scribes probably served for the most part between about 1078 and 1099. They were not only productive as individuals but also assisted in some way in the completion of each other's work. Arguably the most important representative of this group is Scribe i, who, besides copying, directed book production and corrected and annotated texts. Nineteen other scribes, forming Group II, with few exceptions served after Group I during the early twelfth century. Some of these latter scribes made minor alterations to the texts written by their earlier counterparts, and many produced texts without their contemporary colleagues' assistance and on different occasions. Webber plausibly views the highly cooperative *modus operandi* of Group I scribes as the result of pressure to return borrowed exemplars to their owners or to forward them to other *scriptoria*. But the contrasting independent and more relaxed work habits of the Group II scribes suggest that another reason for Group I's operational pattern was simply the need to furnish required titles for the new bishopric's library.

Looked at from a different perspective, what these surviving Anglo-Norman literary products mean is as important as Webber's paleographical contributions. For one thing, the collection reveals the range of the Salisbury community's intellectual interests, from classical and patristic to contemporary authors; it included theological material relating to biblical scholarship, the orthodox teaching on the Eucharist and the validity of sacraments administered by schismatics and heretics, and works expressing the ethos of monastic life. The last-mentioned category of

books sheds light on the heretofore obscure subject of the ideals cultivated by a community of secular canons. The exemplars the Salisbury copyists used reveal how a particular library collection was created. Webber even can show how one of Salisbury's copied acquisitions could be altered to take into account variant readings from another exemplar. Salisbury's copies also illustrate channels through which influential ideas, some of continental origin, spread in England and how readily they could be disseminated.

The main reservation paleographers will have about this work is that facsimiles of all scribal hands have not been included, even though references to those that have been published elsewhere are provided. Still, by expanding what we know of a major post-Conquest center for book production, Webber most impressively adds new dimensions to our knowledge of England's role in the renaissance of the twelfth century.

ROBERT B. PATTERSON
University of South Carolina

P. J. P. GOLDBERG. *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300–1520*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 406. \$79.00.

In his study of York and Yorkshire women, P. J. P. Goldberg argues against a "golden age" for women and stresses instead how the social structure of the decades after the Black Death responded to economic and demographic fluctuation, which in turn affected women and how they led their lives (p. 6). He finds conditions favorable to women working in agriculture and industry in the post-plague era. This lasted until the mid-fifteenth century, creating, in the author's words, a benign relationship between female economic opportunity and the northwestern marriage regime (p. 360). He defines the latter, following Richard Smith and others, as companionate marriage contracted reasonably late in life, that is, the mid-twenties for both women and men. Some women continued to earn their living as lifelong single persons, which the author views as proof that there was opportunity for women to live independently on the proceeds of their own labor. Goldberg then argues that these benign conditions for women came to an end in York and Yorkshire in the second half of the fifteenth century. In this later era women had fewer opportunities as single workers, they began to marry younger, and they were increasingly identified as wives rather than workers in surviving records.

Goldberg's monograph is as much about the sources as it is about the women and men recorded in them. It is his contention that a balanced understanding of late-medieval women emerges from his study because he has not relied on a "single source" approach (pp. 84–85). He disagrees with findings based in court rolls because they have led to distortions,

making married women's subordination more prominent than Goldberg's sources have led him to believe it was. Likewise, he criticizes findings based on corner's roles because they overemphasize the domestic orientation of women's lives. Goldberg has employed three main sources in forming his conclusions—wills, poll taxes, and depositions—and he characterizes his findings as essentially prosopological. A running commentary on how to read these sources accompanies his narrative in women's work, marriage patterns, and life-cycle choices.

For these reasons this is a carefully crafted study worth taking seriously. Although Goldberg shuns ideas about a golden age for women, he does identify women-dominated areas of the economy before the mid-fifteenth century. The raising and vending of dairy products, poultry, and eggs were understood to be women's work; so were the small metal trades like that of the pinners. Not surprisingly, he finds textile manufacture was often assigned to women, and here Goldberg discusses a great variety of roles, from spinning to sewing clothes, embroidery, and making caps. He argues that weaving was not entirely closed to women, although most investigators have deemed weaving an exclusive male domain. Indeed Goldberg's assay of his sources has located women in almost all occupations. This is critical to his conclusion that women exercised individual choice in choosing their means of livelihood, which in turn allowed them to make choices for or against marriage because they had the means at hand to secure their own livelihoods. This is a somewhat more optimistic view than that found in other works by social historians of medieval England, but it is important to note that Goldberg carefully delineates when and, insofar as he can, why these conditions changed in the fifteenth century. He charts those structural changes in York and Yorkshire that he found to be at work (p. 345). Perhaps Goldberg's most controversial finding is that individualism was a factor in the lives of working women in the post-plague era, allowing them a range of quite attractive choices over a lifetime.

SUSAN MOSHER STUARD
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CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND. *Henry V*. (English Monarchs.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 480. \$35.00.

Thanks to William Shakespeare, Henry V, the victor of Agincourt, has long been the most popular of English monarchs. But his popularity has not been confined to lovers of traditional drama and bellicose patriots; the last fifty years have seen the production not only of two highly successful films bearing his name but also eight substantial books of history, beginning with E. F. Jacob's *Henry V and the Invasion of France* (1947) and culminating with Desmond Seward's *Henry V: The Scourge of God* (1988). Christo-

pher Allmand has himself contributed to this scholarship an article in one of the more important books (G. L. Harriss, ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* [1985]) and a biographical pamphlet (*Henry V* [1968]).

One might wonder what more there could be to say on the subject. But while Allmand's new biography—written to fill one of the still numerous gaps in the English Monarchs series begun by the University of California Press in the 1960s—inevitably reiterates a good deal of information found in earlier works, it is nevertheless to be welcomed, both as the most thorough account of Henry's reign to appear since W. T. Waugh and J. H. Wylie's three-volume *The Reign of Henry V* (1929), and as an original contribution to the subject by a distinguished historian with a particular expertise in the background history. Allmand has written a number of important books on the Hundred Years' War, including one on the English occupation of Normandy begun by his present protagonist (*Lancastrian Normandy, 1415–1450* [1983], *The Hundred Years War* [1988]), and his new book benefits considerably from his unequalled knowledge of Anglo-French relations in the period, and thorough familiarity with the archival sources on both sides of the Channel.

The book is divided into three parts, the first two mainly narrative and biographical—recounting in chronological order the events that led up to and followed Henry's accession to the throne in 1413—and the third and longest approaching the material thematically. Allmand presents a clear and carefully constructed life of Henry of Monmouth, firmly based on primary sources, but full of interesting speculations on what Henry learned from various documented experiences. The main theme of the first part is the education of Henry both as a soldier and as a ruler, and Allmand includes here a good deal of material to explain the political and military situations in which the young prince of Wales found himself (especially in Wales itself, in a state of revolt through much of his youth). As might be expected, the dominant theme of the second part is the renewed war with France that culminated in the treaty that made Henry heir designate to the French throne. Here Allmand's treatment not only of the military aspects of this war but also of the complex diplomacy and political maneuvering behind the various campaigns is masterly, and throughout the first two sections he interweaves the career and reign of his protagonist in an effective fashion, illuminating each with the other as a political biographer should do.

Interesting and substantial as the first two parts are, the final part of the book—occupying nearly 60 percent of its 443 pages—is even more so. Here Allmand devotes each of the eleven chapters to a different aspect of Henry's reign and analyzes his relationship and contribution to each in relative isolation from other matters. The topics include the organization of the army and navy (which is particularly useful), the royal family (many of whose mem-

bers served in important posts under Henry and his son), the lesser personnel of government (especially the chancellors), Parliament, finance, the maintenance of order, the suppression of heresy (specifically Lollardy) and sedition, and Henry's role in the ending of the Great Schism by the Council of Constance (which Allmand shows to have been a crucial one). He concludes with a chapter on the important contributions Henry made to the growth of a sense of nationhood in England (including his promotion of the use of the English language), and in an epilogue he examines and assesses Henry's place in the national memory and in scholarly history. Unlike some recent biographers, Allmand's opinion of Henry both as king and man is clearly positive, and this in itself is rather refreshing.

The book as a whole is written in a clear and readable style, and its rare lapses are all in the direction of excessive colloquialism rather than turgid technicality. One could quibble with some elements of his usage (for example, he frequently employs "noble" in an English context in the excessively narrow sense of "peer"), and wish that there were a few more maps, but the plates are both numerous and well-chosen, and the scholarly apparatus is exemplary.

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MODERN EUROPE

PEREZ ZAGORIN. *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 337.

Perez Zagorin has chosen an unusual angle from which to study doctrine and action during the Reformations, namely, the telling of lies in order to survive in a time of intolerance and religious violence. Casuistry, mental reservation, equivocation, secrecy, occultism, subterfuge, and outright dissimulation are his topics. The groups studied range from Spanish Marranos to English Catholics to the Dutch Family of Love. One of the rewards of Zagorin's approach is to see what these disparate groups had in common: the necessity to lie in order to live.

Zagorin claims that "we must be struck by how intensely aware [sixteenth and seventeenth-century] writers and thinkers were of the problem of dissimulation . . . the idea that people went masked and habitually dissimulated their true beliefs came readily to contemporary minds" (p. 255). The book is rich in short sketches of individuals who left us some record of their dissembling. One is not surprised to find here theorists of casuistry such as jurist Dr. Navarrus, biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano, recusant Henry Garnet, and theologian William Perkins, nor the occultists such as Trithemius and Cornelius Agrippa, whose arcane writings helped to conceal their heterodoxy. But sectarians David Joris and Hendrik Niclaes, founder of the Family of Love, are

here, yet they never theorized that one should disguise one's beliefs, and Zagorin is forced to speculate that they did so.

Proving that people really believed other than what they said and wrote is not easy. Zagorin's method is perhaps put most strongly to the test by the libertines. Philosophical skeptics such as Pierre Charron, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke were all accused of atheism by contemporaries, yet all conformed, at least outwardly, to some degree of Christian faith. Zagorin notes the reluctance of Locke and Isaac Newton to publish what they really believed and calls Newton "secretive and disingenuous" (p. 327).

Carefully evaluating this wide variety of material, Zagorin points out some of the inconsistencies in it. Although Catholicism had provided a basis for prudent lying since Augustine, some Jesuits pushed their defense of mental reservation and casuistry so far that they were attacked by other Catholics. Some French Protestants who continued to attend Mass in order to avoid persecution were strongly rebuked by John Calvin. In England, Protestants "were more concerned than the Catholic advocates of equivocation and mental reservation to limit its effects, and showed a higher regard for truthfulness as an essential religious and moral obligation" (p. 254). One wishes that Zagorin had asked why these differences occurred. His findings could then open up some new insights into sixteenth-century religious psychology.

Throughout the study the author passes few judgments. The closest he comes to a definitive statement on the opinions of his writers is in his chapter on Calvin: "Calvin's dealings with Nicodemism [outward conformity] demonstrate both his heroic religious commitment and his moral and intellectual intolerance" (p. 82). Another shortcoming is the assumption that the distinction between truth and falsehood is always clear-cut. Zagorin does not probe far into questions of motivation or extenuating circumstance. He seldom mentions the use of torture in interrogations for heresy, for example, a factor that often produced startling changes in what the victims affirmed.

The book is clearly written and brings together authors not considered together before. It is an original contribution to sixteenth-century intellectual history, a valuable continuation of work such as Ruth Morse's medieval study, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages* (1991).

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TINA WALDEIER BIZZARRO. *Romanesque Architectural Criticism: A Prehistory*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 253; 17 plates. \$65.00.

Tina Waldeier Bizzarro's text is explicitly about the historiographic construction of the idea of the Ro-

manesque from the seventeenth through the early twentieth centuries. Implicitly, the book is about a much more speculative topic: the ways in which naming and periodizing shape subsequent notions of historical events and monuments. A sound, historically intelligible, even sometimes amusing tale, the author's manifest inquiry explores all those questions about the origins of the conception of Romanesque that sweeping surveys of medieval art and society always bypass. In this respect, her book is a fine exemplar of the history of ideas, or, better yet, the intersection of intellectual history with the history of monuments. Yet it is precisely because the author has collated so much archival material and arranged it in such telling chronologies that the reader wishes that she had dared to go further in situating her account inside a broader context. Despite the abundance of rich historical material, the analysis remains unframed by any reflection on contemporary theory or current debates in the philosophy of history.

Taking the book on its own terms, however, is rewarding enough. Starting with Giorgio Vasari's typical sixteenth-century condemnation of all medieval architecture because of its perversion of antique ideals, Bizzarro traces the evolution of the appreciation for, and eventual professional study of, medieval monuments from the seventeenth through the late nineteenth centuries in both Britain and France. There are nodding glances at various social, cultural, and political factors that contributed to the rethinking of one thousand years of architectural endeavor. It is the real virtue of Bizzarro's text that she lets the records tell their own story; in fact, nearly half the volume is composed of quotations. The excerpted passages from travelogues, diaries, monastic archives, antiquarian accounts, learned societies, architectural treatises, regional histories, academic commentaries, and so on are evocative on many levels, and historians of medieval culture will find much suggestive material gathered here; they also probably will not mind that the excerpts are often left alone to speak for themselves. The only slightly intrusive strategy is that the word "*sic*" is often inserted: it is as though a couple of eighteenth-century chroniclers could not properly spell "marvelous" or "aisles" or "entirely" or be grammatical enough to capitalize the honorific term of "Duke" if it is followed by a proper name (see, for example, p. 102). If this mildly annoying detail connotes some kind of condescension on the part of the author toward her garrulous and lively sources, it is fortunately not one that manifests itself so transparently elsewhere. Bizzarro successfully annotates the evocative illustrations in the back of the book.

Many interesting historical issues come to play a part in the "slow and tedious distinctions made between buildings that had been familiar for centuries" (p. 73). The vagaries of religious reform and political revolutions make nomenclature and the separation of a Romanesque from a Gothic aesthetic a dynamic historical topic. The rivalry between England and

France in medieval scholarship is dramatically tied to nationalistic sentiments, although it is perfectly clear that the French were for a long time "dazzled by the leaps made by English scholars" (p. 137). A historiographic explanation is proffered for the history of art's continuing separation of Romanesque sculpture and architecture, the birth of relativism in the evolution of history writing as an intellectual discipline is treated, the relationship between time and ruins is invoked, and the role of enlightenment notions of the sublime, particularly by way of the work of Edmund Burke, plays a powerful role in causing the reader to think about how objective assessments of the object viewed turned historically into an appreciation for the subjective experiences of its viewers. A concluding chapter revolves around the specific case studies of the work of William Gunn and Charles de Gerville and their use of the concept of the "romanesque" (perhaps the first essay the author wrote, responsible for spawning broader research into the intellectual history of the term). An appendix deals summarily with twentieth-century historiography and might likely pave the way for a second volume: a hypothetical text that, given the ponderous and serious tone of much twentieth-century historical writing on the Middle Ages, predictably does not stand a chance of being as lively and compelling as Bizzarro's "prehistorical" accounts collected in this book.

MICHAEL ANN HOLLY
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SHERRILL COHEN. *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500: From Refuges for Ex-Prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 262. \$39.95.

Sherrill Cohen's study is a solid and interesting examination of three Tuscan convents in the early modern period, but it is trapped within an overly ambitious framework. The full title is misleading: it is not really a history of women's asylums from 1500 to the present, nor are modern battered women's shelters touched on more than in passing (approximately two pages). The two chapters that cover the history of the refuge from the early modern period to the present, in both Europe and the United States, are far too brief (approximately thirty-three pages) to do more than summarize some of the major institutions involved (such as penitentiaries, the YWCA, Florence Crittenton homes), although the notes and bibliography provide valuable sources for further research in these areas.

To the extent that the avowed goal of the title is carried out, it is done in a largely theoretical way, for Cohen's intention in this study is to examine Erving Goffman's concept of the "total institution" from the standpoint of gender. In particular, she poses the question of why the solution of cloistering has been so

often applied to those social dilemmas perceived as women's problems, including prostitution, waywardness, and unwed motherhood. This question is not fully answered, or rather there are some gaps left, even in the broadest sense. What, for example, was the effect of the Protestant Reformation on the cloister model? Although this issue is not ignored (she does note that "Protestants occasionally looked approvingly to Catholic institutions as models" [p. 156]), it is not covered as fully as it ought to be, and progress "from the Monastero delle Convertite to the Mary Magdalene Project," promised in the last section of the book, is more of a leap through time than a detailed examination of the stages between.

The book makes a useful contribution, however, in the examination of three early modern Tuscan convents for "anomalous" women in society, including prostitutes and young victims of sexual assault. One of these, the Casa delle malmaritate, housed those women who for various reasons could not live with their husbands. Some of the wives had been beaten, others were guilty of adultery, and still others were placed there temporarily by their husbands "to make them more humble" (p. 76). As Cohen notes, the authorities "did not always perceive a difference between females as transgressors and females as victims" (p. 79); in both cases, such women provided troublesome deviations from the norm. And whereas some inmates regarded these three convents as welcome refuges, others were oppressed by the regimen, even after taking formal vows: one of the inmates of the Santa Maria Maddalena, for *convertiti* or converted prostitutes, began, in the delicate phrase of the administrators, "to stir up disquiet" (pp. 108–09), and defections by former prostitutes were not uncommon. In the debate over total institutions—that is, whether they functioned as coercive manipulators of behavior or as humanitarian alternatives—Cohen stresses the impact made by the unruly women themselves.

This study is most interesting when it deals with life in these places: the daily routines, the reasons why women entered and left, and the policy changes and disputes within each organization. The wealth of detail, drawn from the archival records, includes the words of the asylum-dwellers, their relatives, and the administrators; illustrations, even including a floor plan of the Monastero delle convertiti, add both depth and substance to the account. In her discussion of these three small but significant shelters, Cohen has added a valuable chapter to our understanding of the alternatives open to women, even the most marginal, in early modern Europe.

JILL HARSIN
Colgate University

RICHARD OLSON. *The Emergence of the Social Sciences, 1642–1792*. (Twayne's Studies in Intellectual and Cultural History, number 5.) New York: Twayne of

Macmillan. 1993. Pp. viii, 230. Cloth \$26.95, paper \$14.95.

The chief merit of Richard Olson's book is its integration, in clear and concise form, of the various strands of seventeenth and eighteenth-century thought that articulated the project of a social science in some degree or other—in contrast to general surveys of the enlightenment or to Michel Foucault's more selective treatment of grammar, natural history, and economics in *Les mots et les choses* (1966). Olson isolates four such strands: empiricist psychology stemming from Hobbes; anthropo-sociology exemplified by James Harrington and Montesquieu; political economy initiated by William Petty and continued by the physiocrats; and German cameralism, represented by Johann Becher and Johann Justi. All but the last are found interwoven in the Glasgow school of Francis Hutcheson and Adam Smith. Olson makes several disclaimers for purposes of treating such a broad overview in a short space: he limits himself to main figures, excludes questions of audience and dissemination, and allows himself the use of anachronistic terms such as liberalism, economics, and sociology to achieve economy of expression. This is not too disturbing, for Olson recognizes that social thought was still inseparable from political theory and treats them as one.

Even with these limitations, however, Olson's reach frequently exceeds his grasp. He proposes in the introduction to deal with the origin, content, and impact of these ideas, and he makes a great point of presenting the "law of unintended consequences," by which the political uses of these social sciences differed from those intended by the thinkers. But he only sketchily deals with these impacts and uses. Also short-changed is German cameralism. Relying exclusively on secondary works in translation, Olson gives a misleading picture of Becher as one who favored commerce over agriculture and manufacturing rather than a balance among them. And he misses entirely the impact of Linnean taxonomy on cameralists at Göttingen such as August Ludwig v. Schlözer and Johann Beckmann in the late eighteenth century.

More successful are his accounts of the origins and content of each strand, including their social and political preconditions and the various ways in which they appropriated models from the physical and medical sciences. His treatment of the different political applications of associationist psychology is also insightful. Most illuminating is his discussion of John Millar, a student of Smith's who formulated a sociology of gender in his *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771), which has been ignored by feminists and anthropologists of his own day and since.

In sum, this is a book to be used with caution, but it is useful nonetheless.

DAVID LINDENFELD
Louisiana State University

JAAP VAN GINNEKEN. *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics 1871–1899*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Psychology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 269. \$59.95.

With this study Jaap van Ginneken joins Salvador Giner, Robert A. Nye, and Susanna Barrows in illuminating the role of class and ideology in the construction of social theory at the turn of the twentieth century. The book is organized around five “pioneer texts” in the emerging theory of crowd psychology: Hippolyte Taine’s *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, Scipio Sighele’s *La folla delinquente*, Henri Fournial’s *Essai sur la psychologie des foules*, Gustave Le Bon’s *Psychologie des foules*, and Gabriel de Tarde’s *L’opinion et la foule*. Van Ginneken aims to show the political, institutional, and intellectual contexts within which each was developed, as well as their impact on subsequent social theory and practice. He argues that the negative interpretation of crowd behavior as irrational, even pathological, shared by these theorists both resulted from and reinforced an essentially conservative and elitist perspective, which was itself the product of the political and social currents of the time.

Shocked by the twin catastrophes of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, Taine turned from the abstract study of the human mind to the study of French history and the French collective mentality in order to understand what he saw as an almost unbroken series of political disasters since 1789. In these writings, Taine developed a theory of the revolutionary “mob” that rested on an implicit crowd psychology emphasizing a regression to wild and primitive behavior on the part of morally weak segments of the population.

The closely related work of the relatively minor figures of Sighele (in criminal psychology) and Fournial (in criminal anthropology) illustrates Taine’s influence, as well as the pervasiveness of class bias. Van Ginneken’s discussion of Fournial, although disappointingly brief, is especially interesting. More than any of the others, Fournial’s writings make explicit the link between French expansion into sub-Saharan Africa and the growing racialism of anthropology and related social theories. Indeed, the *fin-de-siècle* convergence of such conceptions as “delinquency,” “deviance,” “degeneracy,” “primitivism,” “regression,” and “race,” drawn from the diverse fields of criminology, psychology, medicine, physiology, and anthropology, provided a mutually reinforcing and seemingly unassailable scientific foundation for ideologically governed theories of the racial inferiority of non-white and non-Aryan “races” as well as the moral inferiority of the masses.

Of the works under discussion here, Le Bon’s *Psychology of Crowds* is the best known and certainly the most immediately influential. Indeed, as van Ginneken points out, Le Bon established close ties to government figures, academic institutions, and the military high command, with whom he shared a

growing fear of the political impact of mass democracy and in particular of the rise of socialism in European politics in the decades before World War I. Although the idea that a political agenda underlay Le Bon’s seemingly abstract theories is not novel, van Ginneken convincingly elaborates the relationship between *Psychology of Crowds* and Le Bon’s other, more openly polemical works, as well as its contribution to French political and military policy.

Van Ginneken’s interesting discussion of the work of Tarde focuses on Tarde’s theoretical and ideological debates with Émile Durkheim, the impact of the Dreyfus Affair on his theory of public opinion formation, and the hitherto unrecognized influence of Tarde’s writings on later social theory, especially in America, including the Chicago school of social psychology and American theories of public opinion formation generally.

Although much of van Ginneken’s argument is not new, he advances the discussion in two important respects. First, he provides documentary evidence of the unacknowledged influence of Taine, Sighele, and Fournial on Le Bon, and in particular he substantiates Sighele’s claim that Le Bon had pirated his work. Second, van Ginneken goes beyond generalities to point out the immediate and particular political events that preoccupied each of the theorists, as well as their connection to the political elites of their time. Altogether, van Ginneken has made a worthwhile contribution to the history of social thought.

ISABEL F. KNIGHT
Pennsylvania State University

HERMANN WENTKER. *Zerstörung der Grossmacht Russland? Die britischen Kriegsziele im Krimkrieg*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 30.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 341.

Hermann Wentker’s book on British aims during the Crimean War addresses itself to the question of the extent to which the leading British statesmen wished to conclude a peace that would destroy Russia’s position as a great power. The author reaches an answer by examining the views of the relatively few who determined policy at this time: George Gordon Aberdeen, prime minister until February, 1855; Henry John Temple Palmerston, of the Home Office; John Russell, foreign secretary until 1853, then succeeded by George William Clarendon; and the three influential ambassadors, Henry Richard Cowley in Paris, Stratford de Redcliffe (Stratford Canning), the controversial representative in Constantinople, and George Hamilton Seymour, who remained in St. Petersburg until the war broke out.

The account is based on the rich archival material available in Great Britain, including the diplomatic reports in the Public Record Office; the private papers of the British leaders; and the large number of

published memoirs, correspondence, and studies on aspects of the crisis. Wentker does not use Russian-language material, nor does he discuss Russian policy or the validity of the views expressed in Britain on the Russian goals.

The judgments of Lord Palmerston were consistently pictured as the most extreme. As Wentker emphasizes, throughout this crisis each statesman based his opinion on his perceptions of the Russian character and motives. In 1834 Palmerston wrote that Russia was "an active giant always trying to execute schemes which we condemn and think dangerous. The military organization of her political fabric renders incroachment [*sic*] upon her neighbors almost a necessary condition of her existence" (p. 30). Holding the strongest opinions and believing that war was inevitable, he hoped for a peace that would increase British power and prestige, stating: "The stake to be played for is nothing less than our position as [a] first-rate power" (p. 99). Like others with this outlook, he regarded Russia as a direct and immediate danger to the Ottoman empire, Persia, and Afghanistan, states that Britain wished to retain intact as buffers against Russia.

On the other side, Aberdeen held almost directly contrary views, which he firmly upheld during the crisis. In 1853 he wrote to Queen Victoria: "No doubt it may be very agreeable to humiliate the Emperor of Russia: but Lord Aberdeen thinks that it is paying a little too dear for this pleasure, to check the progress and happiness of this country, and to cover Europe with confusion, misery and blood" (p. 75). Unfortunately for Aberdeen, British public opinion viewed Russia as a menace and expected a victorious war followed by a glorious peace. He soon found himself and a few supporters isolated in the government and before the public.

Other British statesmen held judgments that fell between these two extremes. Clarendon, as foreign minister, had relatively moderate views, based on his doubts about the viability of the Ottoman empire. He feared that, even with an allied victory, the Ottoman empire would "dissolve and slip thro[ugh] our fingers" (p. 84). Although he had doubts, he finally joined the war party. Of the three most important ambassadors, Stratford de Redcliffe held convictions similar to those of Palmerston, although he too had fears about the ultimate fate of the Ottoman empire: the other two also maintained strong positions.

Throughout the war, when peace terms were discussed, these positions remained fairly constant. Palmerston did indeed seek an end to Russia's status as a great power, considering at one time terms that would have given Finland to Sweden, Wallachia and Moldavia to Austria, the Crimea and Georgia to Turkey, and that would have established an independent Poland, as well as other measures injurious to Russia. Aberdeen favored peace based on the status quo.

The strong terms could not be gained at the peace

conference, largely due to the attitude of Napoleon III, whose aims differed from the British and whose public was not enthusiastic about the war. None of the allies won a truly decisive military victory. The peace treaty marked a defeat for Palmerston and others in his camp.

Although the emphasis in this book is on the differing views of these statesmen, there are also chapters on Austria, Sweden, the status of Finland, and British hopes for a rising in the Caucasus. This book excellently fulfills its purpose, giving a clear picture of the disagreements among the leading British statesmen on matters of policy toward Russia, whom they regarded as their chief opponent in the Baltic, the Middle East, and Central Asia.

BARBARA JELAVICH
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HSI-HUEY LIANG. *The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 345. \$49.95.

Virtuosi of violence have lived in every human era. In the guise of civilian law's authorized enforcers, police have existed as long as governments. But in Europe only the nineteenth century brought the widespread creation of bureaucratized forces distinct from the military that enjoyed state authority to coerce members of the general population in the law's name. In his knowledgeable comparison of Austrian, Swiss, French, Prussian, and Russian police forces, Hsi-Huey Liang concerns himself less with origins, organizational histories, or techniques than with the ways that international relations, war, revolution, and consultation among European states induced changes in national approaches to political policing.

Liang has worked diligently in Austrian, Swiss, French, and German archives, while drawing his Russian material from reports and publications in French or German. He places the material—often proceeding letter by letter, report by report—in loosely connected essays on national police styles, policing in France's recovery from the Franco-Prussian War, international police collaboration from 1870 to 1914, policing during World War I and its aftermath, and the involvement of police (both German and other) in the Nazi *Machtgreifung* up to 1940. We learn much about such matters as the French police's ineffectual surveillance of Sergei Nechaev and Ivan Turgenev, but little about transformations of policing in general.

Liang shows how nineteenth-century revolutionary movements and the revolutions of 1848 encouraged rulers not only to expand and fortify their police forces but also to demand greater surveillance and analysis of those who might raise effective challenges to state authority. Thus formed the voluminous po-

lice reports from which historians of labor, revolutionary conspiracies, and popular politics in Europe draw so much of their evidence. Assuming rather than demonstrating a challenge of modernization, Liang writes next to nothing about the domestic changes that generated political threats to establish states as well as demands for more extensive policing. Nor does he detail the incessant interaction of police with militants, organized workers, demonstrators, suspect associations, public meetings, journalists, and local officials that shaped the actual practices of surveillance, censorship, apprehension, and crowd control.

Liang ignores the large bottom-up literature European historians have produced on popular politics, hence on policing seen from below. If, for example, he had consulted Richard Tilly's analyses of German collective violence between 1830 and 1930, not to mention monographic studies by such authors as Rainer Wirtz, he would surely have been less certain about the passivity of Germans with respect to the police. Similarly, the absence of Gerhard Botz and Georg Grull from Liang's bibliography permits him to write as if the German-speaking sections of the Austro-Hungarian empire complied peaceably with imperial policing.

Liang's book deals almost entirely with high political police, state policies with respect to their deployment, and interactions among states, especially the ways that police from one country snoop on political activists from another. Within that perimeter, he does raise powerful questions, notably how the legally disciplined German police tolerated the rise to power of a frequently law-baiting Nazi movement, not to mention how the police of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and France collaborated so readily with Nazi conquerors. The answers get lost in the detailed narratives, but their general direction runs something like this: the Nazis made a show of incremental legality as they took over; the police in each case faced the prospect that someone less qualified would take over their prized functions, and to some degree they liked the invitation to do their work with the full backing of a strong state. Liang presents a chilling analysis that deserves at least one more book, this one nurtured more fully by *Alltagsgeschichte*.

CHARLES TILLY
New School for Social Research

JULIAN DAVIES. *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 400. \$89.00.

The current growth industry for Stuart historians is revising the revisionists. Julian Davies here takes on both Nicholas Tyacke, whose book *Anti-Calvinists* (1987) gave us Laudian Arminianism as the force that split the English church in the 1630s and helped

bring on war in the 1640s, and Tyacke's earlier critics, who insisted that there was nothing particularly innovative or offensive about either the theology or the liturgical practice of William Laud and his cohort. In Davies's view, the revisionists are correct to deny the centrality—perhaps even the existence—of Arminianism, and to see Archbishop Laud as moderate rather than repressive of those who objected to the ceremonies introduced into the English church in the 1630s. Those ceremonies, however, Davies does see as innovative and divisive, and if Laud was more tolerant than we had previously thought, among his bishops were men like Matthew Wren and William Piers who enforced extreme versions of the new policies with merciless vigor.

The most important contribution of this book is Davies's identification of the king rather than the bishops as the source of ceremonial innovation in the 1630s. "Carolinism," Charles's appropriation of sacramentalism and ecclesiastical ceremonies like altar veneration to sanctify and exalt a sacral monarchy, is in Davies's account the real culprit dividing the English church and inciting religious war. Charles's own input to the religious settlement of his reign has received short shrift from previous historians, and Davies offers a salutary corrective.

His chapters on preaching, sabbath observance, and altar policy are also an impressive contribution. The result of a prodigious research effort, these chapters present more detail on the actions of diocesan consistories than any earlier work, neatly arranged to argue the author's important point about the repressive rigor of such strong advocates of ceremonies as Wren, and the relative and perhaps deliberate laxity of others. In the evidence presented here, one can see clearly the origins of the Long Parliament's religious complaint. In what the author likens to a "Counter-Reformation" of the English church (p. 128), the Caroline bishops elevated liturgy and sacraments over preaching, repressed much preaching as potentially subversive, and emphasized the visibility and catholicity of the church over the exclusivist evangel of the Reformed tradition. The religious war of the 1640s begins to make sense.

The author's treatment of theological division is more troublesome. His "Arminianism" chapter is devoted to denying the importance of its title. An echo of Peter White's *Predestination, Policy and Polemic* (1992), it rejects Arminian theology as a divisive issue in the era of Personal Rule, ignoring the evident perceptions of contemporary divines that there was a real Arminian/Calvinist divide on free will, reprobation, and the irresistibility of grace. There are surely problems with this. Davies's assertion that early Stuart divines were "reluctant to accuse fellow clerics of Arminianism" (p. 94) simply would not play in Cambridge, for instance, where university preachers freely tagged their opponents "Remonstrants" and "Pelagian heretics," and where Samuel Ward was busily dividing the world between Remonstrants and

Contra-Remonstrants long after the Synod of Dort. It would play no better in Oxford, where Henry Briggs complained that his collections for Reformed divines suffering in Germany were hampered by those who "favor the Arminians too much."

There are also problems with Davies's treatment of Laud, who as archbishop of Canterbury ought to have been able to curb the excesses of his bishops if he was really as devoted to moderation as Davies asserts. Laud is in this account reduced to powerlessness, so "insecure of his own position" (p. 303) that he apparently failed to act on his own convictions. His own repression of preaching and enforcement of altar rails, however, while marginally less rigorous than we may have thought, was nonetheless noteworthy to contemporaries—moderate Puritans and Calvinists as well as radicals like Prynne. Laud's critics may indeed have blamed him in part for the sins of Wren, but given his preeminence over the southern province, this seems no less reasonable than holding presidents responsible for the actions of their cabinet members. And when the Long Parliament met, it was in any case perceptions of contemporaries, not the judgments of modern historians, that would dictate ensuing history. The same goes for Laud's Arminianism: whether he expressed his own theology clearly enough for categorization is perhaps less important than whom he chose to promote and how his patronage was perceived. Whatever his beliefs, he had a clear enough understanding of theology and politics to know very well what he was doing. Those who find it hard to see Laud as powerless will have the most difficulty swallowing Davies's explanation of the 1630s.

MARGO TODD
Vanderbilt University

ARTHUR B. FERGUSON. *Utter Antiquity: Perceptions of Prehistory in Renaissance England*. (Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, number 13.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1993. Pp. 168. \$24.95.

In this essay in pre-"prehistory" (the term "prehistory" was itself coined by Daniel Wilson in 1851), Arthur B. Ferguson continues his lifework of exploring historical consciousness in early modern England. Taking off from the fourth chapter of his *Clio Unbound* (1979) on "Antiquities and the History of Society," Ferguson pursues his quest into the truly dark ages—"the dark ocean of antiquity," as William Camden called it—as probed and imagined by Renaissance scholars and speculators. This is not "history" as Tudor men and women understood the term, nor certainly "prehistory," but it was an aspect of the human past that some authors had long tried to envision through the interpretation of mythology, biblical texts, antiquities, and unnamed curiosities, and that some were even trying to incorporate into the writing of universal history.

Ferguson discusses medieval and modern conceptions of myth and that interdisciplinary and oxymoronic genre of "poesie historical" that forms a bridge between history and fiction, but his eye is mainly on the emergence of critical historiography and the ability to discriminate between the false and the fabulous and the authentic and the true. Not that he is concerned with original scholarly breakthroughs—for in this quest English writers were notoriously behind their continental contemporaries—but he does emphasize "the urge to rationalize, to historicize" (p. 40), and the erosion of belief in old myths such as that of pre-Roman British antiquity.

He recognizes (in a wonderfully serendipitous misprint) that: "The concept of stages was as ancient as Hesiod and as modern as Compté [*sic*]" (p. 47), but he sees a fundamental difference between the periodizing of myth-makers and that of historical thinkers.

In a mildly Whiggish way, Ferguson follows the old (and partly discredited) cliché of classical historians about the advance of understanding from *mythos* to *logos*, which for Renaissance historians meant moving, via a rather indecisive skepticism, secularism, and neo-euhemerism, from theories of mythical origins to "natural and evolutionary assumptions" (p. 61), from allegory to historical fact. For Ferguson, then, the Renaissance had at least a rudimentary idea of progress, and so did the scholars stumbling through credulity and confusion; Ferguson concludes with "a glance ahead" toward "historical truth itself" (p. 134).

This is an elegant, thoughtful, and well-informed little book that goes over some familiar ground in a fairly conventional way, delving into myth and the vagaries of the "historical imagination" and yet not giving up on the "noble dream." For Ferguson the history of history is on the whole a story of the advance of scholars toward the light at the end of the historiographical tunnel. The richness of his materials, however, and the continuing role not only of historical imagination but also of myth suggest that there are other less comfortable, more self-critical ways of telling his story. "History," as Michel de Certeau has written, "is probably our myth" (*The Writing of History*, Tom Conley, trans. [1988], 21).

DONALD R. KELLEY
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ROBERT HARRIS. *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 297. \$62.00.

This book enriches our understanding of the language of mid-eighteenth-century patriotism by entering the debate about party conflict dominated by the work of J. C. D. Clark and Linda Colley. Robert Harris opens a window on the relationship between foreign developments and English politics by trying

to gauge press impact on political changes in England after the fall of Walpole. This is accomplished through an analysis of over 300 pamphlets and a close reading of opposition London newspapers, particularly the *Westminster Journal* and the *Old England Journal*. Harris, discussing rapid shifts in opinion on international relations and domestic politics, asserts the key claim of the book: if the actions of mid-century politicians were not usually governed by the press and popular opinion, neither were they isolated from either of these pressures.

A problematic Anglo-Hanoverian union looms massively throughout the latter half of the book. In fact, this is really two books: a conspectus of early eighteenth-century press-political relationships, which a great many historians will want to read if only to disagree with, and a more narrowly focused study of the influence of the press during the War of the Austrian Succession, which reveals the contemporary conflict between blue-water policies and those opposing continental entrapments. In contrast to Uriel Dann, who argued that opposition carping about Hanover was in the main the product of domestic politics (*Hanover and Great Britain, 1740–60* [1991]), Harris links Francophobia with Hanoverian control of British foreign policy since 1714. Thus, George II's policies were perceived as a threat to English liberties, enmeshing England in a war to protect Hanover from France that the opposition press imagined as encouraging the transference of Hanoverian arbitrary rule to England. Liberty and security were thus tied together, suggesting that for many in England the mid-eighteenth century was an age of anxiety. It is often in such crises that identity is forged; thus "French" and "Hanoverian" were employed as Other to define English interests and national character. Gerald Newman's *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740–1830* (1987) is a curious omission in an otherwise convincing presentation.

After the decline of an immediate French threat in the continental war came the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Harris masterfully shows the press switching to a pro-Hanoverian stance. On the important problem of patriotism and the Forty-Five, Harris's book reaches the same conclusions about proponents of patriotism helping rally the nation to the Hanoverian cause as Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (1992). There is some irony here, given Harris's enthusiasm to score points against Colley's earlier work. But on the way responses to the Jacobite rebellion changed the monarchy from the most despised to the most loved institution, Harris and Colley complement one another.

Patriotic press attacks on Whig and Tory party conflicts during wartime does not mean that party differences had become meaningless, which Harris may be guilty of arguing. More critically, he asserts but never really proves the impact of the press on the high political world of Parliament and policy making. Readers are never told how representative Harris's

sources are of plebeian or patrician opinion, much less of a "national" temper. On the one hand Harris needs greater sensitivity to political language: use of the word "honour" by one newspaper (quoted on p. 158) needs to be understood within aristocratic discourse. On the other hand, can popular politics be equated with the press alone? Who really cared about the policies of successive English governments? If the mid-century press was vitally important in shaping political culture, then more of a link must be established between high and popular politics. What was the audience for Harris's sources? Were these newspapers and pamphlets read in coffeehouses as well as clubs? Having argued, correctly, that an interactive relationship existed between high and popular politics, Harris fails to demonstrate this.

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JAMES KELLY. *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish Politics in the 1780s*. (Studies in Irish History, third series.) Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, for the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences. 1992. Pp. x, 276. £32.00.

James Kelly's study is a sharply focused examination of Anglo-Irish relations and politics during the years immediately following the establishment of legislative independence in 1782. The story he tells does not extend in time beyond the Navigation Act of 1787. Kelly is not much interested in the ideology of Protestant patriotism or the extraordinary circumstances that combined to make legislative independence obtainable. Instead, he concentrates on the efforts of the Fox-North Coalition and the Pitt governments to secure the Anglo-Irish constitutional and political connection after the Declaratory Law had been repealed, Poyning's Law was modified, and the Renunciation Law was enacted.

The first of those efforts was to cooperate with Irish Protestant moderates and conservatives to defeat in the Irish House of Commons a proposed modest extension of voting rights to a few more propertied Irish Protestants. The second such effort was Pitt's ill-fated "Commercial Propositions" scheme whereby the young and inexperienced prime minister hoped to affirm and perpetuate the Anglo-Irish connection by equalizing tariffs and expanding free trade between the two islands. Kelly characterizes this effort as an attempt to "orient Ireland's economic relations with Britain from their traditional state of dependent subordination on to a state of dependent equality" (p. 96). Fully 70 percent of this book is devoted to a detailed account of the rise and fall of Pitt's "Commercial Propositions," October 1784 to August 1785.

Kelly begins his study with the usual introductory survey of the several legal instrumentalities—Poyning's Law and the Declaratory Law—and administrative models—parliamentary managers, undertakers, resident lords lieutenant—employed by British

governments during the period 1692–1782 to manage the politics and public affairs of Ireland. Despite an impressive bibliography listing recent scholarship on early and mid-eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish relations and politics, Kelly does not appear to have internalized and used much of this work in his introductory chapter. His interpretation of how British ministers chose to govern Ireland and manage the Irish Parliament is old-fashioned.

For example, Kelly sees the Money Bill Crisis of 1753 as shattering the confidence of English ministers in the undertaker system for governing Ireland and managing the Irish Parliament (p. 16). This is a very old view that even a cursory reading of the official correspondence will not support. Using so-called undertakers rather than the traditional parliamentary managers to complete the king's business in Ireland had been absolutely rejected by Lord Carteret in 1725 and was not accepted by an English ministry as a governing and parliamentary management strategy until 1758, at a moment of great danger and uncertainty during the early years of the Seven Years' War.

Kelly does not fully appreciate the effects of war, English ministerial instability, and personality on Anglo-Irish politics and on the governing strategies employed in Ireland for most of the eighteenth century. English ministers could never be certain who in Ireland could be trusted with political power or for how long, what would satisfy, or what would work. The so-called age of managers and undertakers was far more complicated and challenging for English ministers to understand and cope with than Kelly's introductory chapter would have us believe.

From this shaky beginning, things get much better. Kelly explores thoroughly and insightfully the ambiguities of the constitutional settlement of 1782 and not surprisingly concludes that this settlement changed little that mattered in Anglo-Irish relations. He notes a near-universal belief in English ministerial circles that a final adjustment of Anglo-Irish constitutional and economic issues was needed. He credits Pitt with the perspicacity to proceed toward that final adjustment by negotiating a new and mutually beneficial set of free trade arrangements for Britain and Ireland.

The reasons for the failure of Pitt's scheme are too complicated to summarize here. Kelly's reconstruction and analysis of the political and economic perceptions and realities combining to defeat the scheme, however, is so thorough and convincing that no one will be tempted to go over this ground again for a long time. His conclusion that the collapse of the Commercial Propositions scheme in the Irish House of Commons in August 1785 made an Act of Union likely, if not inevitable, is less convincing. Many more Irish Protestant minds than English ones would have to be changed over the next sixteen years about the desirability of such a measure. Surely the political turmoil of the Regency Crisis in 1789 and enfranchising Irish Catholics in 1793 had more to do with that

process than the failure of Pitt's "Commercial Propositions."

This is a book for specialists, and even a specialist will probably not read it in one sitting, or perhaps not in two, or three, or four. It is not easy going.

ROBERT E. BURNS

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L. D. SCHWARZ. *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700–1850*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 19.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 285.

"The impact of industrialisation on London was complex," L. D. Schwarz tells us (p. 238). Nothing in this study would lead the reader to think otherwise. In an approach reminiscent of Daniel Defoe's *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–26), Schwarz attempts to show "the impact of the provinces on the capital" (p. 10), but his approach and conclusion differ from Defoe's extolling of the metropolis. Schwarz argues that London's economy did not change fundamentally during the years of his study, 1700–1850; if anything, there was economic and demographic decline relative to developments elsewhere in Britain. In a qualification of J. L. Hammond's verdict that the Industrial Revolution was "a storm that passed over London and broke elsewhere" (quoted on p. 231), Schwarz assigns a significant role to London, even though it was "downstream from industrialisation," as he puts it in the title of his conclusion (p. 231). The city's markets, transport system, and abundant labor supply assured this, although the story was dynamic and disruptive, profoundly affected by seasonal fluctuations, changes in mortality, and the volatile market forces of an economy increasingly less centered on the metropolis.

Schwarz makes generous acknowledgment of Dorothy George's pioneering *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1925) and claims to be taking "the path she left open" (p. 6); this consists of a dauntingly quantitative array of tables, figures, and analyses of his findings and those of other historians, with whom he frequently disagrees. K. D. M. Snell (*Annals of the Labouring Poor* [1985]) is taken to task for suggesting that women's employment opportunities in London contracted between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; George is criticized for overreliance on Francis Place; and Schwarz attacks anyone who ever took Patrick Colquhoun's statistics seriously. Saving graces of this study are Schwarz's literary skill, sense of humor, and awareness of the limitations of his own research. He writes, for example, that "the danger of an analysis such as this is that it suggests a misleading degree of precision" (p. 48). Precisely so. This book is not for the uninitiated. It is still best to start with George and the relevant volumes in the University of California Press' History of London series (George

Rudé's *Hanoverian London, 1714–1808* [1971] for the eighteenth century, and Francis Sheppard's *London, 1808–1870: The Infernal Wen* (1971) for the nineteenth century.

Schwarz's sources and organization require comment. He makes good use of insurance and tax records, parliamentary papers, and secondary works. Perhaps in an effort to reduce the previously popular anecdotal and impressionistic approaches, he makes limited use of manuscript sources or works originally published before 1880. Schwarz clearly knows his London history, although in a study that gives considerable focus to the marginality of the majority of London's workforce, unskilled and semiskilled, he might have given more attention to the Poor Law, especially how the settlement laws may have moderated migration.

The book is organized in three parts. Part 1 covers the "Wealth and Occupations in London," part 2 treats "Fluctuations and Mortality in the Metropolis," and part 3 deals with "The Standard of Living and the London Trades." Chapter divisions within each part are also topical. Given such a topics-within-topics approach, a considerable degree of repetition is unavoidable. Perhaps a more old-fashioned historical approach, emphasizing changes and continuities through time, would have given the book greater cohesion and added to its readability.

Schwarz strips away much of the glamor of the burgeoning metropolis, the "unique city," as Steen Eiler Rasmussen subtitled his book *London* (1934). There is fascinating detail here, but this is not so much a work of history as a mine of useful information supporting, or circling around, a not-so-surprising thesis concerning the relationship of London to industrialization. Still, no student of London's history can afford to neglect this important study.

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MORRIS EAVES. *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy: Art and Industry in the Age of Blake*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xxix, 287. \$37.95.

English art, William Blake believed, was controlled by commercial and political interests conspiring together to the detriment of original art and artists. Taking Blake's idea of a counter-arts conspiracy as its focus, Morris Eaves's interdisciplinary study spans English art history and literary scholarship on Blake. At the outset, Eaves rightly points out that, with few exceptions, traditional English art history has demonstrated a marked disengagement from "issues of theory and cultural history" (p. xv). He offers a corrective by applying to his analysis the approaches of cultural studies and theories of narrative and metaphor. In doing so, he has "aimed at a working eclecticism" (p. xvii).

The result is a cultural compendium, multiply

layered in both form and content. Integrated with the main text and its notes are ninety-two well-reproduced illustrations with accompanying commentaries. In this way Eaves re-creates the iconographic and intellectual climate of the crisis in the English visual arts: the widely held perception that there was no English school of painting able to compete successfully with those of the Continent. He examines this crisis from the perspectives of nationalism, commercial objectives, religion, and developing technology. Brought together, their ideas linked, are such notables as James Barry, Allan Cunningham, Benjamin Haydon, William Hazlitt, and Joshua Reynolds, as well as now lesser-known figures like Robert Hartley Crome and Prince Hoare. In addition, figuring prominently is John Boydell, engraver, printseller, alderman, lord mayor of London, and all-around man of commerce in art.

Against this background of personalities and discourses, Blake, the artist and thinker, is revealed in all his originality, complexity—and contemporaneity. He, as much as Reynolds or any other member of the artistic establishment, was part of what Eaves describes as "the larger English-school discourse" (p. xviii). But Eaves is also concerned to show that Blake was distinctive in adding his own Christian history of art to the main discourse. This is a history deeply penetrated by religious discourse, "all the way to the metaphorical level on which the narratives of religion and art go beyond convergence into coalescence" (p. 133). Eaves further demonstrates that the metaphorical coalescence of art and religion is conjoined through narrative and metaphor with Blake's ideas on commerce, power hierarchies, technology, and individualism.

In a short review it is possible to do little more than probe the surface of the analysis, but one example will perhaps help to indicate the whole. In Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (1825–26), the religious subject matter merges into the artist's chosen engraving technique, and both together merge into an integrated aesthetic, social, and political vision. The engravings favor strong line over tonal harmony because line, said Blake, "is Itself & Not Intermeasurable with or by any Thing Else Such is Job" (p. 266). As Eaves explains, this is "a republican engraving technique, the articulated lines of liberated individual merit rather than the intermeasurable atoms of divided labor blended into indefinite harmony" (pp. 266, 269). Blake therefore opposed Reynolds's concept of pictorial harmony, in which the small parts must be subordinated to the greater. This he aligned metaphorically with a polity that would ruthlessly sacrifice individual identity to serve the undifferentiated harmony of the whole. Yet, as Eaves points out elsewhere (p. 175), Blake did not "spurn community." He advocated egalitarianism "in the service of a meritocracy" (p. 269), an antidote to the uniformity of mere technical skill and commercial production.

Although clearly written, in its complexity Eaves's

book is not an easy read. But Blake scholars and art and cultural historians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will find delving into its mine of insights and information to be well worth the effort.

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FRANK H. WALLIS. *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain*. (Texts and Studies in Religion, number 60.) Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 1993. Pp. viii, 280.

Anti-Catholic prejudice in mid-Victorian Britain is a well-worked field of study, and this book interprets the phenomenon by using contemporary social-science critiques. Frank H. Wallis outlines the theories he chooses to use in his early pages, then applies concepts such as "Frustration, Aggression, Displacement," "Authoritarian Personality," and "Real Conflict" to selected examples of anti-Catholic excesses found in the pages of ultra-Protestant periodicals, newspapers, reports of meetings, and parliamentary debates. This procedure he entitles: "explication of the sources illuminated with insights from social science theory" (p. 16). He also includes consideration of Jews in his analysis, for they too were considered by some Protestants to be a threat to both the nation and the constitution. By the end of the study, however, the reader wonders what improvement has been made on the interpretations of anti-Catholic prejudice by scholars like E. R. Norman or Sheridan Gilley.

There is something ahistorical about a study that fails to deal with the inherited anxiety shared for so long by the majority of English, Scottish, and Welsh people when they felt challenged by the intrusion of Roman Catholicism into their lives. "The fires of Smithfield," the Spanish Armada, the Irish rising of 1641, and the events of the Glorious Revolution were as well known as the events of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* by a great many people of all stations of life in the Protestant community. The Protestants may not have risen in the violent fashion of the Gordon Riots when the reintroduction of the papal hierarchy took place or the grant for Maynooth was approved by Parliament, but they felt a deep unease that their insular culture was under threat.

Wallis knows this, but he approaches a matter like the massive Irish Catholic immigration of the post-famine period in a rather abstract way in order to make use of his social-science analysis: "Both scapegoat theory and real conflict theory predict that the most frustrating or threatening outgroup will stimulate the most prejudice among members of the ingroup" (p. 207). Four pages later he states the obvious: "It cannot be a mere coincidence that the era of the highest Irish immigration was also the era of the most widespread and zealous anti-Catholicism." There is little need for a social theory to explain the anxiety, alarm, and anti-Catholic prejudice of the

people of England, however, when by 1851 half a million Irish immigrants had poured into the country. Working-class resentment of Irish blacklegging was widespread, as well as anxiety lest the Irish Ribbon movement, with its legacy of violence, should spread throughout the country. As Wallis notes, the English people of the time believed that "popery was not merely a religion, but a vast spiritual and temporal conspiracy against liberty and lawful authority whose goal was domination over Christians" (p. 22).

The thought of bigots like Richard Spooner, MP for Birmingham, and the polemics of Charles Newdgate, MP for Warwickshire, are well presented, with excerpts from the *Bulwark* and other Protestant publications, but Wallis ignores the missionary fervor of the zealots who packed Exeter Hall. The book is filled with oddities, with Roscommon, for instance, identified as a "Protestant" county in Ireland (p. 223). Speaking of Liverpool and Belfast, Wallis mysteriously states that "there is not much evidence showing that anti-Catholicism was the driving force behind Protestant rioting against Irish Catholics" (p. 238). The last sentence of the book verges on the bizarre: "no study has answered the question of why people believed what they did. Why do people make the assumptions they do? Religion is, after all, an assumption" (p. 254).

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ANGUS McLAREN. *A Prescription for Murder: The Victorian Serial Killings of Dr. Thomas Neill Cream*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 217. \$22.50.

Despite its sensational title, this book is not a detailed account of the nine murders allegedly committed by Dr. Thomas Cream. Angus McLaren's account of Cream's life, crimes, and trials takes only sixty pages, and some of that is repetitive. The rest of the book attempts to link Cream and his crimes to the larger topics of prostitution, abortion, blackmail, doctors, detectives, degenerates, and women. McLaren argues that "Cream is best understood if seen as a sick product of his society . . . His nefarious acts were shown to be fully intelligible only when seen in the framework of the particular sexual and cultural context of late Victorian society, a society made anxious by the rise in threats to reputation, the increased number of women in public life, the apparent blight of degeneration, and the erosion of gender boundaries" (pp. 140-41).

That there were gender tensions in late-Victorian society is beyond doubt, but the case for Cream as a product of those tensions is problematic at best. McLaren argues that Cream saw himself as ridding society of a menace, that is, evil women who sought abortions or made their living as prostitutes. The

problem here is that McLaren presents little evidence that Cream saw his murders as part of a moral crusade. The fact that one of his victims was male also makes the misogyny argument suspect, as does the fact that he performed many successful abortions and his homicide victims in America were apparently killed either by botched abortions or because they refused to go along with Cream's blackmailing schemes. In advancing his thesis McLaren is so determined to demonstrate the unwavering misogyny of the police, the press, and society at large that he sometimes contradicts himself. He argues, for example, that the police were guilty both because they ignored the evidence provided by prostitutes and because they used them as unpaid informers (despite the fact that at least one of the witnesses was released from prison to provide assistance). McLaren also overlooks the fact that assaults on women were declining in Britain by the late nineteenth century. The public reaction to the Cream case and the frenzied search for Jack the Ripper also indicate a concern about the well-being of prostitutes (however patronizing or oppressive that concern might have been) that was completely absent a half-century earlier.

Much of the material presented in the second section is irrelevant to Cream's circumstances. For example, McLaren's discussion of homosexuality and the tracking of terrorists in North America has no connection to Cream's life and crimes. Furthermore, in arguing for the significance of context in understanding Cream's crime, McLaren assumes that serial killers are a product of the ills of modern society, but it seems at least as likely that the serial killers themselves are not a new phenomenon but rather one whose discovery depended on systematic policing and a popular press, neither of which were widely available in England before the mid-nineteenth century.

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BENTLEY BRINKERHOFF GILBERT. *David Lloyd George: A Political Life; Organizer of Victory 1912-1916*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1992. Pp. 523.

Reviewers praised the first volume of Bentley Brinkerhoff Gilbert's life of David Lloyd George for its research, detail, and balance. This second volume has similar qualities. It is also livelier and less cluttered, partly because by 1912 Lloyd George had put behind him the minutiae of Welsh politics. Gilbert's slight disenchantment with his subject in the earlier volume escalates in this one. We hear more of Lloyd George's "thoughtless mendacity" (p. 83) and his occasional ascension to a "new pinnacle of ineptitude" (p. 84). By now, Gilbert clearly agrees with H. H. Asquith that the Welshman was "not quite *au fond* a gentleman" (p. 176).

This study is classic Eltonian history: "narrative

thickened by analysis." More dexterously than Lloyd George's other biographers, Gilbert synthesizes personal, political, and, during the war, military events and influences. He lucidly integrates particulars from the various war theaters, about which even military writers are usually opaque. Gilbert has mastered World War I's intricate chronology, an essential prerequisite to explaining the concurrent dilemmas of wartime politics.

Gilbert has mined two previously little-used sources, the unabridged manuscript diaries of Lord Riddell in the British Library, and Lady Carson's diaries at the Northern Ireland Public Record Office. Unexpurgated Riddell extracts, most published for the first time, are enlightening. They may excuse Gilbert's propensity—happily less immoderate than that of another Lloyd George biographer, John Grigg—for long quotations. Citations from Riddell, for example, illuminate Reginald McKenna's caliber, devious politicking against Lloyd George, and astute economic-strategic ideas.

Asquith's leadership, for example on the Ireland question, was failing long before 1914, but Lloyd George's career possibly was in terminal decline. Isolated from his Liberal colleagues by misjudgments and bad luck (notably over land reform and the 1914 budget), dreading personal insolvency after electoral defeat and loss of office, Lloyd George must have viewed the war as a godsend. It certainly gave him another chance.

Some of Gilbert's interpretations are open to challenge. Lloyd George was not always as courageous as Gilbert paints him, nor Asquith as palsied a decision maker. The Welshman's dependence on the unpopular Charles Masterman for access to radical Liberals was probably less absolute than suggested. The importance of "big guns" in winning the war, and Lloyd George's role in providing them, are possibly exaggerated. As someone once said, and Gilbert concurs, Lloyd George could visualize "the field beyond the next one," yet his strategic notions sometimes were half-baked. Perhaps unwarrantably, Gilbert treats Douglas Haig more sympathetically than most Lloyd George biographers.

As is the custom of Lloyd George's recent biographers, Gilbert denies that he intended to oust Asquith in December 1916. Surely this is to cavil. The evidence presented here demonstrates that to achieve his objectives, Lloyd George had to become the effective prime minister. Whether Asquith hung on as Newcastle to his Pitt mattered little. Anyway, there is no proof that Asquith ever dreamed of playing second fiddle to a minister whose character and intellect he belittled. Gilbert is, however, right about the December crisis being the "stuff of detective novels" (p. 400).

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A. W. BRIAN SIMPSON. *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention without Trial in Wartime Britain*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 453. \$62.00.

Some two thousand British citizens were detained without trial during World War II on the grounds that they were dangerous to public safety. The basic instrument of detention was Regulation 18B, issued under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act of 1939 on the day that Germany invaded Poland. It represented a draconian invasion of basic civil liberties and a de facto suspension of habeas corpus.

A. W. Brian Simpson has written a comprehensive history of this unhappy episode in British history and an essential corrective to the account of the same events in volume 4 of the official *British Intelligence in the Second World War* (1979). Simpson, predictably, is far less inclined to pull his punches when it comes to criticizing the multiple shortcomings of the system.

The vast majority of detentions occurred in the summer of 1940 when there was a massive invasion scare accompanied by generalized fears of a German fifth column at work in Britain. Specific events then precipitated heavy-handed use of Regulation 18B. Important here was the Tyler Kent affair. Kent, a code and cipher clerk in the U.S. embassy in London, was arrested on May 20, 1940. One of his British contacts was Captain Maude Ramsey, a Member of Parliament and leader of the Right Club, a prominent anti-Semitic organization with a number of well-connected and wealthy members. The War Cabinet, alarmed by nightmare visions of treachery in the land, approved Ramsey's arrest, as well as that of Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists. Thus began what Simpson calls "The Great Incarceration," a process that he carefully and thoroughly documents.

Detention orders were issued by the Home Office on the basis of information provided by the security service, MI5. Simpson is savagely critical of much of its intelligence, quoting approvingly from a contemporary denunciation of MI5's "gross mistakes and pathological stupidities" (p. 285). This statement was uttered by Norman (later Lord) Birkett, chairman of the advisory committee that heard objections by victims of Regulation 18B to their detention orders. Not that the committee comes out of the story too well, either. Its proceedings gave no right to detainees to defend themselves, for example. As for the judiciary, Simpson is damning. "The judges were prepared to behave like mice," he concludes, "as long as they were treated like lions" (p. 331).

Simpson takes the title of his book from Winston Churchill's comment in 1943 on the dictatorial powers represented by Regulation 18B. But in May 1940 the prime minister was a hawk, determined to kill "the malignancy in our midst" (p. 164). Only later did he begin to show second thoughts. But politically it proved hard to free people of often unpleasant views,

and Mosley and Ramsey remained in detention until 1943 and 1944 respectively. Regulation 18B itself remained in force until the end of the war in Europe. Simpson has produced an admirable history of this instrument of constitutional dictatorship.

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ANNE CHISOLM and MICHAEL DAVIES. *Lord Beaverbrook: A Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993. Pp. ix, 589. \$30.00.

The irrepressible Lord Beaverbrook (Max Aitken, 1879–1964), would relish Anne Chisolm and Michael Davies's sprawling, gossip-filled biography. He was a successful financier-businessman and an inveterate political gadfly and meddler. Through the *Express* newspapers he shaped modern mass journalism in Britain. His artfully crafted studies of political power still provoke and stimulate students of British high politics in the twentieth century. Above all he was an engaging tempter who ruthlessly used people's weaknesses and his money for his own purposes and policies. He influenced a wide range of talents, especially the politically powerful, and he seduced many women. His wives worked on such diverse spirits as Arnold Bennett, Winston Churchill, Michael Foot, Lady Diana Cooper, and Rebecca West. His final triumph was the intellectual seduction of the quirky A. J. P. Taylor. How would "the Beaver" and Lady Thatcher have got on?

His Canadian background is sketched in the first three chapters. Born a son of the Manse in New Brunswick, a colonial backwater, Aitken swiftly acquired a fortune, mainly by speculation in the booming North American economy. The bulk of the book, the next seventeen chapters (379 pages), are devoted to Beaverbrook's complex life, lived mainly in Britain. He was a businessman-financier, political intriguer, the leading "press baron," an appeaser, a minister during World War II, an immensely clever propagandist-historian, and a lifelong seducer. The last two chapters cover his final two decades, filled as before with elements of farce and intrigue, as he watched the decline of British power. Two useful short appendices on the scandalous Canada Cement Affair and his impact as a historian end this long biography.

In 1910 Beaverbrook plunged into Tory politics and political journalism, all the while accumulating more millions. In 1916, in cahoots with his political mentor Bonar Law, he intrigued to depose Henry Asquith, the hapless Liberal prime minister. In the 1920s he fashioned the *Express* newspapers into the leading mass-circulation chain in Britain. By 1938 the *Express* sold 2.3 million papers, the *Sunday Express* 1.3 million, and the *Evening Standard* more than 300,000 daily. Like Henry Luce, Beaverbrook had an insatiable curiosity, and what interested him coincided with the emerging mass readership. His papers were in-

formative, lively, worldly, and classless. He used them not only as a vehicle for his political and social concerns but also to nurture journalists and others whom he favored or needed.

The elements of the Beaverbrook aura are well displayed: charm, sexuality, curiosity, money, ingenuity, semi-farce, and mystery, coupled with his affection for the Canadian Maritimes. His love of intrigue, money, power, and women are amply described. Using his many homes as his office, he operated effectively in finance, politics, and newspapers: "The telephone and the dictated memorandum were his preferred methods of stimulus and control. They saved time. It was the product, not the means of production that concerned him" (p. 213). David Low captured "the Beaver" perfectly in his cartoons as an engaging, smiling imp.

Students of British politics, high society, and its changing mores in the first half of this century will find much to ponder here. The authors effectively convey the nature and impact of Beaverbrook's influential journalism. Their feel for British high politics is less sure. The authors' account of his quixotic crusade for Empire Free Trade in the late 1920s is revealing, as is the discussion of his various roles in Churchill's cabinet during World War II. Beaverbrook's relentless pursuit of influence, and his skill at buying and/or seducing it, is especially well analyzed.

Lord Beaverbrook was one of a long stream of colonials, first from the British Isles and later from the former empire, drawn to London by its opportunities for power and self-expression. One of the latest, Rupert Murdoch, has moved on, another confirmation of English decline.

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GERARD J. DE GROOT. *Liberal Crusader: The Life of Sir Archibald Sinclair*. New York: New York University Press or Hurst, London. 1993. Pp. xi, 266. \$35.00.

In British history, chaps called Archibald tend not to be crusaders. Despite the solid, workmanlike efforts of his biographer, Sir Archibald Sinclair (1890–1970) hardly comes across as a great exception to the rule. The only son of a Scots laird and wealthy American mother, Sinclair traveled a traditional route to maturity for noncrusading members of the upper crust: Eton, Sandhurst, and the Guards. Indeed, his formative years resemble those of the man whose protégé he became, Winston Churchill. But Sinclair lacked Churchill's burning ambition; during the Belle Époque, he was more attracted to social rather than regimental life. It was World War I that turned him into a radical. Gerald J. De Groot comments: "Churchill hated war in theory, but in practice was intoxicated by it. Sinclair, a more sensitive individual, found war abhorrent without qualification" (p. 23).

Being a radical about the evils of modern warfare,

however, did not make Sinclair less of a gentleman when he became an MP in 1922. Up to at least 1932 crucial Liberal Party meetings had to be scheduled around race meetings and the shooting season, notes De Groot in one of the pithy and amusing asides that are a feature of this well-researched book. Nor did his radicalism provide Sinclair much help in deciding what sort of Liberal he was. On the whole he appears to have been a mainstream Liberal, with feet planted firmly on both sides of any given political fence apart from war and free-trade questions.

The interwar period was not a good one for Liberals. Sinclair's party could only define itself negatively in relation to the other parties except in regard to free trade, which the voters rejected. Yet as his party declined, De Groot argues, Sinclair grew into a statesman of considerable magnitude. Becoming party leader in 1935 (mainly because of a safe seat and a process of attrition), he continued his crusade to preserve his shattered party's unity, independence, and national credibility, a hopeless task. De Groot describes him as "the perfect leader of a party in decline" (p. 113), a backhanded compliment if ever there was one.

By the ripe old age of forty-six, Sinclair had become a member of the establishment. Possibly as a result he completely misjudged the issue of the Spanish Civil War. Proof that his crusading instincts had not entirely atrophied, however, may be found in his rejection of the idea of an Anglo-Franco-Russian alliance, because it implied that the League of Nations was dead. Like many of his countrymen, his position on foreign policy was both confused and honorable. He opposed Munich, appeasement, and conscription. The only result of his crusading was the survival, but not the recovery, of the Liberal Party. During World War II, as Secretary of State for Air, he was little more than Churchill's stooge. If he favored precise strategic bombing, he learned to accept the indiscriminate variety, the only kind on offer. The most De Groot can say for him here is that, unlike Churchill, he never attempted to avoid responsibility for Dresden.

This clearly written, competent study of a not-very-important British political figure makes a useful and welcome addition to Liberal Party history.

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CYNTHIA VERBA. *Music and the French Enlightenment: Reconstruction of a Dialogue, 1750–1764*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. vii, 163. \$39.95.

Cynthia Verba's book adds a bright bud, although not yet a full blossom, to the small but growing tree of music history inhabited by such birds as William Weber, Jane Fulcher, James Anthony, and James Johnson, among others. Most of these scholars, in-

cluding Verba, are musicologists; some, like myself, are historians. Although musical controversy abounded during the entire eighteenth century, Verba's focus is on the mid-Enlightenment and on the philosophical disagreement between France's leading composer, Jean-Philippe Rameau, and three philosophes: Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Rameau was well known by the 1750s both for his operas and his innovative theory of harmony, while Rousseau was becoming celebrated for his *Discourses*, his popular comic opera *Le Devin du Village*, and his articles on music in the *Encyclopédie*. Reviled at first by the proponents of traditional opera in the style of Jean-Baptiste Lully, Rameau became the principal representative and defender of French opera, after an Italian troupe brought opera buffa, championed by the philosophes, to Paris in 1752, setting off the pamphlet war known as the *Querelle des Bouffons*. Verba demonstrates effectively, however, that issues far greater than a disagreement over musical styles were at stake. These included "the nature of artistic expression, the nature of scientific inquiry, and the respective roles of reason and experience in art and science" (p. 2). The opposing views of Rameau and Rousseau on the supremacy of harmony versus melody were anchored in fundamental convictions about nature and art. Verba explains the theoretical divergences quite well, although she also brings out the points of convergence in the antagonists' ideas. At the same time, she brings together two subjects—aesthetic philosophy and music theory—too often separated by specialists.

Because she treats the problems of musical thought as sustained dialogues, Verba's book is thematically organized, exploring in separate chapters such topics as music as an art of expression, music as a science (d'Alembert), and the synthesis of music as both art and science (Diderot). This approach is effective in that it shows readers that musical arguments, like other issues, were not just short, partisan debates, but rather protracted exchanges, verbal and written, among intellectuals. Verba's method, along with the lamentable brevity of this book, is less effective, however, in paying only nodding attention to other concurrent historical problems that were linked to the debates over theory. For example, Verba has little to say about the social message inherent in Rousseau's celebrated *Lettre sur la musique française*, as well as in his opera, and the political significance of his shrill rebuke of French culture. And she makes only passing references to the political overtones of the *Querelle*.

Her concentration on theory, and her sometimes dense musicological analysis, will probably mean that Verba's book will have minimal appeal to historians, other than specialists on Rameau and Rousseau who dominate her discussion. Indeed, these two dwarf d'Alembert in the chapter supposedly about him. For such a short book, the length of the author's appen-

dix (thirty-nine pages) is rather startling. It consists of translated excerpts from the musical writings of Rameau and the philosophes.

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LINDSAY WILSON. *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment: The Debate over Maladies des Femmes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. vii, 246. \$38.50.

In this lucidly written and skillfully researched monograph, Lindsay Wilson focuses in depth on several *causes célèbres* rather than attempting a comprehensive discussion. Three debates, which taken sequentially span the period from the late 1720s to the 1780s, provide texts for exploring traditional and changing perceptions of female sexuality and putatively related illnesses during the Enlightenment. Wilson unifies the material by drawing attention to recurrent epistemological issues, such as the question of medical authority versus the testimony of women, or more broadly, expert views versus public opinion. Using the category of gender, she pursues an aggressive revisionism of a historiography of medicine whose results since Michel Foucault opened up new vistas have been "less than gratifying" (p. 2) for the period under study.

Thus, the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard and the Mesmerist healing cult, both episodes familiar to scholars, are reexamined from the perspective of gender and paternalist authority with interestingly contrasting results. Although both popular movements were suppressed, Wilson finds that the state, church, and medical profession acted with considerably less consensus and force at the end of the Enlightenment. A chapter on a lesser-known controversy, that over "late-births" or births with a gestation period running to ten months or longer, displays a tension between different themes of Enlightenment medicine and jurisprudence in which some medical men and a few women argued that empiricism and reason from observed cases outweighed recourse to universal laws buttressed by ancient tradition. The original and textured discussion in the final chapter on endemic hysteria among women in the French countryside echoes similar tensions within learned discourse when confronted by this manifestation of popular culture. As provincial medical professionals struggled to account for an erotically colored pathology in peasant women who did not fit the Enlightenment model of convulsions as a malady of an indolent bourgeois, they implicitly questioned dominant sexual and medical stereotypes.

Wilson's critique of the historiography calls for a broader cultural history of medicine that would attend to voices other than those of the professionals. Yet her book draws on just those professional voices, especially in its most successful chapter on hysteria in

the provinces. Wilson seeks to get beyond doctor's narrative to patient's experience and makes use of nonmedical sources. But she underestimates and at times misconstrues the context of the principal texts on which her research necessarily depends. Short shrift is given to scholarly work done over the past twenty-five years using the archives of the Société Royale de Médecine; other medical archives, such as those of the surgeons, remain less exploited; here, too, one will find materials for the cultural history of eighteenth-century medicine.

As for the elusive "public opinion" that Wilson evokes as central to her study but does not define, the notion seems limited to a fairly high social and literary level rather than an authentically popular culture. Any sharp dichotomy between professional and learned public in the eighteenth century is somewhat artificial; medical men continuously engaged this public's opinion, while philosophers like Denis Diderot espoused science. Going beyond the ideological arguments of the cast of medical actors who took part in the debates over women's diseases to their socioprofessional, even private situations (several were known libertine bachelors), might be illuminating.

This book points the way for a better appreciation of the dynamics of gender as subject and object in eighteenth-century medicine. As one who worked the terrain several decades ago and neglected this aspect, I am grateful for Wilson's perspective. Yet, as she acknowledges in conclusion, basic research remains to be done. The evidence for misogyny toward female patients and practitioners is convincing. But the claim to have "rescued from oblivion . . . voices of little known female medical practitioners" remains unfulfilled (p. 166). Only a few are heard (aside from midwives, only one other practitioner, and she through male intermediaries). The voice of women patients is likewise rarely heard. Finally, the author's affirmation that "the irrational other [in eighteenth-century debates on disease] was always female" (p. 164) strains credulity. It seems more a trope than a historical finding.

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ANNE ZINK. *L'héritier de la maison: Géographie coutumière du Sud-Ouest de la France sous l'Ancien Régime*. (Civilisations et sociétés, number 87.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1993. Pp. 542. 350 fr.

Anne Zink, known previously to students of the *ancien-régime* peasantry through her excellent village study (*Azereix: La vie d'une communauté rurale à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* [1969]), has produced her long-awaited opus on inheritance customs and practices in southwestern France during the eighteenth century. Originally an even longer old-style *thèse d'état* (which ran to

nine volumes), this book will be a definitive treatment of its subject, but will also be of great interest to historical anthropologists and students of French culture. Methodologically, the author finds her inspiration within the French methods of human geography and historical anthropology, the ethnohistory of France. The result is a magnificent and definitive account of family law and practices in the southwest, as well as an important reflection on the character of that most fundamental unity of French rural life, the *pays*. Through the overlapping and sometimes conflicting jurisdictions of political and administrative life, Zink identifies the coherence of *pays* as "networks of cultural characteristics" (p. 12).

To isolate and identify these networks, Zink has patiently waded through thousands of documents. The study of marriage and family law derives from accounts of the (written) customary rules and a wide variety of notarized acts detailing practices: gifts, sales, purchases, marriage contracts, dowries, wills, and agreements, as well as shareholding contracts (where, because the shareholder had to bring a sufficient work force, his household was often described). Relying heavily on marriage contracts and wills, she sampled notarized documents from around 1760, a deliberate choice of a synchrony over transformations. Many of the results are presented in statistical tables, but perhaps the most revealing moments in this study of family and household, both from within and in relation to the neighborhood and village, lie in the author's ability to bring individual peasants' experiences to life. The result is a sometimes unwieldy but always fascinating account of family law and practices in the southwest.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section treats the juridical framework, describing the nature of inheritance customs and their relation with law and jurisprudence. In addition to producing a cartography of customary practices, this section offers a great number of insights on the role of legislative authority and of the parlements, breaking down the easy distinctions between regions of customary and of Roman law. The second section focuses on the household in the Pyrenees and the inheritance customs organized to guarantee its integrity across generations. After describing, in separate chapters, the roles and status of the members of the household, this section looks at the house in relation to neighborhood and community, offering suggestive remarks about village citizenship and the local regulation of household structure. The third section takes the broader notion of "Gascon Families," treating the family within the customary law of Adour and Landes, and establishing a geography of inheritance practices for the *ancien régime*.

The result is a tour de force, although not without limitations. Much more could have been made, for example, of the condition of women in this peculiar inheritance system, especially in the relation between theory and practice. More, too, might have been said,

in later chapters, about how the royal reform of customary law was received and transformed in its practical application. And readers may regret the author's decision, finally, to sacrifice an account of historical transformations for a synchronic portrait. But as it is written, the book will take a privileged place on the shelves of a variety of scholars: it will be essential background reading not only for regional historians but also for historians of the family, legal historians, and scholars of the peasantry in France and elsewhere.

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JOHN HARDMAN. *Louis XVI*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 264. \$30.00.

Was Louis XVI a good locksmith not fit to rule? John Hardman's short but richly detailed political biography turns that oft-repeated derisive dismissal of this most unfortunate monarch into a serious scholarly reassessment of a man with whom the author sympathizes even in criticizing his faults. By focusing on the sources he knows so thoroughly—ministerial correspondence and memoirs—Hardman describes with devastating candor how Louis XVI struggled in vain to develop a satisfactory mechanism for decision making, in part because of ministerial rivalries that spilled over into court and Parlement politics, but also because of the monarch's own mentality.

Confident and insightful on finances and foreign affairs, occasionally having more political sense than his leading advisor of the moment, Louis was nonetheless debilitated by his legalistic, moralizing, mechanical way of looking at almost everything, and fated to be hopelessly inarticulate at crucial times—to the point of ceasing to utter one word to anyone for days on end as the revolution drove him to obsessive eating and despondency. D'Argenson observed with exasperation that the king's "pet hobby is wanting to remain enigmatic." Hardman, in turn, describes the king as having "the mind of an accountant." In short, Louis XVI appears here, even in revisionist dress, as a major blundering contributor to the coming of the French Revolution.

And yet Hardman's illuminating inside look at the way the monarch went about making decisions suggests the onset of the revolution to be more problematic. The dithering, conscience-stricken, rigidly principled protagonist might have made right decisions at every crucial step of the *ancien régime's* unraveling, from the reversing of René de Maupeou's reforms to the eleventh-hour struggles with his wife over how to effect a conservative survival during the revolution.

Hardman's ambivalence is a plus in providing future biographical historians plenty of scope to enlarge on this portrait of a maddeningly obtuse and enig-

matic ruler. His decision to keep the revolution in the background and the ministerial infighting and tortuous royal decision making in the foreground is another plus. To be sure, it makes for difficult reading of ministerial ins and outs that Hardman understands far better than any of his readers. Nevertheless, that confining and at times bizarre vantage point allows us to feel just how Louis XVI must have experienced the revolution; *journées* such as the fall of the Bastille almost escaped notice in this book, just as they were ignored in Louis's diary.

In a brilliant aside, Hardman notes that Louis deliberately chose a diary form that was a cross between an appointments book and a hunting journal: "the quality of entry when he is thirty-eight is just the same as when he was twelve. This meticulous record . . . reveals an obsession with facts and figures" (p. 22). And, later in the book, he notes: "In his diary Louis tried to anesthetize himself to the impact of the October Days by reducing them to the banality of some of his other entries . . . 'Excursions in 1789. Marly 14–21 June = 7. Paris 6 October–31 December = 86. Nights I slept away from Versailles = 93'" (pp. 173–74). Here is material for serious psychoanalysis comparable to Elizabeth Marvick's several studies of another uncommunicative Bourbon king, Louis XIII, or perhaps an imaginative cultural history of the mind-set of Louis XVI and his entourage.

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GWYNNE LEWIS. *The Advent of Modern Capitalism in France, 1770–1840: The Contribution of Pierre-François Tubeuf*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. vii, 339. \$59.00.

This absurdly mistitled book by Gwynne Lewis is actually a minor contribution to regional history. The region in question is the Basses-Cévennes in southern France, more specifically the Alès coal basin. The misleading reference to the "advent of modern capitalism" concerns the establishment of a modern coal industry in the basin. Some coal had been produced in the mid-eighteenth century and earlier by peasants and other locals using picks and shovels on outcrops. In the 1770s more modern, capital-intensive methods were introduced. Production rose from about 5,000 tons in 1780 to about 15,000 tons on the eve of the French Revolution, then declined, but rose again, irregularly, after 1799. Production stabilized at between 20,000 and 30,000 tons from 1815 to the mid-1830s, then rose rapidly to 300,000 tons in 1845. In 1914 the Alès basin produced over two million tons, about one-twentieth of total French output (p. 311).

Lewis's principal protagonist in this story is the entrepreneur mentioned in the subtitle, Pierre-François Tubeuf. It appears that the reason for choosing Tubeuf was the abundance of documentation on him

rather than his importance as an industrialist. A Norman by birth, he used political influence in Versailles to assemble a number of concessions for mines in the Alès basin, but he never succeeded in making them profitable. Dispossessed by the revolution and burdened with debts, he emigrated to Virginia in 1791 with the fantastic notion of creating a French *colonie* on the frontier, only to be "massacred by Red Indians" in 1795 (p. 162), halfway through the book.

Lewis also provides an antagonist—a villain—in the person of Charles-Eugène-Gabriel La Croix Castries, created *maréchal de France* in 1783. Although Castries is obviously intended to represent the forces of feudalism and reaction in contest with those of capitalism, Lewis cannot resist treating their relationship as a personal rivalry. Ironically, Castries also emigrated—to Geneva—in 1791, and died in relative poverty "at the *château de Wolfenbütel* in 1800" (p. 156), less than halfway through the book.

The author's inability to distinguish between impersonal social forces and those of personal rivalry is not the only evidence of her ambivalence toward her subject. She is clearly biased in favor of Tubeuf, who is described as "courageous" and "far-sighted," but he also "represented the forces of monopoly capitalism and his frequently tactless efforts to defeat local representatives of traditional market economics was to pose problems for the State" (p. 19). "Like any modern capitalist employer, control over the workforce, in terms of wages and conditions of service, was also of cardinal importance to Tubeuf" (p. 39).

Innocent of any knowledge of economic theory, the author uses some of the jargon of economic history—protoindustrialization, take-off, and so forth—without understanding their putative meanings, much less the logical deficiencies of the terms themselves. She calls the *assignats* a "convertible currency" (p. 168); they were inconvertible into specie. Her writing style is atrocious; a typical sentence is: "However, as we have done with the *masques armés* revolt, we need to reassess the factors which contributed to the *Grande Peur*, the *bagarre de Nîmes*, and the *camps de Jalès*, not only in the light of the *longue durée* of religious antagonism between Catholics and Protestants, but within the context of the economic forces affecting the region since, at least, the 1770s" (p. 150). Her use of clichés and slang is deplorable; "pusillanimity became the order of the day" (p. 208); "the snake had been scotched not killed" (p. 151). The American statesman Gouverneur Morris appears as a figure "known to all students of the French Revolution . . . Governor Morris" (p. 160).

This list of deficiencies could be extended considerably. Curiously, neither of her principal characters, Tubeuf and Castries, nor their several relatives, appear in the index.

RONDO CAMERON
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CAROLINE FORD. *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 255. \$45.00.

Since the publication in 1930 of C. J. H. Hayes's pioneering *France, a Nation of Patriots*, the study of the formation of national identity and the process of nation-building in postrevolutionary France has been decisively influenced by concepts drawn from modernization theory. Chief among these is the notion that since the end of the eighteenth century progressive social and economic elites in Paris have served as the historical motor behind fundamental changes that slowly but steadily transformed traditional rural society in provincial France. Thus, the way for its entry into the modern world was prepared through the diffusion of urban values. However much they may differ on the details of the process, scholars as widely disparate as Charles Tilly, Suzanne Berger, Eugen Weber, Maurice Agulhon, Ted Margadant, P. M. Jones, and Peter Sahlin—inspired by the theoretical writings of Reinhard Bendix and Harold Deutsch, among others—agree that center-driven phenomena of urbanization, mass education, secularization, and modern forms of market organization linked to the development of industrial capitalism ultimately generated the idea of French national identity, which in turn was imposed by Paris on the periphery.

Moreover, following the lead of Jules Michelet in the nineteenth century, students of nation-building in modern France have usually viewed religion as an obstacle to national integration. Further taking their cue from Max Weber, they have generally regarded Catholicism as more a divisive than a nationally integrative force while in its ecclesiastical leadership they identified the leading opponents of the process of national identity formation in (especially republican) France. Finally, these scholars have seen in popular religiosity, above all in the western borderlands of the country, a phenomenon that has served historically as a vehicle for elite domination, political reaction, obscurantism, backward-looking traditionalism, but almost never as an expression of positive social cohesion.

Caroline Ford's excellent study of the relationship between religion, political acculturation, and the formation of national identity in Finistère persuasively challenges all of these long-entrenched historiographical shibboleths. Using a judicious mixture of printed and archival sources, she analyzes the process of French nation-building from the periphery and shows how the emergence of an indigenous social Catholic political movement firmly wedded to republican and democratic values served as a bridge between periphery and center and ultimately came to represent the former to the latter. In this process the role of a popularly recruited local clergy was crucial as its most adept members successfully challenged

elite control of local politics, carved out for social Catholicism in Finistère an ambiguous position between Left and Right, resisted religious policies of the centralized state in Paris, and organized modern and effective political campaigns around the defense of religion, Breton agriculture, the peasant family, and the region's distinctive linguistic culture. At the same time these progressive Catholic "political brokers" accepted the claims of the larger French nation to the region and through their good-faith participation in national politics helped bring to Breton villages a familiarized notion of republican France as they skillfully represented local interests and allegiances to the greater national community centered on Paris.

In so limited a space it is difficult to do justice to this densely argued volume that treats so well many important historiographical topics related to the process of nation-building in modern France: anti-clericalism and the 1902 resistance in Finistère to the secularizing policies of the Combes ministry, the politicization of women, the techniques of mass politics, the challenge of Breton autonomist and separatist groups to French hegemony, and the relationship of an antecedent local variety of democratic social Catholicism to the Paris-centered *Sillon* movement. But what truly distinguishes Ford's superb monograph on religion, politics, and French national identity in the provinces from most previous work in the field is that it needfully reminds us that the creation of national identity in modern France has been (and continues to be) a dynamic process continually in the making rather than the unilateral imposition of a fixed set of values and beliefs by Paris on the rest of the country.

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WHITNEY WALTON. *France and the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 240. \$40.00.

Whitney Walton's book is more important than its specialized title would indicate. It is an outstanding contribution to both economic and cultural history. She focuses on the persistence of hand manufacturing in France, traditionally attributed to inadequacies in raw materials, credit, transport, and communication, as well as the presence of a large agricultural population and a secretive entrepreneurial class. The English model of industrialization as inexorable progress toward greater efficiency at the expense of hand methods and the artisan class does not quite fit the French experience in which industrialization lagged in excess of rational explanation. To the traditional focus on production, Walton counterposes a new emphasis on consumption, an underinvestigated area of study. Although not discounting the traditional explanations for France's slow industrial-

ization, she demonstrates brilliantly that such seemingly rational decision-making processes operate in the service of a society's values, beliefs, and aspirations. In this sense her book has benefited from recent work in anthropology and sociology, especially that of Pierre Bourdieu.

In Walton's examination of the world of material culture in nineteenth-century France, she uses telling citations from literature as well as government reports to demonstrate that functional objects also delineated class status. The ascendant bourgeoisie adopted the taste of the *ancien-régime* aristocracy, inflecting it with its own standards of comfort and—necessary for more limited budgets—simplicity. Modern industrial innovations proved successful in France only insofar as the resultant objects could still convey class status; modern heating stoves, for example, were a failure because the fireplace, while inefficient for heating, was the centerpiece of the bourgeois salon, its mantel holding such class signifiers as the clock, vases, and candelabra. Electroplating, however, used for jewelry, tableware, and *objets d'art*, was acceptable because the new technology, while lowering the price of such objects, did not appreciably change their appearance. To explain why French manufacturers were slow to recognize the market potential of producing cheaper goods for the working classes, Walton points out that recognition of different classes' tastes meant recognizing their legitimacy; the bourgeois intention was hegemony for its own taste and class. Exclusive bourgeois control of taste and consumption, the signs of class distinction, was a form of political control.

Particularly insightful is Walton's analysis of the contradictions within the bourgeois class: its wealth dependent on modernism in industrialization and technology, but its status conveyed through traditionalism in the possession of hand-made objects redolent of the *ancien régime*. She attributes the uneasy resolution of this conflict to the development of gender roles, with the bourgeois wife identified with "good taste" and the decorative, the decoration of home and self increasingly considered her "natural" sphere. Although Walton's argument for the equality of gendered spheres of influence (his public and productive, hers private and decorative) is unconvincing—her own sources note that women worked for men's pleasure—her work nonetheless opens the question to fruitful further inquiry.

In a larger sense, one might investigate through the prism of gender French ambivalence toward the country's continued production of elegant and tasteful objects identified in the nineteenth century as "feminine," in contrast to the more "masculine" heavy industries supported by France's Anglo-Saxon neighbors. In this context, Walton might have mentioned that the French National Expositions of Industry (1798–1849) were marked by incessant official exhortations to abandon artisanal manufacture for mass production. It was only in connection with the French

defeat in heavy industry and its success in decorative art at the Great Exhibition of 1851 that the argument for taste and elegance as truly French was constructed as a fallback position. Her own critique, that modern scholarship has focused on production rather than consumption, on heavy industry but not on the decorative arts despite the latter's undeniable economic importance, might also be further investigated in terms of the gender bias still residing in scholarship.

Walton's conclusion, that the Great Exhibition resulted in an emphasis on small-scale hand production as a sound basis for economic growth and social stability, is debatable, for after 1851 France saw its export trade in decorative art objects steadily decline as a result of governmental reluctance to support artisanal manufacture. Even today, the Cité des Sciences et de l'Industrie is a national museum while the Musée des Arts Décoratifs is privately sponsored. Nonetheless, this study breaks new ground in so many areas that it should be required reading for all scholars interested in nineteenth-century material culture.

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ROGER MAGRAW. *A History of the French Working Class*. Volume 1, *The Age of Artisan Revolution, 1815–1871*; volume 2, *Workers and the Bourgeois Republic*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. xi, 301; 330. \$95.00 the set.

Roger Magraw begins this book with the observation that the decline of labor movements throughout the West has forced radical historians to question the "teleology which linked the rise of socialism to the forward march of an increasingly mature and class-conscious proletariat" (vol. 1, p. x). Some have even questioned the very concept of the "working class" itself, reducing it to a fictional construct, a product of discourses produced by bourgeois writers and worker intellectuals. Ill at ease with this postmodernist stance, Magraw brings to bear almost every recent study of French working-class history in a relentless search to discover whether and when French workers became an "authentic proletariat," as well as to find the "Loch Ness monster" of revolutionary consciousness (vol. 2, p. 313). Beyond surveying and synthesizing recent findings, these volumes offer a critical analysis of the major theories and hypotheses that have emerged from them.

The two volumes are divided into nine parts, organized according to the traditional political periodization of French history. Volume 1 begins with an analysis of work and politics in the artisan world from 1760 to 1815, and then proceeds with a meticulous account that debunks the two crude stereotypes linking militancy either to the growth of a factory proletariat or to the decline of artisans in the face of mechanization. Instead, Magraw emphasizes the un-

even development of French industrial capitalism that resulted in a kaleidoscopic, heterogeneous, and fragmented work force. After carefully sifting through the evidence and arguments of numerous historians, he concludes that revolutionary crises of 1789–94, 1830–34, and 1848–51 had more influence on worker consciousness than did the workplace itself or any structural changes that occurred therein. Popular activism became truly political only in the Second Republic, for the *démoc-socs* movement succeeded in transcending the narrow particulars of work and class to politicize a large variety of workers.

A key question for the Second Empire, especially as French industrialization expanded and as the grip of Bonapartism on workers loosened, was whether the labor movement would become autonomous in its challenge to the regime or assume a position subordinate to bourgeois republicans. The answer varied by locale and industry; in general workers did become subordinate in much of provincial France, while those in Paris manifested a more independent neo-Jacobin patriotism. After 1870, new economic structures of the second industrial revolution, the Great Depression, and the new opportunities that republicanism afforded for unionization and party politics meant a whole new era for worker culture and consciousness.

Volume 2 resumes the narrative with a discussion of whether the bourgeois Third Republic succeeded in winning the allegiance of workers prior to 1914. Magraw concedes that the collapse of socialist internationalism at the outbreak of World War I confirmed that it had, and that militancy prior to the war had represented only a minority of workers. But after examining in detail factors that mitigated the development of a revolutionary consciousness, Magraw argues that worker frustration was far too deep-seated and bitter for the thesis of integration to be taken at face value, and it therefore must remain provisional.

The impact of World War I on the French working class offers far more controversy than the topic of working-class patriotism at its outbreak. Most historians agree that the Great War marked another major turning point in labor history by making workers vulnerable to postwar communism. Here Magraw examines and rejects Annie Kriegel's thesis that French communism resulted from an accidental conjuncture of circumstances rather than from factors indigenous to the French worker experience. He points to several factors about workers' wartime experience that broadened their consciousness as a class and increased the appeal of communism. But worker militancy in the interwar years faced a number of insurmountable obstacles. Although major structural changes in work and a new industrial geography disrupted worker culture, Magraw again favors a political explanation for the nature of worker consciousness: conservative political hegemony just after the war, the schisms among the Left that resulted

from communism, and the "ghettoization" of the working class as the republican synthesis continued to be based on a compromise between the interests of large-scale capital and petty producers, were all factors that inhibited worker militancy. The strikes of 1936, however, provide evidence that a "new" proletariat had taken root, and even though it raised no "revolutionary" demands, it posed a real crisis for bourgeois hegemony. The established left-wing organizations deliberately chose "not to discern" this crisis, and thereby contributed to the failure of the Popular Front (vol. 2, p. 268).

Although Magraw ends his detailed account in 1939, a postscript brings the narrative from the Occupation through the 1970s. The "classic" proletariat, he argues, finally reached its apex in the postwar era with more deeply rooted communities and a marked "workerist" culture. That culture, however, began to disintegrate in the 1960s for reasons recurrent in this volume: an influx of migrant and women workers to the labor force disrupted its homogeneity. But perhaps more important, deindustrialization and automation undermined worker culture and caused the younger generation to try to escape from the industrial world.

Magraw succeeds in rooting his explanation of labor militancy in a highly complex interaction of workplace, culture, and politics. An ironic paradox emerges in his argument, bringing him back full circle to the postmodernist queries: in breaking the link between structural change and revolutionary consciousness, he stresses working-class diversity, incorporating those groups traditionally left out of the labor movement and its history. But this very diversity continually undermined revolutionary consciousness. And, finally, as two million industrial jobs disappeared in France between 1975 and 1987, Magraw suggests that it might be "time to say farewell to the working class" and laments the tragic possibility that labor movement values such as concern for social justice and equality might die with it (vol. 2, p. 314). Throughout this work, Magraw readily acknowledges that the labor movement was itself exclusionary in its effort to institutionalize those presumably universal humanistic values.

This excellent book performs an important service for accomplished scholars as well as for neophytes of working-class history in its largely successful effort to synthesize an enormous number of studies, resolve areas of paradox and contradiction, and suggest paths for future research. Yet an excessive editorial sloppiness that has consequences beyond minor irritation limits its usefulness. Textual and bibliographical references contain misspelled names of authors, mistitled works, and, in at least one case, a reference with no title. The text itself also contains an astounding number of spelling and grammatical errors in both French and English that sometimes make sentences incomprehensible. That such an important book as this—one that should be read by anyone

interested in working-class or French social history—should be so horribly edited is especially unfortunate.

ELINOR ACCAMPO

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ANN F. LA BERGE. *Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth-Century French Public Health Movement*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 376. \$69.95.

The public health crusade of the last century owed its beginnings to hygienists of many nations, but those of Restoration France and the July Monarchy led the way, providing a theory and mode of inquiry that inspired the rest of the world. Drawing on the humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment, French reformers set out to document the social basis of disease, concentrating on urban life and the new industrialization. They monitored hospitals and prisons, inspected mills and factories, and produced a series of statistical reports that measured morbidity and mortality rates within the most notorious industries, from cotton, silk, and tobacco to explosives and phosphorous matches.

It is this community of hygienists, led by Louis-René Villermé and Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, that is the focus of Ann F. La Berge's book. The author has been able to draw on a wealth of contemporary reports, most dealing with the city of Paris, which served as the laboratory for the new breed of sanitary crusader. Although all of them hoped to make the study of hygiene a scientific discipline, they evinced a deep split along ideological lines, as seen in the conflict between Villermé's liberal creed and the statist, regulatory impulses of Parent-Duchâtelet. As La Berge shows, proponents of the latter eventually gained the upper hand; because they regarded poverty as the root of all disease, they tended to be more extreme in their claims than champions of either miasmatic or contagionist theories, insisting that almost anything in the environment was suspect and that all walks of life should hence be "medicalized and moralized" for the sake of health and social order (p. 316).

La Berge does an especially good job in describing the work of the Paris health council. The reader is introduced to the realities of nineteenth-century urban life, from the technical problems involved in scouring sewers to the daunting task of monitoring the horse-butcher trades and cleaning up dumps, like the infamous one at Montfaucon, whose odors told travelers they were nearing the capital. In their battle against these evils, the Paris reformers could boast a few gains, such as improved cleanliness in public establishments and a more efficient removal of filth, the latter made possible by a threefold increase in the water supply and a fivefold increase in sewer mileage. On balance, however, the reformers failed to achieve any lasting legislative triumphs. Moreover,

none could offer any solutions to the occupational disorders they studied, except to preach that the growth of capitalism would gradually erase the poverty causing them. In the end, La Berge says, the contributions of the hygienists remained "theoretical and institutional" (p. 318).

La Berge's book is a welcome addition to a growing literature on the history of health and welfare in France. This is not to say that it is without flaws. Many of the details need condensing and synthesizing, and although some attention is given to provincial health councils, the heavy focus on Paris makes assessment of regional issues difficult. Of greater significance is the need for a clearer linking of politics and health reform. La Berge faults a number of forces that contributed to the movement's failure, from the inability of hygienists to sway the monied interests to a certain repeated but undefined "cultural tradition of uncleanness" (p. 192). What this was and how it related to contemporary struggles or class interests is not always evident. As the book suggests, however, poor hygiene and resistance to bathing among the urban poor may have had less to do with cultural attitudes than with municipal politics and the greed of property owners, who opposed the taxes needed to provision the cities with the abundant supplies of water that later proved capable of altering working-class habits.

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RONALD GOSSELIN. *Les almanachs républicains: Traditions révolutionnaires et culture politique des masses populaires de Paris (1840-1851)*. (Chemins de la mémoire.) Paris: L'Harmattan or Presses de l'Université Laval, Sainte-Foy, Canada. 1992. Pp. 329. \$39.00.

If memory flows like a river through time, then Ronald Gosselin is an aquatic engineer, surveying French republicanism from its wellsprings in the revolution through the countercurrents of the nineteenth century. This study of republican almanacs in Paris, 1840-51, uses a new source to test old assumptions. The almanacs, according to Gosselin, reminded Parisian artisans of their revolutionary republican heritage, stirred them to revolution in 1848, and helped to implant the ideals that would inspire the Communards of 1871.

Gosselin tells a clear, logical story. He writes that the republican almanacs were started in 1840, after the failure of the republican plots in 1839, in order to spread republican ideas among the masses. They were cheap, easy to read, and plentiful, with altogether more than three million copies published per year. They resembled traditional almanacs, which were often the only books that working-class people owned. Interspersed among the traditional calendars and recipes were woodcuts of republican symbols,

political songs, and Plutarchian tales of revolutionary heroes.

Gosselin hangs his analysis of the almanacs onto a Marxist framework, and it generally (but not always) bears the weight. The earliest almanacs, he says, were bourgeois: they admired the Girondin republican tradition and wanted only political reforms. Then, after July 1843, the petite bourgeoisie and a few artisans began to produce radical almanacs that called for social as well as political changes and that idealized the Jacobins and Maximilian Robespierre (pp. 65-73). These differences of class and ideology were exacerbated by the revolution of February 1848, which brought the moderate republicans to power. They resisted radical demands for guaranteed jobs and for government loans to artisans that would enable them to buy out their employers and thus take over the means of production. Moderates and radicals both used almanacs to win popular support.

By summer 1849 the moderate republicans were out of power. They joined with the Left, and their almanacs began to advocate socialist reforms. This new alliance won the Parisian elections of 1850 and set its sights on the elections of 1852, but both the election campaign and the almanacs ended with Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's coup d'état of December 2, 1851. Nevertheless the almanacs—along with clubs, newspapers, *goguettes* (singing societies), and secret societies—had spread republican ideas among the masses and carried the current of republican memory into the nineteenth century.

Gosselin's analysis is logical and well-organized. This is its strength and its weakness. He claims that the republican almanacs began after the failure of the republican plots of 1839, but several began to publish in 1836 and 1837, a fact he does not mention or explain. More importantly, his two-dimensional Left-to-Right political spectrum fails to deal with multidimensional French politics. Gosselin largely ignores the feminism of the *Almanach des femmes*. He lumps socialists in with the republican Left, yet the Fourierist *Almanach phalanstérien*, for example, was not republican during the July Monarchy.

Gosselin's greatest problem is his Marxist assumption that people's social origins determine their politics. He identifies Alexis de Tocqueville as a legitimist. Tocqueville, although a noble, was no legitimist. Not all workers were democratic socialists. According to Sharon Brown Watkins, only seven of the twenty-three working-class deputies elected to the National Assembly in 1848 voted with the democratic socialist Mountain ("The Working Class Deputies in the French Constituent Assembly, May 4, 1848-May 26, 1849," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina [1970]). Bernard Ménager has shown that it was Bonaparte, and not the Girondins or Robespierre, whom the people remembered, and Ménager's thesis is borne out by the presidential elections of 1848 and by Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's enduring popularity (*Les Napoléon du peuple* [1988]).

Gosselin's book brings structure and focus to events that were unstructured and fuzzy. More reading would give this fine young historian a wider view and greater subtlety in dealing with a people whom Karl Marx did not understand but the Bonapartes did.

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PETER MCPHEE. *The Politics of Rural Life: Political Mobilization in the French Countryside, 1846–1852*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 310. \$69.00.

What do peasants want? The so-called "apogee" or "Golden Age" of the French peasantry occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. The population of rural France would never again attain the levels reached in the 1850s, after which peasants abandoned the countryside for the towns and cities in a process known as the rural exodus. But for decades beyond, the preponderant weight of the French population would remain in the countryside. Politicians knew this. Anyone wanting to come to power according to the rules of adult male suffrage had to reckon with the riddle of peasant opinion.

The same economic crisis that ended the peasant "Golden Age" created the conditions for the successful revolution of February 1848 and the establishment of the Second Republic (1848–51). The struggle to represent public opinion, most of it inevitably rural, had begun long after the failure of the Restoration. French Legitimists (and many Orléanists) thought that *la France profonde* still believed in kings. Republicans, for their part, necessarily held a faith in a peasant republic. Peter McPhee argues that many peasants wanted a kind of democratic socialism.

For such an argument to be persuasive, it must be squared with certain features in the brief history of the Second Republic: the moderate republican majority elected in April 1848 with peasant votes; peasant quiescence during the bloody repression of the exasperated and radicalized Parisian workers during the June Days; overwhelming peasant support for Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte in the presidential elections of December 1848 and beyond. According to McPhee, the lack of a secret ballot and the choice of Easter Sunday for the April elections allowed rural notables to exercise a moderating influence on peasant voters. In the December presidential elections, peasants did not consistently vote for Louis-Napoléon, McPhee argues (here he draws on his vast knowledge of the literature and the terrain). Insofar as they did, he points out, Louis-Napoléon was often as well known for his quasi-socialist ideas as for his famous uncle (p. 121) and he embodied opposition to the forty-five centimes tax (p. 135). As for the June Days, peasant apathy has been overstated. In some areas there was an urban-rural relay of the revolt, just as there had been in July 1789.

Peasant socialism, McPhee argues, was "associationist." It included support for greater access to land and redistribution of the tax burden (p. 129). McPhee has drawn on his own research in the Midi as well as an impressive grasp of the secondary literature to argue that French peasants supported this brand of democratic socialism and sought to secure it through insurrection in 1851 (p. 240). The peasantry's subsequent plebiscitary validation of the authoritarian Bonapartist regime must be placed within the context of the failure of the 1851 insurrection and the systematic state terror that followed. In the long run, according to McPhee, the decline of socialism in rural France was linked to the decline of its supporters. This included marginal peasants and agricultural laborers, those most dependent on traditional forms of rural collectivism but also those who would be the first victims of the rural exodus.

McPhee writes with energy and passion. His construction of the peasant perspective as being largely socialist during the Second Republic must be placed alongside other constructions at least as compelling. Maurice Agulhon (supported by Yves-Marie Bercé and Ted Margadant) has argued that the Second Republic was the point when French peasants acquired a sense that the republic and the rule of law provided the best means to impose limits on Paris. More recently Bernard Ménéger and Alain Corbin have argued that peasant political logic remained brutally simple in the 1850s. Republican politicians discredited themselves in 1848 with high taxes and high salaries, so peasants chose Louis-Napoléon. Why? Because "it's better to fatten one pig than to feed five." McPhee's book can be read as an extended critique of (and highly recommended introduction to) the historiography of 1848.

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STEVEN D. KALE. *Legitimism and the Reconstruction of French Society 1852–1883*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 374. \$42.50.

The title of Steven D. Kale's account of three decades of French Legitimism is ambiguous enough to be misleading. His detailed study of the party's electoral foundations, intellectual preoccupations, and political fortunes reveals that the Legitimists' aspirations to reconstruct French society remained almost entirely unfulfilled. This record of unrelieved failure does not absolve us from interest in the party. Thanks to the work of David Higgs, Robert Locke, and René Rémond, among others, no serious student of nineteenth-century France can stereotype them, as Kale contends we still tend to do, as "quaint antiques or dangerous historical misfits" (p. 2). After all, their failure was an important factor in the consolidation of the Third Republic, although not all recent historians would agree with Kale that this consolidation pre-

cluded the emergence of a conservative Republican "rye and iron coalition" of landowners and industrialists such as emerged in Germany (p. xvii). But is the role of the Comte de Chambord as the George Washington of the Third Republic (as Adolphe Thiers derisively noted) sufficient reason for a new book about his followers?

Kale argues persuasively that both his chronological focus on the middle decades of the century and his insights into the Legitimists' ideology are innovations that justify his book. The period between the coup d'état of 1851 and Chambord's death in 1883, he maintains, was France's "crossroads of modernity" (p. 84), compelling the Legitimists to devise strategies to cope with accelerating political and economic change: from the *régime censitaire* to universal suffrage, from an overwhelmingly rural to an industrializing and urbanizing society. Although it could be argued that economic development under the July Monarchy weakens Kale's justification for omitting Legitimism's first twenty-one years, the decades from the 1850s to the 1870s were crucial. Because the cycle of revolutions and coups before 1850 had undermined all of France's earlier political traditions, Kale suggests, the Legitimists could not simply hark back to the *ancien régime* for inspiration. Instead they were compelled to fashion a political tradition that owed more to the realities of the nineteenth century than to irrelevant memories of earlier epochs.

Kale is at his most original in the second and by far the longest section of the book, "The Ideological Reconstruction of Royalist France," in which he examines Legitimist ideas on subjects ranging from governmental decentralization to the rural exodus in the light of this insight. In the comparatively brief first section devoted to the social origins and position of Legitimist politicians and to the party's electoral geography, he offers readers well acquainted with the period few surprises. Legitimist politicians, like most others of the time, were *notables*, deriving most but not all of their income from landowning. They were distinguished from other groups only by a higher incidence of *noms à particule*. Impressionistically comparing political and social data provided in some twenty maps, Kale finds that the regional distribution of Legitimist voters correlates best with regions of counterrevolution, former *pays d'état*, departments where *patois* still prevailed, and, least surprising of all, with those parts of France whose populations were still most devoutly Catholic.

There are also few surprises in the third part of the book dealing with the period after 1870 when Legitimist hopes finally collapsed. Kale surely exaggerates when he declares that Chambord's motives for insisting on the old Bourbon white flag, thus precluding a possible restoration in 1873, "remain shrouded in mystery" (p. 265). As many historians have long recognized, Chambord made his principled reasons for rejecting an Orleanist-inspired restoration under the tricolor quite clear. And we could have surmised,

had we not already known, that a party that had uneasily juxtaposed liberals and ultras ever since the Restoration of 1815 would scatter in many directions—to Boulangisme, to the *Ralliement*, to Albert de Mun's social Catholicism—at Chambord's death.

Thus, the chief interest of Kale's work is to be found in his treatment of the development of Legitimist ideas. His exhaustive research, especially in printed primary sources, allows him to demonstrate convincingly that Legitimist political and social thought amounted to more than mere nostalgia. Sometimes the party was quite topical and penetrating, recognizing, for example, how the fiscal policies of the Second Empire were undermining rural society by transferring wealth from the countryside to the cities.

Often, however, as Kale admits, the ideas that the Legitimists developed were self-serving, intended above all to rationalize their own advantage. Legitimists thus championed the decentralization of government in France because the Jacobin-Bonapartist system that dominated the country from Paris threatened their control over the local societies in which they lived.

Legitimist doctrine was devised to preserve a hierarchical French society that was already disappearing during the period. Kale is therefore trying too hard to give contemporary relevance to his study when he concludes with the debatable proposition that "Neither Charles de Gaulle nor Valéry Giscard d'Estaing would have rejected the Legitimists' critique of socialism or their preference for a government run by a natural elite of wealth, talent, and education" (p. 330). As a study of rightist politics in the nineteenth century, his book merits the attention of scholars interested in the political struggles of France's first generation under universal suffrage.

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KATHERINE FISCHER TAYLOR. *In the Theater of Criminal Justice: The Palais de Justice in Second Empire Paris*. (The Princeton Series in Nineteenth-Century Art, Culture, and Society.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 161. \$35.00.

In this handsomely produced volume, Katherine Fischer Taylor presents a cultural history of the new Palais de Justice, which was completed in 1868 and was the site of some of the capital's most dramatic criminal trials during the Third Republic. Taylor is part of a new generation of art historians committed to analyzing art and architecture in their wider historical and cultural setting, a development that should be welcomed by historians who have found little nourishment in the barren hermeneutics of traditional art history. Her succinct text is accompanied by sixty useful illustrations and by copious notes

that reveal the breadth of her historical and legal reading for this project.

There are two kinds of contributions that cultural historians of art can make to historical understanding. They can illuminate the meaning that artworks and architecture had for contemporaries by reading them in historical context, and they can turn their interpretive gestalt toward the rites and practices of historical societies, scanning them as they would a painting or a building for their wider cultural implications. In my opinion, Taylor does better at this second task than in her discussion of the architecture of the Palais de Justice, in which her conclusions are ambiguous and her lucid prose blurred by some problematic speculations.

Taylor's most solid achievement is to address a contested issue about the way French justice functioned in the nineteenth century. In his book *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Michel Foucault provided a powerful contrast between an Old Regime system that punished with exemplary severity and a modern penal order that silently "corrected" the inner personality with the aid of the "disciplines" of criminology and psychiatry. Taylor rightly questions Foucault's exclusive emphasis on the invisible aspects of penalty and asks us to consider the oral and performative aspects of the justice system, particularly the theatrical quality of the criminal assizes courts. She asks us to consider the importance of judicial procedure, as opposed to written and statutory law, on account of its impact on the presentation of testimony and evidence and on the conduct of trials in the space of the modern courtroom. As she convincingly argues, it was precisely because laws were textual and punishment was invisible that the process of judging crimes assumed the burden of publicity and theatricality in modern criminal justice. How else could the majesty, impartiality, and mercy of the law be dramatized in an urban society that thrived on the power of image and spectacle?

Taylor dissects the evolution of modern French criminal procedure by considering the trial in 1869 of the notorious mass murderer Jean-Baptiste Troppman, which was one of the first to be held in the criminal chamber of the new Palais de Justice. She demonstrates with great subtlety the way that the trial and the organization of the courtroom expressed the balance between the inquisitorial features of the Old Regime and the more accusatorial ones introduced in the Napoleonic era. She also shows how the iconographic, architectural, and procedural changes that took place over the century, in particular between the authoritarian Second Empire and the more libertarian Third Republic, reflected an evolution toward the rights of the defendant and the primacy of the jury.

Taylor is also sensitive in her account of criminal trials to the play of class and gender representations. In procedural terms juries were the indulgent "feminine" element in an otherwise severe "masculine" judicial order, and spectator seating arrangements

recapitulated the class order of the larger society. The deftness of Taylor's historical treatment of trial performance does not prepare the reader for her vague analysis of the architectural details of the Palais de Justice itself. She strains to find meaning in Louis Duc's highly eclectic architectural design, which muddles the clarity of her leading arguments. The critic in Taylor takes command over the historian only at the end of a very interesting book.

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PHILIPPE HAMON. *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century France*. Translated by KATIA SAINSON-FRANK and LISA MAGUIRE. Foreword by RICHARD SIEBURTH. (The New Historicism, Studies in Cultural Poetics, number 20.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 218. \$30.00.

For at least the last three decades intellectual historians have sought, at a minimum, to have some comprehension of literary criticism's increasing attention to semiotics and structuralism. This concern has been shared in particular by historians of French culture. With this book, Philippe Hamon adds to the analytical dimensions of the critical inquiries historians must undertake. He begins part 1, "Text and Architecture," by observing that literature, particularly French, "depends on other arts to define itself" (p. 17). And he insists that serious discourse and historical understanding must draw on the terms and expressions particular to architecture. Borrowing from Marcel Proust, he proposes that, beyond considerations of distances and space, architecture constitutes and regulates the coming together of the public and the private. For all cultures and particularly that of nineteenth-century France, he proposes that: "Every culture therefore tends to link inextricably together the crises that beset the areas of the imaginary, of theory and of architecture" (p. 19).

Architecture has for Hamon the explicit task of representing the affirmation of the present, and equally the responsibility of protecting the memory of the past. His extensive search through the literature, and in particular the novels of nineteenth-century France, makes it possible for him to present a remarkable gathering of novelists and poets who accented architecture's place in comprehending a nation's expectations and aesthetic sensibilities. In one sense Hamon's book is a collection of the rich contributions of authors addressing architecture's salvific role in rescuing urban France from the prospect of cities that are chronic disasters. One example is Joris Karl Huysmans's testimony in the journal *L'Art moderne* of 1889 (p. 65): "To embellish this dreadful Paris that we owe to modern builders, shouldn't we . . . plant here and there a few ruins, burn down the Bourse, the Madeleine, or the Ministry of War, or the Church

of Saint-Xavier?" Perhaps it is not surprising that ten years later, following a retreat in a Trappist monastery, Huysmans joined the *Sûreté*.

Historians of French consciousness and sensibilities will rejoice in Hamon's supporting illustrations of his themes drawn from the great poets and writers of nineteenth-century France. To this end he summons as his witnesses, among others, Charles Baudelaire, Gustave Flaubert, and Stéphane Mallarmé. The evidence exemplifies Hamon's achievement and the value of his original representation of France's eternal search for its identity.

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GUY PEDRONCINI *et al.* *Histoire militaire de la France*. Volume 3, *De 1871 à 1940*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1992. Pp. 522. 550 fr.

André Corvisier, the dean of French military historians, is directing the writing of a four-volume semiofficial military history of France. Each volume is a collaborative effort with contributions from leading French scholars, thus providing an excellent summary of the current state of French military history. This, the third volume of the series, covers the period from the end of the Franco-Prussian War to the collapse of the Third Republic. It is edited by Guy Pedroncini, an acknowledged expert on World War I and a leading biographer of Marshal Pétain. Other contributors include Corvisier, Claude Carlier, Henri Dutailly, Jean-Charles Jauffret, Philippe Masson, Jules Maurin, and Francine Roussane, all experts on late-nineteenth and twentieth-century military history. The book does not focus on tactics or operations, nor does it dwell at length on military strategy. Rather, as those familiar with Corvisier's work will readily understand, the series in general and volume 3 in particular deal primarily with the issues surrounding the complex relationship between war and society.

The authors discuss how the Third Republic, emerging from the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War, generated an army that, whatever its faults, responded effectively to the requirements of World War I and played a major role in allied victory. At a terrible price, France maintained a huge army on the Western Front, fought in peripheral campaigns, and rapidly developed its air and armored capabilities. The magnitude of the republic's industrial effort, despite the occupation of important economic assets by the Germans, was a critical element in allied success. American divisions in France, for example, frequently employed French tanks, artillery, aircraft, and even machine guns.

France emerged from World War I triumphant but physically and spiritually exhausted. Consequently, the nation was at first unwilling and then unable to

cope effectively with the threat of revived German power. The collapse of 1940 was, according to the authors, determined by the nation's unwillingness and inability to respond effectively to changes in its post-Versailles security environment.

The authors are perhaps too hard on both the republic and its armed forces. The Vichy regime was a result, not a cause of defeat. The army, though defeated, fought well in May 1940. Its subsequent collapse in June was a function of the initial defeats on the Meuse. The air force also gave a good account of itself. A number of British and American scholars believe that command decisions both French and German played a significant role in the French catastrophe and that these decisions were as important in producing the debacle as any profound structural problems that beset the nation and the armed forces. There is room for additional exploration of the origins and conduct of the 1940 campaign.

The editor has supplied an extensive and useful bibliography. The majority of the works listed are by French authors, but a number of British and American scholars are included. Unfortunately, several significant studies, including books by Douglas Porch (*The March to the Marne: The French Army, 1871-1914* [1981]), P. C. Bankiwitz (*Maxime Weygand and Civil-Military Relations in Modern France* [1967]), and Martin Alexander's recent biography of Maurice Gamelin (*The Republic in Danger* [1992]), were not mentioned.

Despite these minor quibbles, this volume achieves what it set out to do. It provides a detailed study of the military experience of the French nation during the Third Republic. It will form an essential starting point for future scholarly studies of a critical historical period.

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ALAIN DROUARD. *Une inconnue des sciences sociales: La Fondation Alexis Carrel, 1941-1945*. (Collections de l'Institut National d'Études Démographiques.) Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. 1992. Pp. xxi, 552. 210 fr.

The histories of two complex and controversial topics—eugenics and the administrative setting of France's collaborationist Vichy regime—come together in this important and richly documented monograph on the Fondation pour l'Étude des Problèmes Humains, in existence from 1941 to 1945. Within the general framework of a study of the relationship between this wartime state agency and the larger history of the social sciences in France, especially after 1945, Alain Drouard sheds new light on the functioning of a Vichy creation and the thought and career of its regent, Dr. Alexis Carrel.

Carrel (1873-1944) is best known as the author of *Man the Unknown* (*L'homme, cet inconnu* [1935]), which eventually sold more than one million copies on both

sides of the Atlantic. Born into the Catholic bourgeoisie of Lyon and schooled in medicine in France, Carrel spent most of his professional life in the United States, working from 1906 to 1939 for the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. A Nobel Prize in 1912 for his technique for suturing blood vessels brought him international recognition. As compulsory retirement neared, Carrel had already embarked on a second career as publicist for the eugenic ideas about human regeneration presented in his best seller. Wishing to develop a new science of man, he sought funding to create an American think tank devoted to this endeavor, the subject of at least twenty plans drafted by him between 1935 and 1939.

Drouard contends that Carrel was more influenced by American than European eugenicists, and he documents this conclusion with many citations from the large Carrel collection at Georgetown University. He also underscores the linkage between pre-Nazi-era eugenicists and well-meaning liberal reformers, reinforcing the findings of such other scholars as Greta Jones, William Schneider, and Mark Haller. Carrel approved of American antiscegenation laws and the sterilization laws enacted by more than twenty American states as well as by the Nazis. He recognized, however, that such negative eugenic measures drew more opposition in France from both traditional Catholics and anticlerical republicans seeking remedies for depopulation, and so he worded recommendations more cautiously in the French version of his book. His presentation to the French stressed positive eugenic steps, encouraging individuals to improve the quality as well as quantity of the population by selecting physically fit mates.

In the end, the funds and institutional setting to elaborate a new science of man came from the authoritarian Vichy regime. During Carrel's second wartime trip to France as part of a Red Cross medical relief effort, influential friends persuaded him to stay and contribute to Marshal Pétain's program of national regeneration. He endorsed Vichy's explanation that defeat had been caused by many past French sins, including misguided politics, deviation from traditional religious values, and a low birthrate. Beginning with a budget nearly as large as that of the late Third Republic's creation, the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the foundation headed by Carrel in 1943 had 263 full-time employees.

Although the foundation could claim two eugenicist successes—the requirement of a prenuptial certificate of health and the maintenance of a health record for each schoolchild—Drouard argues convincingly that its primary focus was not eugenics but rather more traditional concerns about public health. At a time when French universities lagged well behind their American counterparts in support for the social sciences, the foundation was most important, Drouard concludes, for bringing together personnel from medical, technical, and statistical backgrounds and for launching collaborative projects using sophis-

ticated survey and sampling methods to study such issues as schoolchildren's achievement, workers' health, and the causes of depopulation. To buttress this apolitical thesis, Drouard provides nearly two hundred pages of appendixes reproducing some of Carrel's prewar plans for a research institute and many Vichy-era documents.

Like other Vichy institutions, the foundation also contributed personnel to postwar agencies; its immediate heir was the Institut National d'Études Démographiques. Its alumni include such prominent social scientists, statisticians, and doctors as Jean Stoetzel, Alain Girard, Jean Sutter, André Gros, Louis Chevalier, and Françoise Dolto. Drouard cannot indicate how many at the foundation once largely embraced Vichy's antidemocratic ideals, although he clearly so labels Carrel, Carrel's archrival François Perroux, and some others. He also identifies three resisters, including Sutter. In the end, Drouard convinces the reader that both Carrel and his foundation defy simple ideological characterizations.

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TONY JUDT. *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. x, 348. \$30.00.

This volume by Tony Judt, "an essay on intellectual irresponsibility" (p. 11), has already been extensively reviewed in mass-circulation journals, including a laudatory front-page review in the *New York Times Book Review*. It was published simultaneously in French and reviewed in *Le Monde* in November 1992 by Jean-François Sirinelli, a respected professional historian. Sirinelli believed that the book placed in perspective the fellow-traveling engagement of a number of eminent French intellectuals after the Liberation, as "a sort of breakdown of the Enlightenment [*panne des Lumières*] at the heart of our century." Sirinelli went on to praise Judt's book as "surely one of the most intelligent and stimulating recent works analyzing certain of [the French] national fevers of the second half of this century."

Judt has stated in a public lecture that he was genuinely surprised by the interest his fairly specialized book generated, because he assumed it would only be read by a small number of scholars. In my judgment, at least, the media attention is merited. Judt is an astute diagnostician, argues elegantly and forcefully, has the gift for the telling citation, and does not misuse his evidence. The book is reasonably structured, offering a broad account of the history of the intellectual class in France, before looking in more detail at the condition of the French intellectual community toward the end of the Third Republic, in order to explain its moral equivocations and inconsistencies during the Fourth Republic.

Judt admittedly makes no pretense at neutrality,

although he does not excuse himself from "the obligation to be accurate" (p. 8). His book is a true polemic, a powerful and microscopic examination of the imperfections of a recent past. It is as angry and forceful as was Paul Nizan's *Les chiens de garde* (1932), from the opposite end of the political spectrum. In fact, Judt sometimes reminds me of Nizan, who angrily resigned from the French Communist Party in 1939 in protest over the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Had Nizan survived World War II and moved to the Right politically, he might have denounced Jean-Paul Sartre, Emmanuel Mounier, Jean-Marie Domenach, Simone de Beauvoir, and other fellow-travelers of the 1944–56 period—Judt's principal targets—as a particularly noxious new breed of watchdogs.

This book deserves to be read carefully and as dispassionately as possible by specialists in twentieth-century French cultural and intellectual history. Judt also has much to say that will be of interest and enlightenment to scholars of contemporary French literature, and to Sovietologists, particularly those concentrating on the Stalinist period. He prods us to reconsider and be more careful in our judgments of engaged intellectuals, especially Sartre, who have been admired as exemplars of ethical involvement in the historical process, on the side of a broadly conceived Justice.

Judt concentrates primarily on the political writings of certain famous French intellectuals who were not actual Communist Party members, examining questions of East-West relations, Stalinism, the Cold War, and conditions in the Soviet Union and its satellites during the crucial twelve-year period prior to the explosive developments of 1956. Nikita Khrushchev's "secret" speech to the Twentieth Party Congress and the Soviet reconquest of Hungary marked the beginning of disillusionment and withdrawal on the part of many intellectuals who had previously sympathized with at least the professed goals of international socialism.

These twelve key years were a period of "moral anesthesia" (p. 140) in Judt's view, a kind of "will to ignorance" (p. 158), a deliberate blindness on the part of French intellectuals, who should have known better. Judt admits that one can occasionally find "nourishing nuggets of moral revulsion" against Soviet praxis (p. 140). He never denies that writers like the leftist Catholic Emmanuel Mounier critiqued Stalinist purge trials, although he argues that such protests were hesitant, limited, and ineffective, and that generally the French intellectuals were weak and self-pitying when confronted with unimpeachable evidence of savage denials of elementary justice, such as during the 1952 Slánsky trials in Czechoslovakia.

Surely all historians of the modern period, given the vast amounts of material available to them, must be selective in the material they choose to examine. Perhaps Judt is somewhat more selective than is the norm, but it is impossible to evaluate that supposition here, beyond giving one or two examples. There are

passages, which Judt does not cite, wherein Sartre and others are stronger in their denunciations of slave labor camps in the Soviet Union, or more critical of Stalinism in general and its rather slavish regional branch, Le Parti Communiste Français. Among my favorite counter-examples to the many damning illustrations cited by Judt of passive accommodation on the part of the French intelligentsia to Stalinist dictates are Sartre's attack in 1947 on French communism as "a mystification" and his assertion, in the same year, that "Soviet Russia is breaking down [*en panne*]." Here we have a different "breakdown" than the one noted by Sirinelli in 1992, one that suggests that the past was not quite as imperfect as Judt would have us believe.

Judt is sharply critical of Julien Benda for his postwar departure from the idealist and ivory tower position that Benda himself had advocated in his famous *La Trahison des clercs* of 1927. (The third section of Judt's book is entitled "The Treason of the Intellectuals.") Judt relentlessly documents many of Benda's extraordinarily naive pro-Soviet statements. He does not, however, note that in 1946, within his chosen time frame, Benda joined with Sartre and the three intellectuals Judt most admires for their consistent and principled resistance to the philo-Stalinism of the vast majority of their peers, namely Raymond Aron, Albert Camus, and François Mauriac. They and others signed a public petition defending Nizan's memory against the attacks of Communist Party propagandists.

Given the undeniable power and importance of this book, one hopes that it will become the subject of extensive scholarly discussion, with Judt having the opportunity to respond.

DAVID L. SCHALK
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FRANCISCO FAJARDO SPINOLA. *Hechicería y brujería en Canarias en la Edad Moderna*. (Historia.) Las Palmas, Spain: Abildo Insular de Gran Canaria. 1992. Pp. 545.

Francisco Fajardo Spinola's extremely well-informed and pathbreaking investigation of the Inquisition's treatment of witchcraft in the Canary Islands significantly extends our knowledge of the Holy Office's remarkable record in this domain. His work constitutes a kind of sequel to Gustav Henningsen's well-known study of Basque witches and Inquisitors (*The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition* [1980]), using an even more peripheral region and equipped with a different type of inquisitorial documentation. Into this recently colonized archipelago King Ferdinand introduced the Holy Office in 1507. With few Judaizers to occupy them, the Canariot Inquisition began investigating illicit magic by the 1520s, and *hechiceras* or *brujas* appeared in every public *auto de fé* ever held in the islands.

Unlike mainland Spanish tribunals, they remained preoccupied by this problem for over two centuries, until 1740.

Fajardo's richest source consists of fifty-four *Libros de testificaciones*, records of original denunciations, preserved in unparalleled quantities for the Canary Island Inquisition. From 1499 to 1714, among 6,366 denunciations of all types, at least 2,808 were for illicit magic. After 1600 illicit magic accounted for over half of all accusations, rising to two-thirds by the early 1700s (p. 296). Fajardo's qualitative analysis reveals few discrepancies from standard European magic, such as the ubiquitous use of dolls (pp. 91–92) or bits of altar stones (pp. 147–49): at least 90 percent of the 500 ingredients, symbols, colors, numbers, and ceremonies found in Castilian trials for illicit magic reappear in the Canary Islands (p. 190). A few local peculiarities—spells cast with grains of *helecho* (pp. 117–19), divination by throwing *estaño* into the water (p. 199), or even African slaves using camel dung (p. 140)—enliven this tableau.

These *testificaciones* generated 200 full-scale inquisitorial trials, mostly between 1660 and 1740 (pp. 374–85), long after the famous crisis of Basque witchcraft in 1610–14. Canariot trials rarely involved *brujería*, except for three dozen accusations of vampirism, all before 1600 (pp. 226–32). The 1,245 Canariots accused of *hechicería* were over 90 percent female and frequently Africans, Muslims, or mulattos; among the Europeans accused, Portuguese outnumbered Spaniards (pp. 321–30). Multiple denunciations preceded inquisitorial trials after 1660, reaching 121 accusations against one suspect in 1673–74 (pp. 307–11).

Although the Holy Office's punishments were relatively mild, except for the case of a mulatto sent to the galleys in 1719, their prolonged cycle of investigations and public chastisements of such marginalized women after 1660 ultimately created situations that degenerated into virtual lynchings and mob violence. By 1691 a woman was stoned to death during a *vergüenza*; riots in 1718 caused the Inquisitors to annul another *vergüenza*; and in 1740, hundreds of masked vigilantes attacked a dozen accused *hechiceras* (pp. 470–72). Fajardo summarizes the conclusions of Canariot inquisitors in 1754, justifying their inactivity against the multiform superstitions of the archipelago: local officials refused to prosecute them, claiming it was the Holy Office's business, but the inquisitors lacked the money to keep *hechiceras* imprisoned; they had found by experience that public punishments of such women served only to improve their professional reputation or else risked ugly riots. They saw no other solution than to build a special prison or else export the problem to Spain, "where people are less credulous" (pp. 482–83). The Spanish Inquisition's campaigns against magic and witchcraft ended not with a noisy debate in 1610–14, but with a barely audible whimper in the Canaries more than a century later.

Apart from its exploitation of a fresh type of inquisitional source material, this monograph possesses the unusual merit of tracing the outlines of parallel trials for magic and *maleficium* by other judicial systems in the Canaries (pp. 415–62). Although unable to consult local diocesan archives (p. 75) and confined to two volumes from the local royal appellate court, Fajardo demonstrates on the one hand that episcopal investigations and trials for illicit magic preceded the Inquisition's activities in this domain (pp. 424–27), and on the other that seigneurial justice on the island of Lanzarote in 1577 used torture to create a potential witch hunt against nine suspects, one quickly snuffed out by vigorous inquisitional action (pp. 456–57). Except for its haphazard organization, Fajardo's work has many merits; any well-done regional monograph necessarily acquires more general significance.

WILLIAM MONTER
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MARTIN VAN GELDEREN. *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 332. \$59.95.

It is a matter of surprise to readers of this fine, important monograph to realize that there has been no full-length modern study of the political thought of the Dutch Revolt. For the revolt was accompanied by a torrential outpouring of polemical literature, exploring every aspect, constitutional, legal, and religious, of the uprising against Philip II; Martin Van Gelderen counts some 800 political treatises published in the period 1555–90 alone. Van Gelderen does an excellent job of bringing order to this great mass of writing and in the process does much to rescue it from the neglect and disparagement it has suffered.

Although the Dutch did not produce enduring classics like the French monarchomach tracts, Dutch resistance to Spain was informed by certain underlying principles and assumptions about society. The earliest writings justifying resistance articulated an intuitive trinity of values, with liberty as the crucial pivot, privileges (real or imaginary) as the constitutional guarantee of liberty, and the States (the Netherlands' principal representative institution) as the guardians of the privileges. But as the rebels moved toward a recognition that the breach with Philip was irreparable, classic principles of Protestant political thought were increasingly articulated, including a conditional view of sovereignty in which the States, taking the role of the inferior magistrate, accepted the prince as ruler in the name of the community.

This subtle blending of the new and the old, drawing on deep indigenous traditions of constitutionalism and civic consciousness, developed with such rapidity that neither the Act of Abdication of

1581 nor the *Apology* of William of Orange, the two seminal texts that marked the final breach with Philip, was particularly innovative, reiterating as they did a now-familiar view of the Dutch political order based on liberty, privileges, and the States. One of the most interesting parts of Van Gelderen's book deals with the relationship between this constitutional justification of resistance, and eventually independence, and the Calvinists' religious ideas.

Much of the initial opposition to Spanish rule undoubtedly arose from revulsion against religious persecution, but how far could such sentiments justify first violence, and then the imposition of an alternative religious order? In their own writings Calvinist ministers struggled somewhat unconvincingly to reconcile protestations of loyalty to the civil power with increasingly open resistance, an attempt effectively abandoned after the establishment of the rebel bulwark in Holland in 1572. Thereafter the key debate revolved around the church's claim to a privileged or exclusive status in the new state.

Van Gelderen remarks perceptively that freedom of conscience was generally accepted as axiomatic; given the origins of the state in resistance to religious persecution, it could hardly be otherwise. The question was whether this extended to the free expression of opinion (the argument of Dirck Coornhert and other thinkers with some distance from the Reformed hierarchy) or whether, as orthodox Calvinists maintained, true freedom of conscience was to live in Christ, which in practice implied adherence to the Reformed faith. In refusing to give ground on this question, the magistrates of Holland ensured a certain protection for religious minorities within the new state. In retrospect they can be seen to have won a decisive and, in terms of the future character of the Dutch Republic, defining victory.

To readers somewhat familiar with the mass of literature Van Gelderen has absorbed, this clear and thoughtful book is an impressive achievement, likely to remain for some time the standard work on the subject.

ANDREW PETTEGREE
University of St. Andrews

JENS CHRISTIAN V. JOHANSEN. *Da Djævelen var ude . . . : Trolddom i det 17. århundredes Danmark* [When the Devil Was Out . . . : Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century Denmark]. (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, number 129.) Odense, Denmark: Odense Universitetsforlag. 1991. Pp. 327. 248 KR.

The witch craze in early modern Europe and Scandinavia has been one of the most lively areas of recent historiography. Monographs on the trials in Finland, Sweden, and Norway were published some ten or twenty years ago. With his study of the Danish persecutions, Jens Christian V. Johansen almost com-

pletes the picture. His carefully argued investigation is based primarily on the well-preserved court records of northern Jutland. From the rest of the kingdom we are given only scattered impressions. This limitation is hopefully not too misleading. What we know from other areas within the realm substantiates the author's arguments.

The Jutland material indicates a strong upsurge of trials, a veritable witch craze, in the 1610s and 1620s. Johansen's explanation takes into account several contributing factors. Before the promulgation in 1617 of a new, more vigorous witchcraft statute, the Danish peasants were more inclined to settle minor cases of magical evildoing out of court. The new law was introduced at a moment of economic crisis with declining export prices. This made people focus their grievances on witches. In the period 1617–25 a purge took place with hundreds of trials. After all these witches had been executed, the supply of suspects was exhausted. As conditions favoring a new purge returned several years later, the legal opinion concerning witchcraft had changed so as to prevent further persecutions.

In spite of the general excitement around 1620, the accusations remained the traditional ones, mostly *maleficium* causing the death or sickness of men and animals. For this reason the wave of persecutions, although on a continental scale, cannot be compared to the great craze of the 1670s in neighboring Sweden and Finland.

In the late seventeenth century, the witch trials ended. Scattered cases in the countryside were suppressed when brought to higher courts. In 1686, Denmark carried through its final witchcraft legislation (which was later also applied to Norway and Iceland), an ordinance that all death sentences pronounced by the County Courts had to be appealed to the Supreme Court.

Johansen's book is an important and thorough contribution to the history of mentalities and legal institutions in early modern Scandinavia. There are a few minor blemishes. Some of the statistics (and the arguments based on them) are rather shaky. The decades around the turn of the sixteenth century are played down as a time of relative calm in contrast to the craze in the 1620s. This is, however, a mere projection backward of occasional evidence from only a few years. The impressive graph on page 41 is also defective. Such unnecessary errors are irritating in a work that has been in progress since 1976.

But on the whole the investigation is soundly based on extensive evidence. Johansen's conclusions are made with numerous references to recent international historiography. Denmark is placed in context in a useful and constructive way. It seems clear that northwestern Europe, including Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, the Netherlands, and England, constituted an area that never was seriously affected by the notion of diabolic magic, including compact

and the devil's sabbath. This happy failure still remains to be explained.

BENGT ANKARLOO
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JEAN STENGERS. *L'Action du roi en Belgique depuis 1831: Pouvoir et influence; Essai de typologie des modes d'action du roi.* (Document Duculot.) Paris: Éditions Duculot. 1992. Pp. 389.

For more than forty years, Jean Stengers has researched and written on modern Belgian political history, especially its monarchy. After more than a dozen major works, he has created the capstone of his life's work in this multidimensional and pluridisciplinary examination and analysis of the five men who have successively ruled the Belgians over the last 160 years. His achievement is noteworthy because it moves beyond national history in its discoveries about the nature, structure, and complexities of parliamentary monarchies.

Stengers, Belgium's most gifted modern historian, is not only a long-time student of the modern Belgian sovereign but is also interested in the interaction between the king and other power centers. He explores the influence and power exerted on ministers, parliamentarians, the public, foreigners, and, in his most eye-opening sections, on certain private elites like bankers and financiers. He asserts the declining roles of the three twentieth-century monarchs, after a thorough exposition of the weighty domestic and foreign policy initiatives of Leopold I and Leopold II from 1831 to 1906. His comparative portrait reveals an increasingly conservative but flexible, even accommodating, royal leader that emerged as a result of growing political and ethnic diversity and rivalry. The role of Belgian socialists and the Flemish movement in the crown-legislative history as explained by Stengers will be of great value to students of modern politics. Some of the most telling illustrations Stengers uses concern Leopold I's initial attempts to define kingly power, Leopold II's insistent private Congo policy, the struggles between Leopold III and political opposition over foreign security in the 1930s and his wartime conduct in the 1940s, and Baudouin's influential role in the recent political reorganization of the state.

Overall, Stengers's eminently sensible, elaborately documented, and creatively insightful work succeeds because he produces a detailed case study of the evolution of a constitutional monarchy. Rich in psychological and sociological perceptions, and written with a deft humanist's bent, the book deals mostly with the causes behind the increasing limitations on the Belgian throne. Although apparently focused on a few royal figures, this work achieves a much greater goal. It depicts the rich and varied essence of one Western state's experience with the rise of liberal

parliamentary institutions and the accompanying redefinition of kingship in the modern industrial era.

PIERRE-HENRI LAURENT
Tufts University

PETER SCHUSTER. *Das Frauenhaus: Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350–1600).* Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1992. Pp. 238. DM 48.

Municipal brothels suddenly appeared in numerous European cities during the mid-fourteenth century and disappeared almost as suddenly between the last quarter of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries. Recent studies by Leah Lydia Otis (*Prostitution in Medieval Society* [1985]) and Jacques Rossiaud (*Medieval Prostitution* [1988]) have examined these curious institutions in French and Italian cities. Among the older general histories of prostitution, however, only Iwan Bloch's *Die Prostitution* (1912–25) had much to say about the civic bordellos of medieval Germany. Even Bloch's treatment was necessarily rather sketchy, since it formed just part of a general history of European prostitution.

Peter Schuster's book provides the first detailed treatment of the brothels that more than a hundred German towns and cities owned and operated as civic amenities during the late Middle Ages. Schuster's exploration of municipal archives, both published and in manuscript, together with his analysis of their records, shows that these institutions commenced to appear in German-speaking regions in 1318, but only became common features of urban life there during the closing decades of the fourteenth century. Civic houses of prostitution multiplied rapidly in the middle decades of the fifteenth century. The frequency of new foundations slowed after the end of the 1460s, but new houses opened occasionally until the mid-sixteenth century. Beginning in the 1520s, however, numerous communities that had previously established public brothels began to close them. The pace of closings increased rapidly into the 1560s and 1570s, after which it slowly diminished. The closing of the last public *Frauenhaus* at Cologne in 1591 marked the end of an era. Henceforth German cities no longer furnished public premises for non-marital sexual relations. Instead, they began to criminalize conduct that hitherto they had tolerated and even exploited for profit.

Schuster's research demonstrates an intriguing geographical distribution of municipal brothels. Publicly sponsored houses of prostitution were largely concentrated in central and southern Germany, in the regions where High German dialects predominated. Although certainly not unknown in areas where Low German speech prevailed, municipal brothels were much scarcer in those regions.

Satisfactory explanations for these variances in distribution over time and space are not easy to come by. One possible explanation, which was first pro-

posed as early as the mid-sixteenth century, to account for the closing of public brothels in Italy and France postulates a link between brothel closing and the outbreak of the first pan-European syphilis epidemic between 1496 and 1499. Evidence that public health considerations motivated the closings in Germany, however, is scarce. Indeed, only two German cities cited the *mala frantzosa* as grounds for discontinuing their civic brothels. Other evidence indicates that patronage of city brothels, as shown by the revenues they produced, had begun to decline early in the 1490s, several years before syphilis became a serious problem.

Another potential explanation argues that the closing of public brothels, in Germany especially, must be linked somehow to the Reformation. This, too, falls short of explaining all the evidence. Schuster does show connections in several German cities between the arrival of reforming preachers and the closing of municipal brothels. Passages in the writings of Martin Luther and other reformers, moreover, denounce publicly sponsored prostitution as a moral blemish on German cities and on urban society. It is also clear that many reformers rejected the Augustinian argument that societies must tolerate prostitution as a lesser evil than the probable consequences of its abolition. Reforming zeal surely does explain some instances of sixteenth-century brothel closings, but at best it accounts for only part of the evidence. Neither the advent of syphilis nor the moral stance of sixteenth-century reformers, moreover, can account for the geographical patterns of municipal brothels that began to emerge in Germany well before 1400.

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RICHARD WUNDERLI. *Peasant Fires: The Drummer of Niklashausen*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 156. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$8.95.

During Easter 1476, a peasant youth by the name of Hans Behem made history in his native Niklashausen, a village in Franconia. Hans, who made a living tending animals and playing music at village festivals (hence the sobriquet "The Drummer"), claimed he had a vision in which the Virgin Mary called on him to preach repentance. As Hans's fame spread, thousands flocked to Niklashausen to hear his sermons, touch his person, and seek cures from the Virgin Mary. With the collaboration of the parish priest, Niklashausen became the site of a major pilgrimage. Church authorities took notice when the Drummer's sermons turned increasingly anticlerical and revolutionary. Fearful of a peasant uprising, the bishop of Würzburg arrested Hans on the night of July 12; the outraged pilgrims who tried to free him were dispersed after a brief skirmish at the bishop's castle in Würzburg. The prophet was burned, the pilgrimage church razed, and "The Drummer of Niklashausen"

passed into memory variously as an example of mass folk superstitions or the precursor of the Reformation and the Peasants' War.

The story of Niklashausen is well known, the few extant documents (all written from a hostile perspective) carefully studied. Both the narrative sources of the event and land records of Niklashausen have been collected and analyzed by Klaus Arnold in his meticulous and scholarly study *Niklashausen 1476* (1980).

Richard Wunderli sets out to write something different, "for people who are not professional historians." Dispensing with the usual scholarly apparatus, he has succeeded in producing a lively, imaginative, and accessible book, but at some cost to historical accuracy and scholarship. This volume is a wonderfully resourceful book. Interwoven with the main narrative of Hans Behem are descriptions of the sense of time in late-medieval Europe: its seasonal and liturgical rhythms, its interpenetration of the natural and the divine. He offers the reader generally reliable descriptions of medieval Christianity and peasant life. The history of the Holy Roman empire comes to life in these pages, as it would not in many dense monographs written by our German colleagues. Yet these achievements come at a price.

There are the usual quibbles from professional historians. Wunderli's interpretation of the peasant economy is too bleak. Recent studies argue against the picture of an increasingly overburdened peasantry, which was, in fact, becoming socially more differentiated due to the economic upswing at the end of the fifteenth century. Anticlerical and egalitarian sentiments were prevalent among self-sufficient landowning peasants and not poor, landless laborers, as Wunderli's analysis would suggest. Another misinterpretation was the fear of the Swiss expressed by the ruling authorities, in the aftermath of the suppression. It did not refer to fear of the Swiss mercenaries, but to the fear that the common people would "turn Swiss," that is, overthrow seigneurial lordship and establish communal self-government in the manner of Swiss peasants and townsfolk.

These quibbles, however, do not detract from the essential qualities of the book. More questionable, however, is the author's bold imagination. Two long passages (pp. 1-4, 91-101) on Hans's alleged vision and sermon are made up by Wunderli. To be sure, the author inserts disclaimers ("I made up most of that," "It exists only in my imagination") and reasons for his imaginings, albeit after the texts in question. As reasonable and captivating as these conjectures may be, they interpose the author's fantasy between authentic historicity and the reader's imagination. I prefer an aesthetic minimalism in which the historian opens up historical sources for imagination and allows for multiple readings instead of romantic projections, however enchanting these may be.

R. PO-CHIA HSIA
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NORBERT HAAG. *Predigt und Gesellschaft: Die Lutherische Orthodoxie in Ulm 1640–1740*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Religionsgeschichte, number 145.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1992. Pp. xii, 480. DM 98.

Within the framework set by contemporary studies of the process of confessionalization and by theories concerning social discipline and cultural transformation in early modern Europe, Norbert Haag analyzes the forces that moved the civic life of Ulm from medieval habits of mind through the Reformation toward the Enlightenment. His survey of homiletical and devotional literature and lay accounts of religion and society traces the struggle between popular culture and the elite cultural program of Ulm's "orthodox" Lutheran pastors and civic leadership. The elite gradually won the war. The process of acculturation from above suggested by Robert Muchembled (*Kultur des Volkes—Kultur der Eliten* [2d ed., 1984]) and observed in the "Second Reformation" by Heinz Schilling ("Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 264 [1988], 1–88) Haag finds in orthodox Lutheranism as well. At the end of the study he also observes the movement of public standards and values beyond those set by religious orthodoxy, as separatist Pietism, capitalistic economic pressures, and Enlightenment philosophical challenges arose to undermine it.

Haag's conclusions shed significant light on several aspects of the interaction between cultural levels and between church and government. Lutheran teaching regarding God's original order of creation, the structure God designed for human life, coincided neatly—as religious doctrine often does—with the needs and vision of the city's bourgeois leadership. The strong Lutheran emphasis on God's providence helped calm troubled lives and maintain order in society. Proponents of this doctrine fought fiercely to subdue ancient magical practices that diverted attention from both God's order and providence. The concern about moral behavior (such as the sexual standards necessary to preserve middle-class society) outweighed the preachers' concern for a relationship of dependence on God. Haag's careful investigation of printed sermons shows that, as these pastors proclaimed God's word, the Lutheran distinction between law and gospel was blunted by an overwhelming concentration on the former in the service of public order and private self-discipline.

Haag notes that the advocates of Lutheran orthodoxy struggled not only against popular culture in league with the social elite of Ulm but also opposed much of the court culture of the time with its call for repentance. They also engaged in a fierce struggle with the city council for control of the church and religious activity, particularly religious discipline. The preachers, as was usually the case, lost—but not without a good fight and continuing sniper fire at the power of early modern government.

As helpful as this study is, both for Haag's careful and detailed descriptions and his insightful analysis, the book reminds us how difficult it is to do more than chew at the edges of the *mentalité* of the common believer who leaves no record of his or her personal faith. Religious divergence and deviance earn a place in the record books, and Ulm's separatist Pietist minority placed its own voice in print as well. We can also easily ascertain what preachers told the common believers to believe. Much more difficult is knowing how much of their message actually stuck, to be integrated into people's lives, and what simply caused eyes to glaze on Sunday mornings. Haag is able to peek directly into popular belief through one glimpse offered in the chronicle of Hans Heberle. We crave more such scraps from the tables of ordinary faiths.

Haag's work offers a wide-ranging, carefully sketched picture of piety and society in the wake of the Reformation. It also serves as a challenge to replicate his study in other areas so that we may deepen our understanding of the transition from Reformation to orthodoxy and from orthodoxy to the Pietism and Enlightenment of the eighteenth century.

ROBERT KOLB
Concordia College

DIETZ BERING. *The Stigma of Names: Antisemitism in German Daily Life, 1812–1933*. Translated by NEVILLE PLACE. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 345.

A recognized vehicle for traversing the boundary from outsider to insider, and of marking this transition in many cultural contexts, is a change of name. Assimilated Jews are particularly known in modern times for changing their names to facilitate entry into non-Jewish society and to legitimate a feeling of comfort in the majority culture. Jews in Central Europe were understandably notable in exercising this option, until this and every other freedom was stripped from them under the Nazis. In particular, name-changes comprised the basis for both good-natured and mean-spirited humor in Jewish and non-Jewish circles. "Jewish names," to anti-Semites, were an ostensible impetus for ridicule, harassment, and eventually mass murder. Even if a Jew never possessed a "Jewish name," merely calling a person "Isidor" or "Cohen" conjured an array of stereotypes that were often devastating to its victims (p. 208).

It is usually taken for granted that "Jewish names" played some part in anti-Semitism and the perpetration of the Holocaust; no scholar, however, has approached the issue as rigorously as Dietz Bering. In a profound and provocative analysis (first published in German in 1987), including numerous clearly presented statistical tables, he shows that only a small percentage of Jews actually sought to change their names. Nevertheless, this was significant, in every

sense of the word. The limited ability to change one's name invoked complicated strategizing on the part of those seeking the change, mainly Jews and other individuals with "Jewish sounding" names, as well as on the part of the Prussian and German officials (up to the kaiser!) who fretted over such requests. The main ideas that emerge from the study are that even Jews who changed their names were allowed only to "escape" to names that "sounded Jewish" to the authorities, that prejudice tied to one's name was a distinct and increasingly important feature of German-Jewish life, and that any Jew could be "branded" with a "more Jewish" name as a means of inducing the venom of racism.

As opposed to illuminating what caused anti-Semitism, Bering demonstrates how anti-Semitism functioned in the realm of names and how Jews and non-Jews thought about them. He deftly uses theoretical models from linguistics and sociology along with surprisingly lively narratives in constructing his case. The National Socialists were able to "steer the history of the Jews towards a gruesome end," in part due to "a weakening of the resistance to antisemitism by the condescending mockery of names on the part of the unthinking and of crypto-antisemites; then a deliberate use of the ostracism of names to the point of personality destruction; and finally an assurance of precision of access on the part of the murderous antisemites through name-signals" (pp. 278-79).

Despite the encyclopedic cast of the book, there are a few avenues that might have been worth exploring. Perhaps because it is such a loaded expression, the author eschews the term "self-hatred." Nevertheless, it would have strengthened his argument to at least weigh the merits of the concept as illuminated by Sander Gilman. With the exception of the imposition of the name "Sara" by the Nazis in 1939, there is little discussion of girls' and women's names. Was there less stigma or different stereotypes operating for women? Also, it might have been instructive for the author to delve deeper into some Jewish family histories. It is customary among European Jews to name after deceased relatives; when newborns were named, was there a pattern of avoiding (or adapting) the "Jewish-flavored" names of loved ones? But these are minor reservations in an impressive and truly innovative work.

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MARY LEE TOWNSEND. *Forbidden Laughter: Popular Humor and the Limits of Repression in Nineteenth-Century Prussia*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 258. \$39.50.

"To refute [a caricature] is impossible," Adolph Heinrich Graf von Arnim-Boitzenburg, Prussia's interior

minister, warned his king, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, in 1843. "Its impression is lasting and sometimes ineradicable." Mary Lee Townsend quotes the count (p. 181) in her adventuresome, well-written exploration into the public significance of wit in Berlin during the early nineteenth century. If all *Berliner Witz* had the sharp outlines of a caricature, studying it so many years later might be simpler, but often it was subtle and highly contextual, which has complicated the task of writing its history.

Townsend has mined archives, libraries, and museums to find a rich variety of texts, pictures, and situations that illuminate her elusive subject. She circles around the wit of Berliners again and again, sharpening her definition of it with each turn. By the end she has provided a good understanding of the role that wit played in Germany's future capital, especially in the aspect of public discourse that we would call politics.

Notwithstanding a fateful warning from one of Townsend's favorite humorists, Adolph Glassbrenner, that "explanation is the death of wit," she has managed to preserve much of the humor in her topic. Readers who know German will have the best fun, being able to savor original witticisms in the footnotes. Others may see somewhat less of the humor, as Townsend has carefully preserved literal meaning even at the cost of some jokes, rather than try to replicate their full amusement through less exact English renditions.

Most of her source materials, including forty-four finely reproduced illustrations, date from the two decades preceding the 1848 revolutions. The focus is apt since Townsend's other purpose, after exploring humor as history, is to refute "the myth of the unpolitical German" that has long been anchored in concepts such as *Biedermeierzeit* and *Professorenparlament*.

Theory informs this book without burdening it. Townsend's introduction surveys the methodological pitfalls of using humor as a window onto society and politics. Her final chapter is a masterful application of her research on Berlin's wit to the much larger question of whether Germans failed to be political and thereby fashioned for themselves a tragic *Sonderweg* to modernity.

Between these thoughtful bookends are chapters on Berlin as a setting for wit; ten notable wits, including three illustrators; how published wit reached its audience (censors permitting), who the audience was, and how they reacted; what topics recurred; which ones—political, international, religious, scandalous—were most unsettling to the established order; and how witty authors and artists battled censors and higher officials over the correct application of laws against press excesses.

Townsend's application of statistical information is not always optimal. For example, she draws a surprisingly strong conclusion from four of 110 known writers of humor being Jewish, although Jews made

up 2 percent of Berlin's population. On iconography, she handles political images very well but is less exact when the focus is religion. In at least one instance, an allusion to a well-known biblical verse on the sanctity of marriage, Matthew 19:6, has been overlooked, with the result that the analysis of a sketch suggests more humor than likely was intended or understood. These are minor issues, however, in a book that uses a variety of scholarly tools imaginatively.

A promising next step, as Townsend suggests, would be a comparative study of wit and its functions in Germany, France, and England during the age of revolutions. For now, we are fortunate to have this book, easily and enjoyably read, giving us plenty to ponder afterward.

FREDERIK OHLES
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BRIGITTE KERCHNER. *Beruf und Geschlecht: Frauenberufsverbände in Deutschland 1848–1908*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 97.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1992. Pp. 368. DM 58.

In this revised doctoral dissertation, Brigitte Kerchner examines the development of the occupational organizations formed by middle and lower-middle-class German women during the second half of the nineteenth century. Drawing on several seldom-used archival collections as well as an impressive array of published sources and secondary literature, she discusses associations of teachers, artists, shop clerks, postal employees, midwives, nurses, social workers, housewives, and even waitresses. Linking her investigations of these disparate groups is the question of whether their associations exhibited "special female forms of interest representation" (p. 12).

The great strength of Kerchner's study is her refusal to oversimplify. She notes how many of the organizations she studies occupied an uneasy middle ground between the women's movement and associations of male workers in the various fields. With regard to both teachers and shop clerks, for example, she stresses the existence of cooperation as well as conflict between men and women. In the health professions, Kerchner highlights how the differing class background of midwives and nurses affected the relations of each group with male physicians. In contrast to several recent German works, her discussion of the acceptance of a marriage ban by the majority of teachers and postal employees refrains from raising accusations of "false consciousness" among such women.

Kerchner finds several elements uniting most or all of the groups: an interest in better job training, demands for better pay and/or benefits, and a desire to exclude less-qualified individuals from the occupation. Yet the differences among the groups often seem to outweigh the similarities, as Kerchner herself

points out. Most female teachers were middle-class women trying to avoid downward mobility, whereas shop clerks and postal workers were lower-middle-class women trying to improve their lot. Nurses and midwives did not have to fight to enter previously male-dominated fields, although the former, along with social workers, struggled to turn a formerly charitable endeavor into a "profession." Housewives' associations, both urban and rural, had very different agendas than did most associations of women employed outside the home.

Given these and other disparities among the groups Kerchner studies, she can reach no clear-cut conclusion about either their success at representing working women or their development of specifically female forms of occupational organization. The reader is left with a collection of interesting case studies of German women in different occupations, but without any significant reinterpretation of German women's history in the nineteenth century.

JAMES C. ALBISETTI
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CHRISTINE AKA. *Tot und Vergessen? Sterbebilder als Zeugnis katholischen Totengedenkens*. (Schriften des Westfälischen Freilichtmuseums Detmold, Landesmuseum für Volkskunde, number 10.) Detmold: Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, Westfälisches Freilichtmuseum Detmold. 1993. Pp. 240. DM 32.

Our changing practices of dealing with death and the dead invite interpretation as symptoms of spiritual change. In this generously illustrated study, Christine Aka examines one such practice that has received rather little attention: the use of *Totenzettel*, or "death notices," a practice still widespread in Catholic communities, where such notices, small enough to fit into a prayer book, are handed out during the burial service to ask the living to pray for the poor soul in the hope that such prayer would shorten its time in purgatory. Generally they include an invocation of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, a pious saying, a brief biography, and one or two prayers; usually they also contain an often saccharine image: the *Totenzettel* becomes a *Sterbebild*, a picture inviting us to find meaning in death. The history of such death notices can be traced back to the Counter Reformation. From Holland they spread across Europe. But only in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the once-again embattled Catholic church made a determined and partially successful effort to meet what it considered the threat of secular liberalism and to strengthen its popular base, did such death notices become an established part of Catholic religious practice.

Despite the promise of the title and informative introductory chapters, this is not a general study of such notices and of what they tell us about the Catholic understanding of death. The author's aim is

more limited and manageable: to contribute toward such a study by examining all the available *Totenzettel* from her hometown, Visbek in Oldenburg, and the surrounding region: 3,629 such notices in all, dating from about 1870 to 1988. Some 500 notices for soldiers of world wars I and II are discussed separately.

To sort and analyze this material, Aka relies on the computer and a well-chosen set of criteria. We learn, for example, that in this backward agrarian part of Germany the use of *Totenzettel* became general only in the years just preceding World War I. At that time its function shifted from being first of all part of the self-representation of a social elite to the more properly religious function of inviting the living to pray for the deceased. Numerous other developments are carefully documented, but only in the 1960s and 1970s is there a second decisive change: Aka speaks of "a growing text reduction and speechlessness" (p. 212). Images holding a more personal significance become popular, while hell and purgatory seem to have been abolished, as references to sin and penance are banished. That such death notices are still being printed demonstrates a continuing sense of belonging to the church, but less do these *Totenzettel* represent effective ways of coping with death. Little is left of the former conviction that the prayers of the living might actually benefit the dead.

Of special interest is the author's analysis of the often moving *Totenbilder* of world wars I and II, which almost without exception include a photograph of the dead soldier. We expect the praise of those who sacrificed themselves for the community; we also expect interpretations of that sacrifice in the image of Christ's death on the cross. A different mood, however, surfaces in the *Totenzettel* of World War II, especially since 1942: by then it had become difficult to celebrate the dead as heroes and to naively join self-sacrifice, religion, and love of fatherland. Instead we meet with often very personal expressions of sorrow and pain, with awkwardly rhymed poems that desperately seek to reach the dead.

Accompanied by a full bibliography, this book should be of interest to social historians studying the changing patterns of popular religion in the modern world.

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ANTON HOCHBERGER. *Der Bayerische Bauernbund 1893–1914*. (Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, number 99.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1991. Pp. xxviii, 303.

Anton Hochberger avoids the familiar picture of scheming Prussian aristocrats manipulating docile peasants to defend the position of propertied elites against the forces working for political and social emancipation, shifting his attention instead to a re-

markable case of peasant-initiated political mobilization in Bavaria. The result is a straightforward account of the origins and subsequent development of the Bavarian Peasants' League, its goals and aims, its organizational structure, its electoral tactics, and the political behavior of its representatives in both the Reichstag and the Bavarian Landtag.

Although Hochberger has much to say about agrarian concerns, policies, and strategies in pre-1914 Bavaria, the most useful parts of the book are his discussions of those structural obstacles, administrative constraints, and political missteps that reduced the *Bauernbund's* influence. These problems, he argues, ranged from confessional differences and regional disparities among Bavaria's rural populace to the inexperience of the peasantry's leaders and contradictory economic goals. Governmental interference—especially the enforcement of the Associations Law of 1850—also led to organizational deficiencies and straitened financial circumstances. Even factional strife among the leadership established a negative public image for the protest movement and alienated potential supporters. From a high of 15,000 in 1895–96, according to Hochberger's calculations, membership dwindled to 7,000 by 1913, a drastic decline.

Attempts to find a voice for the peasant cause also were muffled in a thick blanket of parliamentary rules and practices. The league's few Reichstag deputies remained shut out of parliamentary commissions and excluded from the speaker's podium. Only in the Bavarian Landtag, according to Hochberger, where regulations were less restrictive, did the Peasants' League wield influence. Some representatives sat on the Landtag directory, others served at one time or another as parliamentary secretary, and still others found regular appointment on parliamentary committees. Between 1893 and 1914, moreover, the *Bauernbund* introduced about forty bills in the Munich parliament.

Measured by declining membership and limited legislative success, the Peasants' League, in the opinion of most historians, had little genuine influence. But when assessed in terms of its larger purpose—as a means to influence the political process and to call attention to the plight of the small farmer—the league, in Hochberger's view, was more successful. The *Bauernbund*, he argues, thrust agrarian concerns into the forefront of Bavarian politics. Alarmed by widespread dissatisfaction in the countryside, the Catholic Center Party appropriated the agricultural issue and pressed for rural reform to win back peasant defectors. The league also obliged the Bavarian government to assume a more solicitous stance toward the peasantry and, as is well known, curbed the power of the Junker-dominated *Bund der Landwirte* in the Wittelsbach kingdom.

Most of these conclusions will be familiar to those acquainted with the writings of Ian Farr, the leading English-language authority on the Bavarian *Bauernbund*. Unlike Farr, however, Hochberger remains

unwilling to place his account of the Peasants' League in the larger and more important historiographical debate regarding the alleged responsibility of agrarian interests in general to inhibit political and social reform in Germany. The result is an exhaustive, well-researched, and convincing exploration of the fitful development of peasant discontent and organization in pre-1914 Bavaria, but a much less satisfactory examination of what this political mobilization—with its penchant toward demagoguery and anti-Semitism—meant for conventional historiographical constructs regarding imperial Germany's inability to establish a modern pluralist society.

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MAUD LAVIN. *Cut With the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 260; 178 plates. \$40.00.

Despite frequent reproductions of her large political photomontage, "Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany," Hannah Höch was until recent years treated as a minor figure among the aggressively masculine Berlin dadaists. Relegated in dada histories to a subordinate stance as lover of Raoul Hausmann, friend of Kurt Schwitters, and producer of dolls, puppets, and pretty photomontages, Höch, happily, was rediscovered by feminist art historians before her death in 1978 and recognized as a substantial artist, worthy of attention. Now, following a handful of catalogues and books in Germany including provocative essays by Hanne Bergius and Julia Dech, Maud Lavin has written a valuable study that introduces Höch's art to an English-speaking audience and, of significance for historians, analyzes her work in relation to the mass-media representations of the New Woman of the 1920s.

Working from the double premise that the illustrated weeklies of Weimar were exemplars of modern mass culture and that shifting visions of modernity were projected through their images of women, Lavin examines Höch's appropriation of photographs of women from the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* to create her own photomontages. In her brief dada period, Höch exhibited her major political montages, satirizing the leaders of the republic, in the Berlin Dada Fair of 1920. Shifting away from the anarcho-communism of the Berlin dadaists, she remained committed throughout her lifetime to the revolutionary potential of female liberation from social constraints, celebrated in her montages by leaping, dancing female figures. During the 1920s, Höch was closely associated with International Constructivist artists such as Sophie Täuber and Theo van Doesburg and Nelly van Doesburg, who sought new art

forms appropriate for modern society. Arguing that the avant-garde of Weimar was a bourgeois subculture that was simultaneously engaged in and critical of industrialized capitalism, Lavin demonstrates this "selective embrace" (p. 49) in Höch's work through perceptive analyses of her scrapbooks and photomontages. Compiled from photographs in the liberal *Berliner Illustrierte*, Höch's scrapbooks appear uncritically to celebrate modernity as defined by the magazine; she herself worked as a designer of handiwork patterns for the Ullstein press, while her photomontages, using those images, present a "sophisticated critique of commodity culture" (p. 140). Eschewing symbolic interpretations, Lavin treats the photomontages as "allegories of conflict and fragmentation" (p. 124) that represent the fracturing and disorientation of modern society; in so doing, Lavin opens a window onto the nascent mass culture of the period, and she also examines the responses of one reader: Höch.

Lavin's dialectical approach is admirably supported by the design and generous layout of the book, in which twenty fine color plates and 158 black-and-white illustrations are so well integrated into the text that her argument is virtually made visible. She resists univocal interpretations, insisting that Höch's images always carry a double edge and can be read simultaneously as critique and celebration, as pleasure and anger. She also makes substantial use of contemporary theory with which Höch was familiar, as in applying Ernst Bloch's definitions of utopia or current theories of androgyny in her analysis of Höch's works. Her fluid, readable text weaves sensitive readings of individual works into an analytical and historical framework that serves to illuminate both the works and the historical period.

BETH IRWIN LEWIS
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JONATHAN OSMOND. *Rural Protest in the Weimar Republic: The Free Peasantry in the Rhineland and Bavaria*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xiv, 224. \$59.95.

Jonathan Osmond describes the process by which German farmers became radicalized in the 1920s and abandoned older political and social structures, thereby becoming increasingly vulnerable to National Socialist propaganda. His book is narrowly focused on one organization, the Free Peasantry, which was of greatest significance in the Bavarian Palatinate and attained a maximum membership of 87,000 in the early 1920s. The Free Peasantry differed from the farmers' associations organized before World War I in that it was more democratically led and more inclined to direct action, including the use of the strike; it competed in the Rhineland, Palatinate, and the rest of Bavaria with the Agrarian League, a largely Protestant organization allied politically with the German People's Party, and the Christian Peas-

ants' Associations, affiliated with the Catholic Center and Bavarian People's parties.

The Free Peasantry was interconfessional and originally directed its activity against government economic controls dating from the war. Such controls, the farmers believed, were designed to provide urban workers with unfairly cheap food, and they fought back by using the workers' weapons—agitation and the strike—against them by withholding food from the market in order to push prices higher. Later, during the Depression years, equally desperate measures were taken to try to combat steadily falling agricultural prices.

In the Palatinate a number of Free Peasants supported the French-backed separatist movement, motivated as much by resentment against Bavarian rule as against the republic (just as in the Rhineland, separation from Prussia, not Germany, was the attraction); an additional incentive in the inflationary year of 1923 was the dependence on the French franc in the occupied zones. A putsch led by the head of the national Free Peasantry actually resulted in a short-lived Autonomous Republic of the Palatinate, based in Speyer, which collapsed in February 1924 after the ending of the currency crisis in Germany.

Osmond has discovered a rich lode of little-used archival material, but he does not seem to know quite what to do with it. Unlike so many academic works, his study errs on the side of excessive brevity, and he fails to make his thesis clear. One problem, not of his making, is the bewildering number of organizations with similar and frequently changing names: Agrarian League, Peasants' League, Peasants' Association, Rural League, Agricultural Association, Agricultural Chamber, and Peasants' Union, each operating at the national, state, district, and/or local levels. If a single sentence is missed, for example, one can read for fifty pages about a "Peasants' League" assuming it to be the Bavarian political party of that name, only to realize belatedly that it refers instead to a retitled Palatine branch of the Agrarian League. The Free Peasantry itself metamorphosed into three differently titled organizations between 1929 and 1934 before being subsumed in a Nazi government department.

Osmond's own use of words is also confusing. French-sponsored separatism is called an example of "rabid nationalism" with "völkisch tendencies" (pp. 117, 105), yet separatism is said to have damaged the reputation of all parties except the NSDAP and to have brought about "a nationalist backlash against the French occupation" (p. 144). Peasant associations such as the Free Peasantry are examples of "genuine democratic participation and direct action, based on an ideology of class struggle," but are "all too willing to denounce democracy" and embrace dictatorship (p. 155). No doubt these confusions reflect real confusions and contradictions in the Weimar Republic, but it should surely be the historian's goal to guide

readers through the maze, not to lose them in the middle of it.

ELLEN L. EVANS

Georgia State University

MANFRED PETER HEIMERS. *Unitarismus und süddeutsches Selbstbewusstsein: Weimarer Koalition und SPD in Baden in der Reichsreformdiskussion 1918–1933*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 98.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1992. Pp. 366. DM 78.

Federalist resistance to central dominance is a well-known but little-examined aspect of the Weimar Republic. The constitution of 1919 terminated many of the rights that had been guaranteed to the regional states when they reluctantly joined the empire. Throughout the republic's troubled existence, the search for political solutions to its crippling social and economic problems included attempts at constitutional reform. The roles and intentions of the southern states, especially Baden, and of the political parties, in particular the Social Democrats, is clarified by Manfred Peter Heimers's thorough study.

Heimers notes that Baden's distancing from Berlin began with the revolution of 1918. The Baden Social Democrats shared the fears of south German bourgeois leaders that leftist radicalism might triumph in the north. Hence they joined the bourgeoisie in fostering cooperation with Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hesse to defend the powers of the states. When their Democratic Party colleagues proposed to restore the complete sovereignty of the states, however, the Baden Social Democrats dissented. In response to the national constitution created during the spring and summer of 1919 a compromise position emerged. Centralization was to be accepted as long as the rights of the states did not disappear completely.

Heimers demonstrates in detail how the Baden politicians thought and reacted at each major instance when constitutional reform was offered to solve Weimar's coalition and interest-group stalemates. The bulk of the study relates the shifting party positions during the early 1920s. The main protagonists are Eugen Baumgartner (who wrote the memorandum on federal structures in 1923), Oskar Geck (who suggested creating a southwest state), and Adam Remmele (who sought the delimitation of Reich versus state rights). None offered solutions that were decisive and influential.

In summarizing his findings, Heimers fails to note that the south Germans nearly always reacted and rarely initiated a position. He demonstrates well, however, how the regional parties diverged from their Berlin leadership on interests affecting the south. This marks a reversal of the homogenizing tendency of Social Democratic developments from the 1870s to World War I, and it might be fruitful to explore the theme for all German political parties by

such regional test cases. Here the emphasis is on reconstructing a debate that illustrates that the compromise between a unitary and federal state had not been laid to rest in 1919 but reemerged every time taxation or transportation conflicts demonstrated the limits of the regional states' powers.

Among other findings, Heimers has shown how the rural Social Democratic Party leaders tended to accept the centralist message more than their urban colleagues, who worked closely with the middle-class coalition partners. The Baden party, he finds, "was especially federalist [favoring states' rights] when it did not like Reich policies and politics" (p. 342). That stance had been a great surprise during the revolution of 1918, when Kurt Eisner threatened to play the separatist card against his northern colleagues and discovered he needed a strong regional base if he wanted to challenge Berlin's moderate policies. Just like Eisner in Bavaria, however, the Social Democrats in Baden and their bourgeois coalition partners had few levers with which to reverse the unitary trend. Heimers's study demonstrates that, even on issues such as Reich-Länder relations and constitutional reform, the Baden Social Democrats were split and no south German unity emerged. Seen from another angle, the regional identities developed over centuries would take more than one world war to eradicate.

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WAYNE C. THOMPSON. *The Political Odyssey of Herbert Wehner*. Boulder, Colo: Westview. 1993. Pp. xxii, 487. \$58.00.

Herbert Wehner's political career spanned nearly sixty years, from 1923 to 1982. Almost six decades of activity would be notable in any setting; it is exceptional in the turbulent history of twentieth-century Germany. Wehner's affiliations changed along the way. After a brief fling with anarchism, he joined the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1927. Following an apprenticeship in parliament in his native Saxony, Wehner became an important KPD organizational figure during the final phase of the Weimar Republic and then, underground, in the first Nazi years; in exile in Moscow from 1935 he served the Communist International. Sent to Sweden in 1941 as a preliminary to a new mission in Germany, Wehner was arrested and jailed. When he emerged from detention in 1944, he had moved away from communism. Returning to Germany in 1946, he joined the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Hamburg. He rose quickly. In 1949 he was elected to the first West German parliament. By the end of the 1950s he was the SPD's chief tactician. More than any other individual he moved the party toward cabinet participation, in the Great Coalition of 1966-69, and then achievement of the chancellorship, under Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, from 1969 to 1982.

This is the story Wayne C. Thompson tells in his "political biography." Completing his book not long after his subject's death in January 1990, Thompson set himself the task of interpreting the public life of a highly private individual who "never showed his hand to anyone outside his family" (p. 12). Wehner probably would have approved of this emphasis. Few other personalities in modern German history have been as single-mindedly devoted to party and, in the second part of his career, parliament. But he also sought power. As Thompson demonstrates, it was Wehner's combination of persistence and flexibility that prevailed when others could not (Fritz Erler, felled by cancer in 1967) or would not (Willy Brandt, an inconsistent leader) hold to the objective of making the SPD a trusted governing party.

In constructing his case Thompson has drawn on a wealth of documentation, as well as on interviews and previous scholarship. Chapters are organized according to the chronology of political events—electoral periods, chancellorships—and the author is inclined to let the record speak for itself. Typically he presents alternative readings of events through extensive citations of contemporary and later observers. It is a method that can be stylistically rough, but it is effective: one is exposed to the pros and cons of each situation and then left to judge for oneself. And Thompson's own observations offer valuable commentary. But there are also blind spots. Wehner's understanding of the Nazi experience is not deeply explored, yet it appears to have influenced both his post-1945 commitment to parliamentary democracy and his lack of sympathy toward the radicals of the 1960s and 1970s. Nor does Thompson's suggestion that Wehner's career symbolized a half-century of German history create a satisfactory pattern for his life. Rather than represent the odyssey of the book's title, Wehner's ventures in communism and socialism may be more fruitfully conceived of as successive episodes, in youth and maturity, in which an ambitious and driven man combined an urge to do good in society with, in the first instance, a disciplined unscrupulousness and, in the second, a democratically bounded elasticity about his means.

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BERND STÖVER. *Volksgemeinschaft im Dritten Reich: Die Konsensbereitschaft der Deutschen aus der Sicht sozialistischer Exilberichte*. Düsseldorf: Droste. 1993. Pp. 466. DM 49.80.

This book is based on reports about Nazi Germany penned by the two main groups of German socialists in exile, the *Sopade* and the *Neu Beginnen*. Bernd Stöver uses their reports to show how Hitler's regime secured popular support, especially by beating the Depression, and gained the widespread and affirma-

tive endorsement of the German people. Consensus grew with hopes for a "democratization" of consumption and the return of what Stöver terms an economically secured "normalization" (p. 416), which in turn fostered acceptance of Nazi ideology and provided the foundation for the Führer cult. Indeed, consensus was built around, even culminated in, this cult; each foreign policy success contributed to nationalism, and the war was "clearly regarded by the majority" as "justified" (p. 419).

The importance of the book lies in the sources it exploits, but their weaknesses have to be acknowledged. The two rival socialist groups were critical of each others' reports. One branded the competition's work as "thin and totally devoid of meaning," while the other said its rival's accounts reflected "the inventiveness and journalistic activity of reporters" with few contacts in Germany (p. 110). These intergroup criticisms, however slanted, should not be dismissed. But there are additional problems with these reports as sources for the study of consensus. Most stop with the outbreak of war in 1939, precisely when the regime was revolutionized as never before and "normality" evaporated. At best they are useful for the first half of the regime. Further, the reports condense accounts of other socialists presumably on the spot.

The Left was also prone to blind spots and had difficulty gauging what Nazism was about, and one has to ask how far the socialists' surveillance extended outside their own circle or milieu. What could they have known about opinions under a regime in which voicing negative remarks or raising a question about a policy was a crime? We know that Nazi authorities found it difficult to get reliable information, and the underground faced infinitely greater obstacles. In sum, any study based on these reports has to be circumspect and is bound to become vague on specifics.

Stöver, however, makes occasional incautious use of his sources. For example, in a section entitled "Approval for the Final Solution" (pp. 262–70), he deals mostly with the period before the Holocaust began because his reports only discuss the persecution of the Jews in Germany during peacetime; for the war years he uses secondary accounts to rerun the established and inconclusive story. Nevertheless, he says that "the population was essentially and early informed" about the "final solution" (p. 268), and that, as research has turned up "no further reactions [to it], this at least indicates a broad lack of interest in the murder of the Jews" (p. 269). These generalizations attempt to interpret the silent majority as speaking with one rather than many voices. Interpreting or even investigating public opinion in authoritarian dictatorships is problematic, however, and Stöver admits that he cannot show "approval in any real sense" (p. 269).

The book constitutes the first systematic and sustained attempt to use socialists' reports to get behind the cheering crowds. Stöver's bold theses will give rise to debate among specialists, but they reinforce ac-

counts that suggest that the regime could not have functioned without popular support.

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ELEANOR HANCOCK. *The National Socialist Leadership and Total War 1941–5*. New York: St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. xix, 332. \$49.95.

In an immensely industrious book, Eleanor Hancock explores the "commitment of the German leadership to total war, which may be defined as the complete orientation of society in its political, economic, and social life to the pursuit of the war effort" (p. 2). She is particularly concerned with the policies of the inner circle of National Socialist war leaders: Martin Bormann, Heinrich Himmler, Joseph Goebbels, and Albert Speer. Her conclusion is unequivocal and well supported. All four were committed to waging total war, and so was Adolf Hitler, although he seems to have been the most hesitant. Hancock concedes a host of problems of organization, inefficiencies, and the like, but she insists that limits to the German effort were not due to a lack of nerve or commitment.

This thesis accords with a general trend in recent historiography which puts to rest older arguments about a peculiar *Blitzkrieg* strategy (Alan Milward) or the November 1918 syndrome, the fear of potential revolution (Timothy Mason), as self-imposed limits to total war. In their original forms, these arguments are no longer tenable. It is much less evident what takes their place. Here, Hancock's industry is of little help, even if she tries valiantly to decipher the total-war projects of the four leaders. The problem is that despite their general commitments to total war, Himmler's and Bormann's policies remained remarkably unspecific. Speer had distinct policies, but they are not properly the subject of this study, which excludes the mobilization of industry.

This leaves Goebbels, but he was not in a position to put his ideas into practice until 1944. When he finally got to it, the nation was in a shambles. Simply put, Goebbels pleaded early on to capitalize on a sense of crisis, to mobilize the nation for war relentlessly, and to increase the fighting strength of the German forces dramatically in order to use the expected German recovery as a bargaining chip for power brokerage. As far as Goebbels was concerned, it was remarkable how quickly fierce commitment dissipated.

This interpretation of Goebbels should be pursued further, but it does not help us far with issues of total war. Hancock never comes to grips with what she has discovered. It is quite remarkable, for instance, that the commitment to total war appears to consist almost exclusively in the mobilization of labor. Partly, this emphasis is a matter of perspective. Had Hancock studied industry, she would have drawn a different picture. Yet the fact remains that issues of total war,

as they were discussed over and over again to the smallest detail, were issues of (wo)man-power mobilization. Obviously, war at this scale dramatically expanded labor requirements, and yet the key issue in World War II was no longer simply mobilization but flexibility and differentiation. The world of Nazi total-war policies is a thoroughly fantastic world, but there is no explanation for this phantasmagoria. Instead, it is declared to be "ideology," which has become a common way of explaining everything with nothing.

The conclusion that the four most powerful leaders of the Third Reich were committed to the pursuit of total war is valid. The question that now emerges is: how can we explain their total war and what inhibited the pursuit of these concepts?

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MANFRED HAGEN. *DDR—Juni '53: Die erste Volkserhebung im Stalinismus*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1992. Pp. 248. DM 38.

To the victors belong the archives. Now that the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is no more, we can enhance our understanding of the occupation, partition, separate development, and, finally, unification of Germany by looking in these archives.

Manfred Hagen's study of "June 17," the mass uprising throughout East Germany in 1953, is such a work. Based on newly available interviews and archival material, it asks such questions as: Was it a revolution? Who took part in it, with what aims, and what consequences? What were the roles of the GDR leadership and of the Soviet authorities? What general lessons about regimes and revolts could we learn from the events of June 1953? (Hagen used the party archives but did not have access to those of the ministry for State Security; instead, he relies on the useful monograph of Torsten Didrich, *Der 17. Juni in der DDR: Bewaffnete Gewalt gegen das Volk* [1991].)

Hagen combines chronological with topical chapters. The former describe the growing domestic crisis in the GDR after the July 1952 decision to "build socialism," as well as the aftermath of the revolt's failure. Topical chapters deal with issues such as the interpretive value of pictures, slogans, songs, and marches; the role of social classes during the uprising; and the struggle to replace Walter Ulbricht as party head. Clearly written, and with a perspective of critical sympathy toward those Germans who resisted the regime, this study provides a useful broad survey of the subject in the light of new knowledge. (For scholarly readers, the system of citation is unfortunately cryptic and unsatisfactory.) Ilse Spittmann ("Zum 40. Jahrestag des 17. Juni," *Deutschland Archiv* 26 [June 1993], 635–39) reviews later literature in the field; her conclusions do not differ markedly from Hagen's.

There are some new things that this book tells us about the events of June 17. First, the revolt was geographically more widespread, began earlier, and lasted longer than has been assumed. The participants, soon joined by non-working-class Germans, had political and national goals from the start. Understood as "mass action" by society against a regime, June 17 has more in common with Poland's Solidarity movement than with the Prague spring or perestroika. For such movements to succeed they must develop organization and leadership. Many strike committees were formed throughout the GDR, but further development was stopped by the imposition of martial law.

The revolt had specific economic and social causes: the promised amelioration of the "New Course" forced on the GDR leadership by Soviet pressure excluded the industrial workers (by not promising in the original reform package to restore lower work norms). This error was compounded by tactical irresolution before and during the massive construction workers' demonstrations of June 16 and 17.

Although these demonstrations were supported by residents of a still largely united Berlin, there is no evidence that the June 17 uprising was a Western-planned "Day X." Moreover, Soviet reaction to these events was moderate; martial law was implemented with restraint. Nevertheless, without Soviet force, the regime might not have survived.

Hagen shows how close Ulbricht came to being overthrown, especially in a Politburo session of July 8. Until then, the Soviets would not have moved to save him; afterward, the fall of Lavrentii Beria (a key backer of Ulbricht's most powerful enemy, security chief Wilhelm Zaisser), Ulbricht's own tactical skills, and the errors of his enemies kept in power the chief architect of the very failures that had led to the revolt.

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MAURIZIO VIROLI. *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics, 1250–1600*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 331. \$54.95.

Dedicated to Quentin Skinner and appearing in his major series "Ideas in Context," Maurizio Viroli's book attempts to survey the radical transformation of the language of politics in Italy during the three centuries between Brunetto Latini's *Li livres dou Tresor* (1266) and Giovanni Botero's *Della ragion di stato* (1586). Many of the authors treated—Remigio de' Girolami, Marsilius of Padua, Baldus de Ubaldis, Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Francesco Guicciardini—are familiar from Skinner's own magisterial *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978), but Viroli's theme is novel. Building on Hans Baron's

construct of civic humanism and Benedetto Croce's view of the baroque as immoral, he is intent on plotting a sort of reverse Whiggery, where the wholesome traditions of "political virtue, civil law and Aristotelianism" (p. 2) of the medieval Italian city-state are transformed into the "ignoble, depraved and sordid activity" (p. 1) of the early modern absolutist state.

Founded on the rather outmoded constructs of Baron and Croce, with strict allegiance to Skinner's theories of Florentine republicanism from both the late thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Viroli's book will seem to many oddly naive. Those who find equally doubtful the glorious republicanism of Florentine civic humanism and the utter decadence of sixteenth-century absolutism will not be able to accept the book's thesis, although many of the discussions of individual thinkers bristle with challenging insights. Especially useful are Viroli's treatments of minor authors, such as Matteo Palmieri and Francesco Patrizi from the Quattrocento and Antonio Brucioli from the early Cinquecento. And most convincing is his chapter on Machiavelli's republican concept of politics (drawing on an essay published earlier in the collection *Machiavelli and Republicanism* [1990]).

Instead of tending toward the Anglo-American republican tradition of John Pocock, Viroli's "Machiavellian moment" is transformed by Guicciardini into the art of preserving the state before degenerating into the absolutism of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany with Botero's crafty redefinition of politics in terms of reason of state. Indeed, almost exclusively concerned with the growth of tyranny and loss of civic virtues in sixteenth-century Tuscany, Viroli scarcely mentions the continuation of the values of a republican, albeit aristocratic, city-state in the thought of Paolo Sarpi and Gasparo Contarini.

Although apparently using English as a second language, Viroli writes with precision, authority, and verve. Occasionally Italianisms creep in, such as "burocrat" and "Pope Leone X" (pp. 72, 135). The copy editing at the Cambridge University Press has been very careless, allowing such elementary misspellings as "devine" (p. 107). The bibliography is a typographical nightmare, where I counted dozens of slips: a book by B. L. Ullman is attributed to Walter Ullmann; Paolino Minorita's *De regimine rectoris* is listed twice, once under "Fra Paolino" and again under "Paolino, Minorita." Latin titles are garbled, editions miscited, and the surnames of noted scholars misspelled. Viroli's important book deserves much better treatment than this, especially from a press once admired for the accuracy and elegance of its books.

Despite my reservations about the validity of its thesis, I recommend this work as indispensable reading for all students of medieval and early modern Italy, especially for the accuracy of its depiction of the key ideas of many thinkers. Not least important is the epilogue, with its spirited attack on the communitarians and impassioned call for a return to a liberal civil

philosophy, akin to the republicanism of the Florentine Renaissance that Viroli has so imaginatively reconstructed.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL
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BLAKE WILSON. *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 298. \$79.00.

The title of this study suggests that Blake Wilson will focus on a musical repertory and its patrons. But his main purpose, as captured by the subtitle, is the study of an institution. His intention is "to explore the vital interaction between mercantile society and mendicant spirituality which shaped the lay companies and laudesi devotion, and to discuss the devotional and liturgical setting in which lauda singing took place" (p. 4).

Wilson begins by situating the laudesi companies within Florentine society and identifying the factors that led to the founding of some dozen lay confraternities in the two decades following 1270. The second chapter draws on documents from a number of different confraternities to provide an overview of the role of music, its function in annual feasts, processions, commemorative services, and so on. The third chapter, in many respects the heart of the book, presents capsule histories of the individual companies, organized according to the four quarters of the city. Wilson provides a wealth of information gleaned from the statutes of the companies, pay rolls, inventories, and other sources.

In chapter 4, "The Professional Laudese," Wilson considers the musicians themselves, their contracts, and patterns of employment. He offers a chronological survey of performance practices, proposing four broad stages (pp. 149–50): an early period (late thirteenth century) when monophonic laude were performed by amateurs; a second period (roughly 1300 to 1415) characterized by the performance of both monophonic and polyphonic laude, and by the use of hired musicians, often pairs of singers as well as instrumentalists; a third period (roughly 1415–1470) that saw an increase in the number of singers explicitly associated with polyphony and a decrease in the number of instrumentalists; and a fourth period (roughly 1470 through the sixteenth century), when confraternities maintained choirs of five to eleven singers for singing three and four-voice laude.

A chapter on "Ritual Space and Imagination" places the lauda in its physical context, the chapels and rooms of the Florentine churches. A brief concluding chapter ("Decline and Transformation: The Sixteenth Century") traces the political and religious changes that led to the end of the laudesi companies at least in the form they had existed in during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This chapter

should probably be read alongside Patrick Macey's most recent work (for example, "Some New Contrafacta for Canti Carnascialeschi and Laude in Late Quattrocento Florence," *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* [1993], which cites his other studies, all published too recently to be included in Wilson's book). From Wilson's perspective, the sixteenth century is but a shadow of former glories; Macey, however, has shown the continued life of the lauda and has even succeeded in identifying some of the repertory of earlier times.

The scope of the investigation may appear narrow: one city, one relatively brief period (from the late thirteenth into the sixteenth century), one kind of institution, one repertory. But Wilson treats the subject broadly, and he succeeds in placing the extant music (itself only a fraction of what must once have been composed and performed) in its social context and explaining both its use and the reasons for its existence. By taking a comprehensive approach (for example, considering the extant documents for all of the confraternities), Wilson can compensate for the rather uneven documentation that has survived. He has presented a remarkably clear and well-organized account that is a model of how to make the archives tell a story. This volume, like Reinhard Strohm's *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (1985; rev. ed. 1990), illuminates aspects of musical life traditionally neglected by musicologists. Wilson has made an important contribution to our knowledge of music in late-medieval and early modern Florence.

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GARY TOMLINSON. *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 291. \$34.95.

This immensely complex and challenging book by Gary Tomlinson is concerned with the interactions of music and magic in the culture of late-Renaissance Italy at a unique historical moment when the two disciplines shared a claim to being forms of universal knowledge. The book's keystone is Marsilio Ficino's writings on magic, particularly his *De vita coelitus comparanda* (Book 3 of his medical treatise *De vita libri tres* of about 1489), writings that authoritatively situated magic within the Neoplatonic cosmos and defined music as its most potent operative force. Tomlinson explores both the ancient sources of Ficino's musical magic from Plato to al-Kindi, as well as his legacy among Italian writers for the century and a half after the *De vita*. Among the many by-products of this rich and erudite study are the subtle delineations of how Renaissance thinkers appropriated ancient thought, the place of hearing in a visualist culture (Ficino inverted the traditional hierarchy of these two spiritual senses in Western thought by placing sounds and spoken words above images), and how the tran-

sition in the early seventeenth century from magical thought (based on resonant resemblances of things in a harmonically ordered cosmos) to analytic thought (based on differences discovered through empirical comparisons using measurement and order) discloses the "shifting and fragmenting archaeological bases of knowledge" (p. 194) that marked the end of an era.

But for many pages and even entire chapters the subjects of music and magic recede from view as they assume their position as vehicles for the more polemical goal of the book: the expansion of musicology's methods of historical inquiry in light of postmodern critical theory. In chapter 1, "Approaching Others (Thoughts before Writing)," Tomlinson discusses the hegemonic, post-Cartesian histories that have tended to approach the "otherness" of cultural distance (such as Renaissance musical magic) with the prejudices of equality (making others over in our own image) or superiority, cultural perspectives that have effectively marginalized the subject of musical magic beyond consideration even in such a recent and excellent study as Claude Palisca's *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (1985). Proceeding from the conviction that "musicology has not yet broached a successful archaeology" (p. 229), and drawing primarily on Michel Foucault's concept of archaeological history, Tomlinson seeks to overcome the limitations of traditional hermeneutics (the subjective consciousness of "historical actors" as revealed through a study of their texts) through a search for archaeological meanings, those deeper patterns, rules, and codes that shape the thoughts and actions of historical actors without their awareness.

The next three chapters pursue Foucault's genealogical strategy by moving backward in time as a means of approaching the "otherness" of Ficino's musical magic in chapter 4. In chapter 2, "The Scope of Renaissance Magic," Henry Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* (1533) is used to reveal the Neoplatonic foundations of Renaissance magic: a hierarchical world order with intellectual elements in the highest realm, an influence that flowed from the superior to the inferior elements in the hierarchy, and the potential for a wise man to tap (either by ascending to or drawing down) the operative force of these supernatural influences in order to gain special benefits. For a Renaissance magus like Agrippa, music gains its special occult power by virtue of its harmonic and numerical affinities with the celestial and supercelestial realms. In chapter 3 ("Modes and Planetary Song: The Musical Alliance of Ethics and Cosmology"), Tomlinson reveals how the conditions for the flourishing of musical magic to which Agrippa testifies were established around 1500 when two seminal and previously independent ideas—the presence of harmony in the cosmos and music's sublunar ethical powers—were conjoined in the writings of Ficino, the music theorists Ramos de Pareia and Gafori, and Agrippa. Having thus encountered the world of ideas Ficino did so much to create, Tomlinson then con-

fronts Ficino's own remarkable thought in chapter 4 ("Ficino's Magical Songs"), in which musical sound becomes a rational, "somehow living" force deeply akin to his concept of spirit, words and music are linked as kinds of Platonic images, and the composition and performance of magical songs reveals a definite praxis.

The next two chapters move beyond Ficino's concepts of music as a mediating agency between the human spirit and the heavens, to his notion of the role of music in mystical union with God. In chapter 5 ("Musical Possession and Musical Soul Loss"), Tomlinson explains Ficino's revival of Plato's furors, in the first of which, poetic furor, music (especially singing) awakens and harmonizes the sleeping and discordant parts of the soul in preparation for an ascent in the course of which it experiences both possession and soul loss. In the following chapter, "An Archaeology of Poetic Furor, 1500–1650," the author delineates a "magical furor" and "analytic furor" from among the ambivalent and shifting views on poetic furor of late-Renaissance writers from Pomponazzi to Tesauro (in whose work poetic furor is demystified); these, in turn, underscore the shifting "archaeological bases of knowledge," the magical and analytic epistemes, that signal the end of the Renaissance.

In the seventh and most daring chapter ("Archaeology and Music: Apropos of Monteverdi's Musical Magic"), Tomlinson brings the full weight of his critical and magical theses to bear on the subject of his previous book, the music of Claudio Monteverdi. Here he advances an example of an archaeological approach to musical analysis of two famous madrigals, "Sfogava con le stelle" of 1603 and the *Lament of the Nymph* of 1638, an analysis that attempts to reveal a shift from the magical episteme (in which sign resembles, is "almost the same thing" as, the signified) to the analytic episteme (where sign represents, and is autonomous and essentially different from, the signified). The melisma on the words "vivid ardors" in "Sfogave" (and all such madrigalisms in the late-Renaissance madrigal) embodies the magical ordering of knowledge by being, in Foucault's words, "almost the same thing" as the words it sets, whereas the descending, four-note ostinato of the *Lament of the Nymph* is an autonomous structure that in no way resembles the text, but is understood to represent it. Here the author seems to have departed from his announced subject of music in Renaissance magic for the problematic ground of magic in Renaissance music; notwithstanding the merits of Foucault's archaeology, the swift movement from Ficino's musical magic to magical ordering in Monteverdi's music seems out of character with the closely argued earlier chapters, and it seems possible to argue both for the melisma in "Sfogave" as a kind of demystified, Aristotelian mimesis of the natural order (or as a pictorialism at odds with the prevailing auralism of the magical episteme), and for the obsessively descending and repeating character of the ostinato in the *Lament*

as "almost the same" as the Nymph's grief-stricken emotional state. One senses, however, that more than this slender example might have demonstrated more of the potential of an archaeological approach that for now remains more tantalizing than convincing.

Nevertheless, this study must be viewed as one of the most eloquent and sophisticated applications of postmodern critical theory to Renaissance culture, and as a powerful and provocative challenge to Tomlinson's own field of musicology. The author is uncompromising in his own questioning of received wisdom concerning Renaissance history and historiography, and patient readers will be challenged to rethink their conception of and approach to the otherness of the distant past and, perhaps, "all others, near and far" (p. 252).

BLAKE WILSON
Dickinson College

N. G. WILSON. *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 200. \$49.95.

In this sequel to his *Scholars of Byzantium* (1983), N. G. Wilson examines the transmission of classical Greek culture from the Byzantine East to the Latin West, tracing the history of the Greek revival in Italy from the mid-fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. Aiming for breadth rather than depth, Wilson provides a straightforward account of the major scholars, translators, teachers, publishers, and patrons involved in the Italian recovery of Greek literature and learning.

Although Petrarch briefly studied Greek, as did his cohort Boccaccio (who enlisted the Calabrian Leonzio Pilato to lecture on Greek in Florence in 1360–62), Greek studies truly took hold in Italy only in the late Trecento, with the arrival of the Byzantine statesman Manuel Chrysoloras. At the invitation of Coluccio Salutati and others, Chrysoloras taught at the Florentine Studio from 1397 to 1400. Most notable was his composition of a simplified Greek grammar, the *Erotemata*, which his student Guarino Veronese translated into a condensed Latin version.

Greek advances in Italy depended not only on the influx of Byzantine scholars (who, aside from Chrysoloras, included such figures as Gemistos Plethon, Cardinal Bessarion, George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, John Argyropoulos, and Janus Lascaris) but also on an infusion of Greek texts. In Florence, acquisitions from Byzantium commissioned by Salutati and Palla Strozzi were supplemented by sizeable collections (each of 200 or more books) personally procured by Giovanni Aurispa (in 1423) and Lascaris (in the 1490s). The Venetians inherited a major library from the Byzantine émigré Bessarion, who after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 began to assemble a collection of 482 Greek books in the hope of ensuring the preservation of Greek culture.

The impact of the new Greek learning on Italian culture could be seen in the appearance of a wealth of translations (by such prominent humanists as Leonardo Bruni, Francesco Filelfo, Lorenzo Valla, and Marsilio Ficino), in higher learning (with the establishment of Greek chairs in selected universities), in philology and neo-Greek literature (as impressively exemplified, Wilson suggests, in Poliziano's *Miscellanea* and epigrams), and even in secondary schools (especially in Vittorino da Feltre's school in Mantua). The Greek heritage also commanded a prominent place in the world of Italian publishing. Although discussing some noteworthy forebears, Wilson rightly focuses on the Aldine press in Venice, which issued its first titles in 1495. Drawing on the editorial skills of resident classicists and organizing a Neakademia of like-minded humanists to promote Greek studies, Aldo Manuzio published editions of numerous Greek poets, philosophers, dramatists, historians, orators, moralists, naturalists, and Christian writers, as well as Greek grammars and lexicons. By the time of Manuzio's death in 1515 (the terminus of Wilson's study), Aeschylus was the only literary giant not in print, and this was rectified within three years.

With the appearance of Greek grammars, the establishment of Greek university chairs, and the dissemination of the Greek corpus, Wilson concludes, the recovery of Greek culture in Italy—and, thereafter, the modern West—was assured. He does note some differences between Byzantine and Italian interests in Greek heritage. Thus, for instance, Galen at first had a far greater presence in the East than in the West, and Italian scholars were far more interested in Plato than their Byzantine counterparts, who had been warned away from Platonic doctrine by a church condemnation of 1082.

Although specialists may find little that is new, this study does offer a fine introductory survey of the major figures and centers of the Greek revival in Renaissance Italy. Occasionally pausing to examine a preface, letter, or university inaugural lecture, Wilson also sometimes sheds light on the motivation behind or challenges involved in the Western recovery of the Greek heritage. One wishes, however, that there was more such discussion, as Wilson only spottily examines the cultural, intellectual, and political contexts of the study and imitation of Greek culture.

With its short, choppy chapters—usually either biographical sketches of individual humanists or bibliographical catalogues of Greek texts and Latin translations in various collections—the book resembles a reference work more than a monograph. Substantive argument is at a minimum, and analysis is largely confined to philological appraisals of the Greek skills of Renaissance scholars—appraisals at times unnecessarily condescending or even derisive (p. 70). Finally, in the preface Wilson issues a disturbing disclaimer concerning the limitations of his book: “the present volume is a sketch and a challenge. It is a sketch because a full treatment of the subject, even

with the chronological limit imposed as it has been, would entail postponement of publication for many years” (p. ix). Rather than deflecting criticism, this statement only invites suspicion about the thin nature of this study and suggests that the ever-growing temptation to rush into print may be migrating from America to the author's England.

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JOHN SHEARMAN. *Only Connect . . . : Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*. (The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1988, number 37; Bollingen Series, number 35.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, for the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 1992. Pp. xvii, 281; 201 plates. \$49.50.

There are two major faults to this book, neither of which can be blamed on John Shearman. First, the Mellon Lectures are spoken to a mixed audience, but the book is read by specialists in the field. It is impossible to serve both of these masters equally. Second, five years have elapsed since the lectures were delivered in 1988. Writings from the years immediately preceding and following the lectures would have altered some of the major points in the book. For example, Rona Goffen's *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (1986) deals with Titian's *Ca Pesaro Madonna* and her “Nostro Conversatio in Caelis est” (*Art Bulletin*, 61 [1979]) offers a clearer and deeper meaning of the *Sacra conversazione*; and John Paoletti's “Fraternal Piety and Family Power” (in *Cosimo ‘il Vecchio’ de’ Medici, 1389–1464* [1992]) gives a different reading of the *Sagrestia Vecchia* in San Lorenzo. These examples are not to be taken so much as criticism of the book as of the dangers of allowing too much time to pass between completion of the manuscript and publication.

The book is composed of five chapters, presumably more or less the lectures as delivered, and an introduction. The chapters “Portraits and Poets,” “Domes,” and “History and Energy” stand out as the most important.

It is a mystery why Shearman chose Donatello's difficult bronze *David* to begin the chapter “The Engaged Spectator.” Donatello's *John the Evangelist*, with its adjustments for the viewer's position (see Charles Seymour, Jr., *Sculpture in Italy: 1400–1500* [1966]) and Nanni di Banco's *St. Luke*, which makes eye contact with the observer, would have been more effective. In painting, David Rosand treats the way Titian's *Assumption* in the Frari totally engages the spectator (*Painting in Cinquecento Venice* [1982]).

The chapter “Shared Space”—concerning the actual space between the viewer and the thing observed and how they relate—virtually ignores one-point perspective. My own “Ut Rhetorica Pictura” (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 [1957]) argues

that Leon Battista Alberti's system was devised to connect the viewer's space with that of the painting. The illusion of accurate one-point perspective, as in Donatello's *Feast of Herod* for Siena, or no linear perspective at all, as in landscape settings, remain to be treated.

In the chapter "Imitation and Slow Fuse" there are some telling examples, although not all connect to Shearman's argument. The discussion of Parmigianino's *Vision of St. Jerome* suggests to me that imitation can also lead to parody. The concept of the "slow fuse" has already been treated in a more universal sense in Henri Focillon's concepts of slow time and fast time (*The Life of Forms in Art* [1948]).

"Portraits and Poets" could stand alone as a brilliant essay. It opens a new window into the study and understanding of Renaissance portraiture. "Domes" leads one to expect another derivative of the dome of heaven, but instead it looks at the painted dome as viewed by the spectator and planned by the artist. Correggio's importance here gives him the respect that is his due.

The *energeia* of "History and Energy" is a transliterated literary term first applied to Titian's painting by Lodovico Dolce. This chapter provides insight into sixteenth-century painting, theory, criticism, and the relations between the arts.

The book merits a second reading to uncover the serious thought behind its facile façade.

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MICHEL HOCHMANN. *Peintres et commanditaires à Venise (1540–1628)*. (Collection de l'École française de Rome, number 155.) Rome: École française de Rome. 1992. Pp. 411.

The actual scope of Michel Hochmann's book is still more encompassing than its ambitious title implies. He describes nothing less than the economic and social circumstances of Venetian Renaissance art. Beginning with a discussion of how prices of works of art were determined, Hochmann moves on to a consideration of the intellectual and economic standing of the artist, the organization of the workshop, the interaction between writers and painters, the theory and criticism of the arts, and the leading sources of private and corporate patronage, to enumerate but a few of the larger issues considered in the text.

Although it is certain that there will be those who find fault with some detail or other in this sweeping undertaking, it is also certain that researchers of the Venetian Renaissance will be in Hochmann's debt simply for his having drawn together such a mass of material. Here is a rare case in which students of Venetian art now have a distinct advantage over those of Florence. For although such individuals as Fred-erich Antal, Martin Wackernagel, and Ernst Gom-

brich (see, for example, the essays in *Norm and Form* [1966]) have examined aspects of the social and economic wellsprings of Florentine art—Gombrich, arguably, can be said to have initiated this mode of studying the Renaissance—no single volume on Florence matches the breadth of Hochmann's.

Contributing to the singular nature and significance of the book is the simple fact that the study has appeared so unexpectedly. With the important exceptions of Rona Goffen's *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (1986) and Patricia Fortini Brown's *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (1988), which looked at aspects of patronage in Renaissance Venice, little can be said to have prepared the way for Hochmann. Only the chapters on the social, literary, and economic sources of Venetian art and architecture in Oliver Logan's survey (*Culture and Society in Venice, 1470–1790* [1972]) of the cultural life of the city begin to suggest the lineaments of his book.

One is by no means surprised to learn that certain Venetian patricians were the taste setters of the day during this epoch in which the artist was only in theory a free creator and in a city where an especially close interaction between artists and members of the political and financial elite was the rule. That such a time and place was marked by a direct belt of transmission between the inclinations of patrons and the work of artists is, again, to be anticipated. Hochmann is admirably thorough in his study of this phenomenon, and an appended section of documents lends substance and specificity to a text already dense with detail.

Elusive, however, is a sense of general evolutionary patterns, and absent too is a picture of the actual impact that the social and literary factors so assiduously amassed had on the creation and development of a particular artistic style in Venice. Thus, what should have constituted the core of the book emerges only in a tentative fashion. Fortunately it is in this very sphere that Logan's comments possess a special intellectual distinction and bite. Thus, whereas Logan, for example, is most precise in his reconstruction of the period eye—nuances in the contemporary understanding of such fundamental concepts as *disegno* and *colore* are brought forth with a clarity possibly surpassed only by David Rosand's thoughts on the subject (*Painting in Cinquecento Venice* [1982])—Hochmann here is superficial and uncertain.

One misses an ordering perspective to Hochmann's compilation of data, a more sharply drawn distinction between important and less-important facts and a more incisive and questioning approach. What were the broad motivations, insofar as they can be reconstructed, beyond the urge for opulent display, for the enormous financial commitment to art and architecture made by Venetians in the sixteenth century? On what basis, more particularly, were the chronological dimensions of Hochmann's subject determined? (This is alluded to only in an offhand way.) And what, if anything, distinguishes sixteenth-century patron-

age from earlier Venetian investment in art? These are only several underlying issues given little sustained consideration.

At a moment when the examination of art in terms of its social determinants has assumed an aura of political correctness, Hochmann's work is certainly timely. The detailed portrait of certain key features that characterized more than a century of Venetian artistic achievement will be extremely useful to other researchers. One eagerly waits to see where this valuable book will lead.

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RUTH MARTIN. *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550–1650*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1989. Pp. 282.

In the last twenty years, interest in the history of inquisitions has certainly increased, and simultaneously scholarship has come a long way toward a fuller portrait of its institutions. The simplified, uncritical, less-than-human depiction of the past has gone down in a hail of historical gunfire represented by numerous local and regional studies. Ruth Martin's examination of 500 *processi* provides another excellent contribution to one of the most heavily investigated of early modern societies. We can only hope that her view, and the others her book evokes, may one day correct the popular image of the Inquisition.

Martin limits her focus considerably, but what she does here is done very well. It is, obviously, a local study, covering only the city of Venice. In addition, she chose to concentrate on just a portion of its inquisitorial records: those concerning prosecution for witchcraft. This is no overly specialized topic, however, as she demonstrates that a variety of practices came to be treated under that conceptual umbrella. Necromancy, conjuration, divination, the use of charms and incantations, healing, and *maleficium* were all signified by Venetian use of the word *stregoneria* (witchcraft) between 1550 and 1650. Martin analyzes the motley range of activities that took place under such a general heading. Practitioners of divination, for example, engaged in many things: using holy objects, invoking saints, casting beans, and tossing hot lead or wax into water in a process akin to reading tea leaves.

Although varieties of witchcraft and activities in the various subcategories were numerous, Martin persuasively argues that the Venetian Inquisition had a real interest in just two items: ritual magic employing paraphernalia of the church, especially sacraments and sacramentals; and attribution to spirits or demons of powers belonging to God alone. The tribunal saw its work as the identification of ideas and beliefs underlying such behaviors, and, when necessary, their correction, not punishment. Thus Martin explains how carefully it circumscribed determinants of heresy. She indicates the major source of those deter-

minants and other inquisitorial procedures: the fourteenth-century manual of Nicolau Eymeric, *Directorium inquisitorum*. Venetian inquisitors, she argues, were as pervasively regular and consistent in their policies as persons in all strata of Venetian society were in their attempt to control the supernatural.

Through this description and analysis, Martin accomplishes a great deal. The information is instructive and suggestive about how women and foreigners (the vast majority of those investigated) were viewed by their fellow Venetians. Many of them engaged in witchcraft, especially ritual magic and healing, strictly for the money, and they did not lack customers. Her use of secondary literature points, albeit in a limited way, to the similarity between Venice's inquisition and others in Italy. Perhaps most importantly, she demonstrates that Venetian treatment of witchcraft was far different from the general portrait—by Norman Cohn, Carlo Ginzburg, and others—of uncontrolled tribunals at the beginning of the witch "craze" in Europe, pursuing incestuous practitioners of *maleficium* who allegedly flew to sabbaths and were bound in league with the devil. They viewed the courts as willing to force the innocent, whose beliefs they could not understand, into any behavioral definition that could be conveniently labeled heresy. Although not as entertainingly written, Martin's corrective deserves as wide an audience as these others. It also squares with recent publications like Silvana Seidel-Menchi's "Inquisizione come repressione o inquisizione come mediazione" (*Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea* 35–36 [1983–84]) and Giovanni Romeo's *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della Controriforma* (1990). These works also challenge the presumed rigor and effectiveness of an institution incorrectly described in the nineteenth century as virtually omnipotent and in the twentieth as successful in stamping out "popular" culture.

Any errors here are minor and strictly of omission. There is only one reference, for example, to the work of Jean Delumeau, whereas the superstition behind much of the behavior described invites comparison and comment. The desire for comparison with other inquisitions in early modern Europe voiced by critics of Martin must await a completely different sort of work. Until a new, modernized Henry Charles Lea steps forward with complete command of archival sources pertinent to the broad context in which such institutions operated, we must be satisfied with solid local works like this or interpretive essays like Edward Peters's *Inquisition* (1988).

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JOSEPH MALI. *The Rehabilitation of Myth: Vico's "New Science"*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 275. \$59.95.

Like all great thinkers, Giambattista Vico has been interpreted, and his precise importance designated, in various ways. His historical epistemology was indisputably epoch-making, but the meaning of his famous contention that we can know history because we have made it remains controversial. The sincerity of his Catholicism has been both assumed and attacked. His undoubtedly original emphasis on radical human creativity in the cultural sphere at times almost seems to foreshadow Nietzsche, yet his insistence on the role of Providence, his general political conservatism, and his critical attitude toward the Enlightenment, hardly suggest modernism. In fact, Mark Lilla (*G. B. Vico: The Making of an Anti-Modern* [1993]) has argued that Vico was a vehement antimodernist.

In light of these important controversies, Joseph Mali's volume is particularly welcome. Mali provides extensive, fair-minded, largely unpolemical reference to the enormous secondary literature on Vico with an unusually extensive examination of Vico's own intellectual context. His elucidations of Vico's main theses may not settle all arguments, but they are at once pointed and nuanced.

Mali's title refers most obviously to his account of Vico's defense of the function of myth in human history against its detractors among both Cartesian rationalists and early Enlightenment thinkers. Instead of inveighing against the preposterous elements of mythology, as so many in the Enlightenment did, Vico saw that thinking had to begin "poetically" before it could rise to abstract science. He also argued that the lack of veracity of myths as history did not destroy their value for the historian. Myths could serve to reflect historical realities, above all, class conflict, in the study of which Vico was perhaps the pioneer *par excellence*, and their truth for their own cultures itself constituted primary historical fact. Vico maintained, moreover, that the social significance of myth could scarcely be replaced by purely abstract knowledge. Myth involves a narrative presentation of ethical and political norms, and as such serves both as a key to the understanding of past cultures and an essential social cement for any culture. If Vico's positive attitude toward myth sounds conservative, Mali shows that Vico was not a supporter of just any conservatism and his defense of myth was not unqualified. Thus, Mali emphasizes Vico's remarkable insight that positive law represents the triumph of the plebs in a culture, for the weak need the protection legal uniformity provides. The aristocratic element, by contrast, emphasizes myth because of its very fluidity and amenability to the manipulations of a dominant class. If Vico's fear of decadence sometimes suggested a wholesale attack on the triumph of a legalistic individualism that would dispense with myth, Mali also notes Vico's criticism of the arrogance and cruelty of aristocracy. Vico's general political attitude, as a result of these various considerations, supported monarchy bolstered by religion out of the conviction that both would combine to temper the

evils of aristocratic and popular individualism alike, preserving social cohesion and valid popular rights simultaneously.

Mali offers similarly balanced discussions of many other problems, including Vico's views of human freedom on the one hand and divine Providence on the other. On these issues, he avoids both the tendency to see Vico as a proto-Hegelian in the fashion of Benedetto Croce or as a crypto-atheist. Regarding Vico's historical epistemology, the best account in English remains Leon Pompa's *Vico: A Study of the "New Science"* (2d ed., 1990), yet Mali's treatment is admirable, especially in the rich context he provides.

If Vico is the least readable of the great philosophers of history, one reason lies in the saturation of his arguments with seemingly ill-organized references to the details of Roman mythology and history. In presenting the abstract truths Vico wished to convey with comparatively little and very brief discussion of Vico's own analysis of particular myths, Mali sometimes leaves the reader wishing for more concrete examples of his general points. But this is an excellent book nonetheless.

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LAURIE NUSSDORFER. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 287. \$42.50.

Civic government in an age of absolutism frames Laurie Nussdorfer's evocative study of seventeenth-century Roman politics during the reign of Urban VIII Barberini. The book, divided into fourteen short chapters, explores various aspects and vignettes illustrating the complex interstices between papal authority and civic government in Rome. The author departs from earlier historiography and maintains that Roman civic institutions, far from being decadent or obsolete, retained considerable vitality under papal rule. Unlike capital cities in Northern Europe such as Paris, urban government in Rome never became completely absorbed by the apparatus of monarchy. Rome had more in common with other Italian cities in this period, where civic officials continued to be elected and urban councils functioned, if with limited prerogatives, and where office-holding was still regarded as honorable by the patriciate.

The *Conservatori*, who served as the chief civic administrative and legislative body in Rome, personified the ancient jurisdiction of the Senate and the Roman People (SPQR). Nussdorfer frequently invokes the authority of these Roman People, but we should bear in mind that they were neither synonymous with nor representative of the larger Roman citizenry. Rather, *Conservatori* were members of elite families who monopolized Capitoline affairs, and who usually had relatives well-positioned in the papal curia, the major center of power in Rome. Although

in comparison with other nobilities the Roman patriciate was an ill-defined and pervious elite, economic and political control over certain rents, markets, and privileges bound it together. Quick to defend those prerogatives, the *Conservatori* often adopted positions that ran counter to the best interests of the general Roman populace.

Roman civic government in the first half of the seventeenth century operated in the shadow of four powerful persons, Pope Urban VIII and his three nephews, who occupied key positions in papal government as vice chancellor, chamberlain, and military commander in chief. A study of civic government under Barberini rule perforce draws attention to the subtleties of negotiated jurisdictions and the informal patronage channels that oiled the wheels of government, both papal and civil. The *Conservatori* took part in an elaborately choreographed dance, with frequent bows to the dignities of position and privilege. They often found themselves playing intermediary to the pope or to his cardinal nephew, whether in endorsing the supporters of local cults, in defending patrician rights to rents from fish stalls in the market, in executing orders to police the city gates against plague or invading armies, in staging elaborate processions with triumphal arches for a new pope's *posse* through the city, or in acquiescing to higher and higher taxes during wartime.

Only during the interregnum between the death of one pope and the election of another did the citizens of Rome vent their spleen, satirizing and deprecating the departed pope in pasquinades, while the *Conservatori* boarded up their palace to protect their costly Bernini statue of Urban VIII from the crowd. These activities but faintly echoed the more tumultuous and assertive Roman People during the era of Stefano Porcari in the late Middle Ages. The cardinals and their courts and the unwieldy Roman baronial families, who in earlier centuries had provided other foci of power in the city, are absent from Nussdorfer's pages as significant actors. By the seventeenth century, had they acquiesced to papal rule in the same way as the *Conservatori*? Were their relations with the pope also highly nuanced along the lines Nussdorfer develops for the urban government? Nussdorfer convincingly demonstrates that, although muted and on unequal terms, discourse did exist between *Conservatori* and the papacy, and for that reason, her book makes a fascinating study.

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MARIA ROSA DI SIMONE. *Legislazione e riforme nel Trentino del Settecento: Francesco Vigilio Barbacovi tra assolutismo e illuminismo*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Monographie, number 19.) Bologna: Mulino. 1992. Pp. 483. L. 50,000.

Historiography is affected by the sociopolitical inclinations of its practitioners. It is therefore not surprising that the demise of old-fashioned nationalism, inherited from the Risorgimento, is prodding Italian historians to adopt a new, international approach that is yielding highly original results. Take, for instance, the city of Trent, the seat of the prestigious Istituto storico italo-germanico. After the unification of Italy, the history of Trent appeared all but irrelevant. Italian historians viewed Trent as a provincial city that played no primary role in the events of Italy, except for the Council of Trent in the late Renaissance and the rebirth of the nation in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In fact, Trent, a kind of bridge between Italy and Austria, was the focal point of the Austrian intellectual and political influence in the peninsula. This European perspective has been strongly asserted by Cesare Mozzarelli and Giuseppe Olmi in their introduction to the proceedings of a conference held at Trent in 1984 (C. Mozzarelli and G. Olmi, eds., *Il Trentino nel Settecento fra Sacro Romano Impero e Antichi Stati italiani* [1985], 9–13).

Coming in the wake of such renewal of studies, Maria Rosa Di Simone's book shows that, for the time being, one of the main beneficiaries of the fall of the patriotic taboo and its anti-German implications is a hitherto neglected figure, Francesco Vigilio Barbacovi (1738–1825), whose reputation as a champion of reform was overshadowed by his brilliant fellow countryman Carlantonio Pilati. As Di Simone asserts in the introduction (pp. 13–29), Pilati's popularity was based on his allegedly anti-Austrian orientation, whereas Barbacovi's neglect appeared justified in view of his apparent imperviousness to the Italian patriotic ideal and his adamant opposition to the French Revolution. The fact that Barbacovi was a strenuous adversary of the Old Regime was simply deemed as proof of his inconsistency, when it was not explained on the basis of his opportunistic, self-promoting attitude. Di Simone undertakes the double task of demonstrating that Barbacovi had a primary role in the history of the Enlightenment and that this movement was not strictly Anglo-French, since it had also a strong Habsburg component. Was Barbacovi a protagonist of that counter Enlightenment that Sir Isaiah Berlin postulated, following in the footsteps of Carlo Antoni's *La lotta contro la ragione* (1942)? Perhaps it is too early to answer this question. This problem should not be forgotten, however, because its eventual solution is bound to radically change our concept of the Enlightenment itself.

The book, founded on rich manuscript and printed sources, is divided into three parts: "Gli orientamenti teorici" (pp. 33–155), which deals with Barbacovi's intellectual formation and career; "L'adesione alla politica assolutistica" (pp. 159–241), which shows Barbacovi's sincere acceptance of the enlightened despotism, impersonated by the rulers of the prince-bishopric of Trent, C. Sizzo and P. V. Thun; "L'azione

reformistica" (pp. 245–399), which is dedicated to Barbacovi's political activity. Di Simone duly stresses the relevance of Barbacovi's contribution to the process that led from common law to a codified system of law, especially in the field of civil law, since Barbacovi's major work is entitled *Progetto d'un nuovo codice giudiziario nelle cause civili* (1785), which was inspired by the radical reforms enacted by the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II in his vast domains. Moreover, the author illustrates Barbacovi's interdisciplinary approach to legal matters using the manuscript inventory of his personal library, which constitutes the appendix of this volume. Di Simone aptly compares the size of Barbacovi's library (668 titles) to that of other private libraries of the same region, such as Pilati's (more than 1,000) and Girolamo Tartarotti's (around 2,000). Legal texts, partly inherited from his family, represented the bulk of Barbacovi's library. Despite the fact that Di Simone, following an eighteenth-century article attributed either to Giovanni Compagnoni or to Giovanni Ristori, establishes a tantalizing link among Gianvincenzo Gravina, Giambattista Vico, and Barbacovi, Vico's name is not on the list of Barbacovi's books. Yet it contains writers that are familiar to students of Vico's reception in the eighteenth century, such as Antonio Genovesi and Gaetano Filangieri. According to Di Simone, Lodovico Antonio Muratori and Genovesi were the Italian authors who exerted the greatest influence on Barbacovi. She asserts that Muratori "had a determinant role in initiating a methodological renewal of the culture of Trent," while Genovesi "offered to Barbacovi many suggestions for applying a rational basis to the philosophical and religious field, adherence to natural law, and a scientific approach to economic problems" (pp. 71–72). Perhaps Genovesi appealed to Barbacovi because he was able to amalgamate Vichian insights with the ideas of the French Enlightenment, which was well represented in Barbacovi's library.

This book is well researched and cogently argued. Despite its narrow focus, it can be recommended to any person who specializes in the Enlightenment, because of its wide implications for the intellectual history of Italy. I found only some minor blemishes. For example, the first name of the author of a pioneering essay on Barbacovi, wrongly given as Luigi, should read Francesco Menestrina (p. 21). Di Simone forgets to inform the reader that the *Festschrift für Adolf Wach* (1913), where Menestrina's contribution first appeared, is also available in a reprint (1970). From a scholar wishing to vindicate from obscurity a writer such as Barbacovi, one would expect more regard for the English and French translations of his works. Yet Di Simone does not care to inform the reader that some of Barbacovi's writings were translated into French, while his epitome of G. Tiraboschi's history of Italian literature was translated into English. Such minor faults are due to the lack of a bibliography, which is quite usual for Italian

books and is only partially compensated for by the copious index of names.

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JONATHAN MORRIS. *The Political Economy of Shopkeeping in Milan, 1886–1922*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 312. \$64.95.

Despite the seemingly limited scope implied in the title, Jonathan Morris's study is a fine example of how local history can be used to illuminate broad social and political transformations.

The Milanese shopkeeper movement began as part of a loose alliance with the democratic forces of the Left during the 1880s. By 1905 it had moved considerably over to the center, if not center-right, of the political spectrum, although Morris insists on a degree of residual independence that does not necessarily seem to be confirmed by the evidence presented.

With great clarity Morris delineates the composition and economic geography of the *esercenti*, or shopkeepers: grocers of all varieties, bakers, butchers, hotel keepers, hairdressers and barbers, restaurant proprietors, salt vendors, and tobacconists. By the 1890s each group was organizing by category; the entire Milanese small shopkeeper movement was grouped in the General Federation of Milanese Shopkeepers; and the Milanese movement itself began to serve as a model for other cities.

Morris notes how three key determinants worked to shape shopkeeper politics in Milan. The first was geography. Until 1898 Milan was divided into two zones. The old city center was subject to a duty (*dazio*) levied by the commune and by the central government on most items of consumption. The former suburban quarters remained a duty free area, even after they were incorporated into the commune of Milan. The *dazio* had a double effect. It tended to divide shopkeepers as a category because those outside the old walls had the cost advantage. Moreover, the *dazio* created a social solidarity between the suburban shopkeepers and their working class neighborhoods.

If geography separated the *esercenti*, two other factors worked to mute its impact. All *esercenti* were united during the 1880s and 1890s in their struggle against consumer cooperatives that enjoyed special privileges in cities that were split into tax-free and taxed zones. From 1885 until 1898, when a unified customs area was created, shopkeeper politics fluctuated between periods when the *dazio* issue was emphasized and other moments when the struggle against the cooperatives dominated. After 1898, with the abolition of the *dazio*, a formidable new enemy appeared to reunite the *esercenti*. The resolution of

the crisis at the end of the century in a reformist Giolitti government opened the way for new center-left coalitions between middle-class democrats and socialists on the local level. In Milan a radical-democratic alliance, strongly influenced by the socialists, took power from 1900 to 1904. But by 1904 the shopkeepers' movement found itself divided from the center-left communal administration. The *esercanti* reacted negatively to the drive for municipalization, especially as it affected the powerful bakers' association. Even more important was the hostility generated by the union movement as it sought to impose by means of strikes mandatory rest days and closed shop hiring on the commercial and service sector.

Morris explains how these issues made it difficult in the long run to create a stable proletarian, lower-middle-class alliance. In the context of Milanese politics the only alternative for the shopkeeper federation was to ally with the *moderati*, the upper-class liberal industrialists and landowners. Gone was the old solidarity between the shopkeepers and their clients in the suburbs. Rapidly disappearing was the old paternalistic relation between the shop owner and the employees who were targeted by socialist organizing drives.

Morris's book is a wonderful example of the injunction, hammered home by a new generation of Italianists like John Davis, to think local. I would press the evidence a bit harder than Morris does, but he offers clear indications that the margins for Giolittian reformism were increasingly narrow and that the split between all varieties of socialists and important sectors of the middle class was fundamental on the local level and inevitably conditioned national politics.

ALEXANDER DE GRAND
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GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU. *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. New York: Architectural History Foundation or MIT Press, Cambridge. 1991. Pp. xx, 336. \$50.00.

In her classic study, *Beyond the Sublime Porte* (1931), Barnette Miller wrote that Topkapı Sarayı "is far more interesting as a historical monument than as a work of art. This volume is accordingly a historical sketch of the palace and of a few of its institutions and activities, and not in any sense an archaeological or architectural treatise, for which the time and the opportunity are not yet ripe" (p. xv). Her research had been conducted between 1912 and 1928 when the palace's archives were not yet available to scholars and before any serious on-site study of its remains had taken place.

Now Gülrü Necipoğlu clearly demonstrates that both time and opportunity have arrived for a new study of the Topkapı. Necipoğlu offers not only a creatively novel approach to understanding this pal-

ace but also asks us to reconsider the very nature of the Ottoman polity dominated by the Topkapı and its inhabitants. Similar approaches appear in John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (1991) and S. Kent, editor, *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study* (1990).

The Topkapı was in many ways the embodiment of the empire. Outsiders called both palace and state the "Sublime Porte," referring to the space in front of the gate between the second and third courts, between the public and private sectors. There have been studies of Ottoman court ceremonial (Konrad Dilger) and of the architectural form of the palace (Sedad Eldem and Feridun Akozan), but Necipoğlu has focused on the connections between the two. We have here learned a great deal that is new about both, and now it will be impossible to consider one without the other. And the information she provides is invaluable for other historians of governmental structure, political behavior, and culture.

In the author's words, "this book both analyzes the multileveled architectural discourse of the Topkapı Palace and raises questions about the ideology of sovereignty, the meaning of court ceremonial, the interplay between architecture and ritual, gender zoning, public versus private life, and the perception of a building by contemporary audiences" (p. xx).

In chapter 1 she discusses the origins of both the palace and the ceremonial it exhibited. Chapters 2 through 4 examine in detail the "public" sectors of the palace, the first and second courts. It was here that "outsiders" were presented with the official faces of Ottoman sovereignty. Chapters 5 through 10 take the reader through the "private" palace, where the sultan and his most important servitors, male and female, resided. Chapter 11 concludes with a brief comparison between Topkapı and its contemporary royal residences throughout the Islamic world.

Because so much of Necipoğlu's argument depends on the ability to visualize the architecture and the human actors therein, it is unfortunate that the publisher did not allow the inclusion of high quality illustrations. I know the palace as it survives today, but many readers unfortunately will not.

The book is filled with interesting features of Ottoman royal life. It would be nice to know more about the origins and use of sign language within the palace, permitting a "rule of silence" to be enforced. Deeper comparisons with other palaces, such as the Alhambra and Bahçesaray, and Safavid residences, integrated throughout the book rather than appearing only at the end, would have broadened our understanding of the Ottoman example. And here it would be helpful to know what, if anything, Ottomans knew of these other palaces.

Although the author makes compelling arguments and explanations of the meanings of Topkapı's various elements, and particularly what one can learn of the ruling class's ideologies as they were illustrated by

the palace's architecture, one wonders what the actual role of Ottoman rulers like Mehmed II and Süleyman was in its design, redesign, building, and rebuilding. Do we know for certain what, if anything, these individuals had in their minds about architecture, about the connections between building and ideology? Did they contribute? Or were they defined by the buildings in which they lived? What were the relationships between sultans and architects? Did Süleyman and his architect, Sinan, discuss issues of design?

These are questions, however, that only now come to mind as a result of Necipoğlu's splendid study. It is difficult to find the correct words to characterize this book, but they would include a combination of "extraordinary," "provocative," and "thorough."

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MICHAEL LÖWY. *Redemption and Utopia: Jewish Libertarian Thought in Central Europe; A Study in Elective Affinity*. Translated by HOPE HEANEY. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. 276. \$35.00.

Michael Löwy explores in this remarkable study the complex interplay between the Jewish tradition of historical messianism and the critique of capitalism embedded in German revolutionary Romanticism. He has chosen to focus on a generation of Central European Jewish intellectuals of an antiauthoritarian political orientation who left a considerable mark on twentieth-century radical thought. These "pariahs," rebels, and romantics were widely disparate figures, although Löwy is adept at discovering implicit and explicit links between their respective conceptions of history, society, and the human condition.

Löwy's list includes dissident religious Jews tending to anarchism like Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig, and Gershom Scholem; atheistic and libertarian assimilated Jews such as Gustav Landauer, Ernst Bloch, Georg Lukács, and Erich Fromm (Löwy's classification is a little forced here); the unclassifiable Walter Benjamin; a French exception, the anarchist and Zionist Bernard Lazare; and brief discussions of such figures as Hans Kohn, Rudolf Kayser, Manes Sperber, Ernst Toller, Erich Unger, Leo Löwenthal, and Eugen Leviné. In addition, there is an interesting if somewhat problematic chapter on Franz Kafka under the heading of "'Theologia negativa' and 'Utopia negativa.'"

By using the concept of "elective affinity," (p. 6) a special kind of dialectical relationship between socio-cultural configurations, Löwy sets out to show the elements of convergence, mutual attraction, and at times fusion between redemptive religious messianic thought and radical secular utopianism. In this effort he is largely successful, particularly in his analyses of Buber, Scholem, Benjamin, Fromm, Landauer, and Lazare. The collective portrait that emerges of this

romantic and messianic generation, with all its diversity and contradictions, convincingly establishes a correspondence between Jewish messianism and libertarian utopianism, constructed around the vision of revolution as a redemptive interruption of the continuity of history.

Virtually all of the thinkers whom Löwy examines rejected the liberal and Marxist myths of progress as an automatic, irresistible, and evolutionary movement toward material and technological improvement. In this they were influenced by neoromantic critiques of industrial civilization and scientific positivism, by the desire to restore the broken harmony between humanity and nature, and by an impulse to rediscover the spirit of *Gemeinschaft* (community). But this did not lead them into irrationalism or to the fatal confusion between religion and politics that culminated in totalitarian worship of the state or of a supreme leader. In this regard they were closer to the Hebraic concept of *Tikkun* (a restoration of the original harmony between things), predicated on a future-oriented utopia where evil has disappeared and the world has been radically transformed.

Despite their romantic sensibility, these Jewish thinkers did not abandon the rationalist principles of the Enlightenment, nor did they aspire to the simple restoration of the precapitalist past. Their quasi-religious faith in a revolutionary redemption of humanity may have proven illusory, but, as Löwy's subtle and profound book reminds us, their legacy is a rich one.

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EUGENE BOIA. *Romania's Diplomatic Relations with Yugoslavia in the Interwar Period, 1919–1941*. (East European Monographs, number 356.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. xiii, 501. \$63.00.

Relations among the nations of Central and South-eastern Europe during the interwar period were strained at best. The notable exception, however, was the relationship between Romania and Yugoslavia, states generally friendly long before their formal creations. This study by Eugene Boia is the first to examine that association comprehensively.

The interwar period does not lend itself to cursory or simplistic discussions, especially in terms of foreign policy. Every nation in "Eastern" Europe needed to pursue a new agenda, a situation dictated in large measure by the peace treaties and the territorial revisions after 1918–19. In looking at Romanian-Yugoslav relations—primarily from the vantage point of Bucharest, since the author was denied access to records in Belgrade—Boia depicts a ray of sunshine in the otherwise bleak, and ultimately tragic, diplomatic landscape. Despite difficulties regarding the

ever-present territorial squabbles that so poisoned inter-Balkan relations—most notably the matter of the Banat and that region's respective minority populations—Belgrade and Bucharest were able at least to avoid serious tensions and divisions. Recognizing the existence of neighbors bent on revision of the Paris accords, they were able to concentrate on the more important matter of maintaining the status quo. Unfortunately, they could not withstand the pressure from predatory great power neighbors. The cornerstone of Romanian-Yugoslav relations, namely the Little and Balkan ententes, proved to be of little value once the powers, especially the revisionist ones, began to assert their own interests. During the 1930s, bilateral agreements throughout the region generally, and between Romania and Yugoslavia specifically, were systematically undermined by the greater needs of, first, economic necessity and, later, the futile attempt to keep the powers at arm's length. Agreements with one state often negated previous pacts with others, thereby lessening their importance until finally all treaties became nothing more than mere scraps of paper. When Romania and Yugoslavia were ultimately drawn into war, they found themselves on opposite sides.

On the whole, this is an excellent chronological synopsis of Romanian-Yugoslav relations from the postwar search for security through their final disintegration after 1939. The study remains balanced and objective, even though the absence of records from Belgrade shifts the focus to the Romanian side of the relationship. But although Boia is thorough in his treatment of the subject, not surprising given the book's outstanding bibliography, at times the narrative is more encyclopedic than analytical in approach. He is exhaustive in recounting the twists and turns of diplomacy over two decades, yet he provides little insight into their overall significance; analysis of events is primarily confined to chapter summaries and an excellent conclusion. For example, the major point of contention between the two capitals, the matter of the Banat, is examined in a piecemeal fashion rather than as a whole. As such, the problem of the Banat as an irritant that potentially threatened to disrupt the relationship is often overshadowed by other issues seemingly far less important. Therefore, although this is a solid study that chronicles the complex nature of bilateral diplomacy in a difficult era, it remains for the reader to provide the interpretation.

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LORÁNT TILKOVSKY. *Die Sozialdemokratische Partei und die Frage der deutschen Nationalität in Ungarn 1919–1945*. (Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, number 194.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1991. Pp. 139. \$22.00.

As a consequence of military defeat in World War I, Hungary acceded to the Treaty of Trianon, a draconian settlement that deprived the country (excluding Croatia) of two-thirds of its territory and three-fifths of its population. But even before the victorious Allies presented their final terms to the anxious Magyars, most of Hungary's national minorities had defected to Romania, Czechoslovakia, or the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1920–21, therefore, a beleaguered and isolated Hungarian government redoubled its efforts to retain the allegiance of the Germans ("Swabians") of western Hungary; those efforts proved unavailing, for with the exception of Sopron and its environs—secured by a plebiscite—the Allies felt justified in awarding the so-called Burgenland to Austria.

Thus, Trianon Hungary had to confront the world as a truncated state. At the same time, however, it was very nearly homogeneous, with the 550,000 remaining Germans comprising the only sizable national minority. Recognizing this, and feeling betrayed on all sides, the ruling Magyars were in no mood to concern themselves too much about minority interests. Moreover, they were convinced that the members of the Swabian intelligentsia, most of whom had chosen to assimilate, would understand a policy designed to encourage, but not coerce, the inclusion of their less-well-educated brothers and sisters. It is that policy, camouflaged in order to mollify world opinion, that Loránt Tilkovszky finds unsupportable.

Tilkovszky has devoted long years to studying the German minority in Hungary and, as a result, has formed an unfavorable opinion of István Bethlen and other Magyar politicians who, he maintains, affected to pursue a generous policy toward the Swabians, particularly with regard to education in their native language, while intentionally moving at a snail's pace to train teachers and provide textbooks. Nor does he have much good to say about Jakob Bleyer, a political moderate and one-time minister of nationalities who was the leading Swabian spokesman until his death in 1933, or Gustav Gratz, sometime president of the *Ungarländischer Deutscher Volksbildungsverein*, a cultural organization with close ties to the government.

In Tilkovszky's judgment, the Hungarian Social Democrats alone adopted a progressive approach to nationality policy. To be sure, they made little headway with the rural, conservative Swabians, but they did well to insist on the right of self-determination and to point out that the nationality problem was inseparable from the social question; both could be solved only in a new, and democratic, Hungary.

Whether or not democratic governments can resolve nationality conflicts—as opposed to conceding power to minorities—remains an open question, but Tilkovszky clearly underestimates the independent force of national feeling. At the same time, he fails to appreciate the dangerous implications of the principle of self-determination. In the wake of communism's collapse in the Soviet Union and Eastern

Europe, he should know that Elie Kedourie was right when he suggested that "to upset all existing arrangements in order to make national self-determination the sole and overriding aim of all political action is a recipe for perpetual war."

At the very least, as Bethlen and other prescient Magyar rulers recognized, self-determination poses a serious threat to the internal peace and integrity of established states. Indeed, after Hitler's *Machtergreifung*, the Hungarian Swabian Franz Basch—later tried and executed for treason—organized the *völkisch Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn*, which demanded collective status for Swabians, helped the Waffen-SS recruit in Hungary, and seemed poised to act as a fifth column for Nazi Germany. That is one reason why the postwar Hungarian government, in which Social Democrats played a significant role, expelled some 250,000 Germans.

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JAMES H. SATTERWHITE. *Varieties of Marxist Humanism: Philosophical Revision in Postwar Eastern Europe*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies, number 17.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1992. Pp. vi, 255. \$34.95.

Few book-length studies exist of Marxist revisionism in Eastern Europe, so James H. Satterwhite's volume helps fill a major gap in our knowledge of the region's intellectual life. He is very specific about his objectives: "to trace the development of Marxist humanism in Eastern Europe through a presentation of some of the key concepts as they were formulated by the various thinkers at different stages in their own intellectual growth, in the context of the historical changes that took place in each country" (p. 11). Satterwhite employs Marxist humanism as a code word for philosophical, as opposed to political, revisionism, a humanism that was especially original in the fifteen years following Joseph Stalin's death. The national varieties of revisionism studied are Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Polish, and Yugoslav, but Satterwhite is emphatic that the axiological and epistemological bases of this intellectual current were remarkably similar across national lines.

Satterwhite meticulously describes the origins, development, and creators of the philosophical revisionist school. In the face of the evidence he has amassed, one is inclined to agree with his conclusion that "the Marxist-humanist intellectuals arrived at their positions independently of one another" (p. 187) even while sharing a common conceptual repertoire. Their shared concepts included praxis, human essence, need, alienation, community, history, totality, and rationality. But the author does not overlook other key issues as well, noting, for instance, the importance of religion for Leszek Kołakowski and art for Karel Kosík.

The selection and assessment of East European revisionist writing is not even-handed. The only treatment that the noteworthy Polish philosopher Adam Schaff receives is in the final endnote of the book. By contrast, writings of the less influential Tadeusz Kroński are examined closely but, perhaps symbolically, he is not included in the book's index. The bibliography for the Czech philosopher Kosík is lengthier than that for the entire Budapest school put together. Indeed, analysis of arguably this best known of all critical Marxist groups is limited, focusing largely on the Hungarians' ideas of social and radical needs. Inevitably, some philosophical exposition by East European Marxists becomes arcane, as in the case of Gajo Petrović of the Yugoslav Praxis group, who defined praxis as "universal-creative self-creative activity, activity by which man transforms and creates his world and himself" (p. 180).

Perhaps it is precisely Satterwhite's idiosyncratic approach that lends excitement to the otherwise somber task of exegesis of Marxist philosophical discourse. At the end, the reader is left pleading for an expanded account of the Praxis group and for a more detailed evaluation of the praxeological impact of Marxist humanists in Eastern Europe generally. The achievement of this book, then, is the new light it sheds on the years of the region's de-Stalinization. The author accomplishes this not, as one might have expected, by rummaging through hitherto inaccessible archival materials, but by showcasing the corpus of published writings of a unique collection of Marxist thinkers.

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DAVID MOON. *Russian Peasants and Tsarist Legislation on the Eve of Reform: Interaction between Peasants and Officialdom, 1825–1855*. (Studies in Soviet History and Society.) Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, with the cooperation of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham. 1992. Pp. xvii, 249. \$45.00.

David Moon set out to discover, in his words, "what the devil peasants" were up to in their frequent, seemingly willful, "misunderstanding" of tsarist legislation affecting their lives in the first half of the nineteenth century. This volume consists of three case studies: illegal migration by serfs to the North Caucasus in the 1830s and 1840s; peasant response to two decrees allowing seigneurs to initiate changes on their estates in the 1840s; and two waves of volunteering for military service during the Crimean War, when peasants sought freedom from serfdom. The studies are framed by useful introductory and concluding chapters discussing sources, historiography, and the nature of peasant interactions with officialdom. Moon is well versed in literature on peasants in general, cites Soviet writings on peasant disturbances

in the prereform period (B. G. Litvak, V. A. Fedorov, M. A. Rakhmatullin, P. G. Ryndziunskii), and draws heavily on central archival material, primarily reports by tsarist officials on incidents among the peasantry as well as records of investigations and trials. Petitions, letters, and other documents produced directly by peasants themselves were much harder to come by.

In fact, this book is a confrontation with the sources, an exercise in examining the often opaque and distorted reporting on peasants to elucidate the nature of their actions and, beyond that, the components of their beliefs and motivations. Moon approaches the task methodically, even humbly, and every document, every incident, is teased for possible interpretations, every conclusion hedged with qualifications and confronted with alternative readings. At the heart of the investigation is a conviction that studying the network of communications from the central government to the peasant household, how decrees were promulgated and implemented in a largely illiterate society, will go a long way toward answering these questions. Moon's approach is formulaic; for each case study he provides a section on the legislation at hand, on the implementation of the decree, and on peasant responses. This produces a good deal of repetition and at times makes for tedious reading. Yet one cannot fault the degree of analytical rigor that Moon brings to his study.

Moon concludes that in each of the incidents of willful peasant behavior during the reign of Nicholas I, peasants were in fact acting on plausible interpretations of legislation that had been imperfectly communicated to them (whether from the pulpit, through urban-rural horizontal connections, taverns, letters from migrant workers, or household servants snooping in on conversation by their owners). The fact that seigneurial peasants often gave "less modest responses" to modest, often inconsequential decrees (those of the 1840s, for example) does not detract from this argument. Indeed, peasants were both opportunistic and legalistic. They very much wished to operate within the law, to find legal redress for their grievances. The fact that many decrees and regulations were implemented without *glasnost*, that others were differentially applied—enforced in one province but not in a neighboring one—or that the same legislation was deliberately misconstrued, selectively interpreted, or simply ignored by local governors, provided a certain plausibility to peasant suspicions that they were being hoodwinked, that priests and landlords were "hiding" decrees, and that the tsar really wanted to help them but was prevented from doing so by the nobility and by local officialdom. Moon's depiction shows Russian peasants to be highly instrumental and pragmatic in their behavior; they were generally pacific, informed, and willing to use legal procedures. His conclusions support arguments put forth by Teodor Shanin and Daniel Field for the second half of the nineteenth century. If, in searching for legal justification for their actions, peasants were

willing to twist the law in their favor, they were only mimicking other classes and social groups in their behavior. As Moon puts it, peasants "were trying to achieve what seemed possible in a given situation" (p. 180).

If we now understand peasant actions a bit better, the question of peasant belief remains. From a careful reading of the sources, Moon argues quite plausibly that collective memory (of, say, recruitment levies during the 1812 campaign), as well as folklore, religion, and peasant aims, served as "screens" in mediating popular readings of official texts. He argues that, although immediate peasant aims were limited, they also had "wider, though not revolutionary, goals" (p. 170). From the documents it is clear that serfs regarded a change in status making them state peasants to be a marked improvement in their lives; at least some peasants recognized that all the land did not necessarily belong to them, that they might have to pay for it to win freedom, or relinquish some or all to the nobility, and that they were willing to pay a "reasonable level" of obligations. More radical aspirations visible in texts Moon generally attributes to "people on the fringes of the peasantry" (p. 181). It was not that most peasants could not imagine a better world; they simply knew their chances of achieving a more radical transformation were virtually nonexistent and the costs of trying prohibitive.

In Moon's interpretation, the sources suggest peasants calibrated their scales of justice according to a belief in a "moral economy," but in reality this remains but a plausible hypothesis. Likewise, although Moon argues that there is evidence for a strong tradition of communal and collective action among the peasantry, he never explicitly refutes Steven Hoch's assertions to the contrary, instead suggesting rather unconvincingly that the strength or weakness of commune bonds might be explained by the nature of dues paid by the local community. In my mind, he is on far stronger ground when he attributes differences in communal traditions or peasant beliefs to regional differences and, particularly, to the length of time a given community had been ensnared.

This study is to be doubly welcomed, not only for filling a gap in our understanding of a quite neglected period in Russian history but also as a model of scrupulous and modest scholarship.

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VAHAN D. BAROOSHIAN. *V. V. Vereshchagin: Artist at War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. xvii, 198. \$34.95.

This admirably concise and lucid monograph represents the first English-language biography of the famous Russian antiwar painter V. V. Vereshchagin (1842–1904). As a student of literature, Vahan D.

Barooshian logically compares Vereshchagin at various times with Leo Tolstoy and his *Sebastopol Stories* and portrays his art as a naturalist and realist act of moral conscience comparable to the texts of many nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals.

Vereshchagin gave up a promising naval career for painting and served as both artist and soldier in a number of campaigns associated with Russian imperial expansion into Central Asia. He saw firsthand the fighting in the Caucasus, Turkestan, Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, and Samarkand, not to mention the Spanish-American War and the Russo-Japanese War, in which he was killed. His paintings convey in bloody realism not the battle scenes of the day but the horrors and barbarism of all war: a pile of skulls of war dead, severed heads as war trophies, Indian rebels tied to the mouth of British cannon for execution, Roman crucifixions, and the frozen corpses of prisoners in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. Contemporaries compared him with Jean-Léon Gerome, with whom Vereshchagin studied in Paris, and Francisco de Goya. The American general William Tecumseh Sherman called him the “greatest painter of the horrors of war that ever lived.” Vereshchagin himself wrote that “the sight of heaps of human beings slaughtered, shot, beheaded, [and] hanged [before] my eyes in all that region extending from the frontier of China to Bulgaria, has not failed to impress itself vividly on the imaginative side of my work.”

This book sets the story of Vereshchagin's life and art in the context of his time. Considered a nihilist revolutionary by the Russian government and a Russian spy by the British, Vereshchagin led a stormy life as war participant and artist in a modernizing Russia with a newly emerging art market (the wealthy collector Pavel M. Tretiakov purchased a number of his paintings). He destroyed some of his paintings criticized by the Russian government and declined a professorship at the Academy of Arts. He exhibited great personal heroism in battle, and his paintings attracted the admiration of foreign military officers from Berlin to West Point.

Barooshian's main question is why Vereshchagin failed to receive proper recognition as an artist after his death in 1904. He concludes that Vereshchagin's prolonged painterly sermon against the cruelties of war suited neither the Soviet government nor those in the West embroiled in their own conflicts. Perhaps, too, photography and television have reminded us only partly of the graphic horrors of mass murder that Vereshchagin lays before us all. Barooshian has given us a beautifully concise and intelligently illustrated version of a life in art against war.

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THOMAS M. NICHOLS. *The Sacred Cause: Civil-Military Conflict over Soviet National Security, 1917–1992*. (Cor-

nell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 259. \$32.50.

Thomas M. Nichols has written an interesting and provocative work on the impact of Soviet civil-military relations from V. I. Lenin to Mikhail Gorbachev and beyond. His work is especially valuable in providing a series of profiles of civil-military conflicts over national security affairs in the eras of Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, and Gorbachev. Nichols develops a helpful overview of the current Yeltsin era in Russia and the difficulties with existing theories of civil-military affairs.

The problem with the study begins when Nichols moves to develop his own theory. He sees a constant and dangerous tension between an increasingly Marxist military and an ever more pragmatic party that leads to a parlous state of “subjective control.” Nichols traces the problem to the Stalinist era and the failure of subsequent leaders to avoid intermittent personal and doctrinal interventions that gutted nascent military professionalism.

This theory then raises serious questions. First, what is a Marxist military? Nichols tells us the senior officer corps were “well indoctrinated Marxists” (p. 7) and that “the Soviet military rather than the Communist Party has proved to be the ultimate repository of orthodox Marxism-Leninism” (p. 8). Yet the book's index devotes exactly eight notes to Marxism-Leninism. How would we know a Marxist military if we saw one? The heavily indoctrinated Chinese People's Liberation Army under Lin Biao in 1967 rose in revolt at Wuhan and then backed the conservative destruction of the Maoist radicals in the Cultural Revolution. Western history is also filled with military intervention to crush radical causes, ranging from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871 to the Russian Revolution of 1905. Nichols must make a case for the Soviet military being different from the typical traditional, conservative, total institution seeing in country and religion a “sacred cause.” This he does not do. Furthermore, why was the military not affected by the same forces making the party and society pragmatic and de-ideologized?

Particularly disturbing for a historical work is the absence of any serious treatment of the civil war and World War II. They were the two major wars in Soviet history and had a profound formative impact on the development of the Red Army. Yet they are absent from this work.

We also need some comparative perspective on other Marxist militaries, from Eastern Europe to China and Vietnam. They too are absent from this work, and if included would seriously modify the perspective developed by Nichols.

Finally, Nichols criticizes Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev for not moving to “objective control” of the military. There were, however, no military coups against these leaders and they ruled collectively for over fifty years, with two of them dying in office. Was

it possible they knew something more than we are allowing them here?

Nichols has made a daring entry into the academic arena. If he has fallen somewhat short of achieving his goals, he has nevertheless raised a host of interesting ideas and improved the level of debate in the field.

JONATHAN R. ADELMAN
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DONALD FILTZER. *Soviet Workers and De-Stalinization: The Consolidation of the Modern System of Soviet Production Relations, 1953–1964*. (Soviet and East European Studies, number 87.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 318. \$59.95.

Donald Filtzer has written a sequel to his indispensable *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization* (1986), which treated the prewar Stalin era. Again relying on a close reading of the Soviet press, now supplemented with the numerous post-1956 studies conducted by Soviet sociologists, Filtzer brings his analysis of Soviet class structure into the period of Nikita Khrushchev, with concluding comments on Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms and the end of communism.

Here as in his earlier work, Filtzer elaborates on the interpretations of Leon Trotsky and Milovan Djilas, arguing that the Soviet Union must be understood as a society in which a ruling elite (rooted in but not identical to the bureaucracy) consciously pursued its class interests and strove to consolidate its political domination. The elite's actions, we are told, were largely successful, resulting in the rise of Stalinism, a system in which workers were "atomized," that is, restricted to individual responses such as absenteeism, turnover, and soldiering. Taken together, however, the "individual" actions of millions of workers, abetted by managers desperate for labor power, amounted to de facto control over the labor process and thus represented the imposition of limits on the elite's ability to extract surplus, the basis of the elite's existence. While Stalin was still alive, various headlong assaults on workers' control over the labor process were tried, but none worked. The result was something of a standoff: no organized, overt challenges to the elite's hegemony, but an economy characterized by exorbitant costs, poor-quality output, and high spoilage.

Against this background, Filtzer maintains that "de-Stalinization was faced with one overriding task to which all the others—no matter how great their historical ramifications—were subordinate, namely the need to increase efficiency of surplus extraction" (p. 231). He points out that under Stalin the Soviet Union achieved great-power status, yet with the dictator's death in 1953 Khrushchev inherited a militarized industrial economy that produced few consumer goods (just three pairs of socks for each member of the population), while agriculture was in a

shambles. The problem, however, was not only the need to shift investment from heavy to light industry and agriculture but also to induce workers to raise productivity—without the possibility of recourse to the coercive power provided by the market, that is, the threat of unemployment, which, Filtzer speculates, at that time would have provoked possibly uncontrollable protest and disorder. In other words, the elite perceived that the Soviet system had to be reformed, but wanted to do so without undermining basic class relations. This contradictory approach doomed the Khrushchev reforms to half-measures, which were predictably ineffective.

Filtzer once again expertly details the staggering waste of the Soviet economy by marshaling vivid examples gleaned from the Soviet press (applying, without saying so, "capitalist" notions of efficiency and rationality in his account). This time he adds a welcome analysis of what he refers to as the role of patriarchy in consolidating Soviet class relations (in the form of a valuable chapter on women workers), as well as a suggestive discussion of Harry Braverman's argument on deskilling, shown to be especially applicable to the Soviet Union (a problem that has been examined in considerable depth by Soviet sociologists). But the heart of the book comprises a review of the various labor reforms undertaken during the period 1953–64, including the centerpiece wage reform, whose goal of reestablishing a connection between earnings and work performance was effectively subverted by workers, thanks (as always) to the collusion of factory management, whose willingness to circumvent or betray central directives is said to be derived from the class-based, inefficient socioeconomic system and thus inimical to correction.

Enter Gorbachev. Having tried to tinker with "the system" by means of a series of inconsistent reforms, and supposedly having rejected something Filtzer calls genuine social democracy (an ideal whose institutional structure is largely unspecified), "the elite" opts for the introduction of private property and the market in a desperate, but once again successful, gamble to secure its class interests. For Filtzer, the turn to capitalism is not an unexpected outcome of unforeseen historical circumstances but a deliberate strategy, and one pursued not by various social groups or factions therein but by "the elite." How such an argument squares with the manifestly improvised and reactive character of central policies, the fierce resistance by large segments of the former Communist elite to privatization, and the strikes by miners, among whose demands was a call for the rapid transition to the market, remains unclear.

Because Filtzer assumes that the elite and the workers are in an objectively antagonistic relationship, he recognizes no need to investigate anyone's actual attitudes. He also has almost nothing to say about intra-elite struggles. Moreover, there are essentially no historical actors in his book. Not just the workers but even Filtzer's uncannily enduring elite,

ostensibly the great makers of history, remain an undifferentiated and mysterious entity. That said, one comes away from this provocative study on the tribulations of Soviet labor policy and shop-floor practices with a lingering appreciation for its unorthodox, non-intelligentsia-centered perspective on the Khrushchev period.

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JOHN VAN OUDENAREN. *Détente in Europe: The Soviet Union and the West since 1953*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 490. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.

This book by John Van Oudenaren focuses on attempts by the Soviet Union to moderate Cold War hostilities and pursue constructive policies in its relationship with the states of Western Europe between 1953 and 1985. The strength of this approach is that it highlights the complex evolution of Soviet relations with the West European powers, topics that are often obscured in treatments focusing on the Moscow-Washington rivalry. The weakness of this strategy is that, given the preponderant role America played in East-West relations, downplaying U.S. involvement tends to produce a somewhat astigmatic view of Soviet policy in Europe. Yet Van Oudenaren's emphasis on the detente process as the core of the Soviet Union's approach to Europe is a welcome corrective to the traditional Cold War literature, with its one-sided depiction of Soviet hostility, intransigence, and subversion. The author does not, however, thoroughly examine the dialectical interaction of cooperative and competitive aspects of the Soviet doctrine of peaceful coexistence.

Van Oudenaren opens with a discussion of the origins of the Cold War, especially the breakdown of the various diplomatic and political mechanisms for inter-Allied cooperation. He suggests that Joseph Stalin initially intended to maintain some level of cooperation with the Western powers, mainly to preserve levers of influence in the West, while at the same time consolidating his hold on Eastern Europe. The West, the author contends, refused to permit this "double standard," so the years 1947-49 saw a steady shift of Soviet policy toward intransigent non-cooperation, culminating in the Korean War and the threat of war in Europe as well. In advancing this line of argument, the author expressly rejects Marshall Shulman's suggestion that a thaw in East-West relations began as early as 1949. Instead, Van Oudenaren contends that the turning point came only in 1953 with Stalin's death.

The author is especially interested in tracing the institutionalization of detente—that is, the birth and evolution of the various organizations, committees, ongoing diplomatic negotiations, economic structures, non-governmental groups, and so forth, which

formed the matrix of the detente process. Most of the book is comprised of topical chapters, each developing the thesis that, from Nikita Khrushchev to Konstantin Chernenko, the Soviet Union sought ways to minimize the risk of war and increase cooperation (on its own terms, of course) with the nations of Western Europe. The topics covered include the heritage of wartime four-power negotiations, traditional diplomacy in other venues, the arms control process, economic relations, the use of non-traditional means (parliaments, political parties, trade unions, cultural exchanges, churches, and peace movements) to pursue diplomatic goals, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I found the long chapter on arms control negotiations and the detailed discussions of non-diplomatic channels for advancing Soviet foreign policy objectives to be especially valuable.

The last chapter contains a brief section labeled "Soviet Policy, 1985-89" and an even shorter one on "Soviet Policy, 1989-90." Given the book's 1991 publication date, Van Oudenaren is curiously reticent in appraising the extraordinary changes wrought by Mikhail Gorbachev. "While Gorbachev was groping his way toward a new conception of detente," the author contends, "his policies on specific issues remained for the most part rather traditional" (p. 353). This judgment seriously underestimates the revolutionary results of Gorbachev's abandonment of the class struggle theme in Soviet foreign policy and his acceptance of the reasonable sufficiency doctrine in defense policy. The book does document, however, the sluggish Western response to the accelerating Soviet campaign for arms control and detente generally, although the tight focus on Western Europe partially obscures the special role played by the Reagan and Bush administrations in impeding rapid progress in these areas.

Specialists in international relations and Soviet foreign policy will constitute the main audience for this book. The author, a leading RAND Corporation researcher, employs a topical and analytical approach to East-West relations that sacrifices narrative line (and with it, readability) in favor of rigorous thematic analysis. This organization also makes for considerable repetition, since each of these chapters covers the whole period from 1953 to 1985. Moreover, the text is splattered with an alphabet soup of abbreviations for organizations (SSOD[UN], ESRO, ENI, COMISCO, and so on) and processes (CBM, CSBM, FBS, NST) that presents yet another obstacle for less sophisticated readers. Although Duke University Press has published this book in a paperback edition, its usefulness as a textbook will be limited. Only the most well-informed and determined undergraduates will succeed in plowing through it.

The book is based on extensive research in both Soviet and Western published documentary sources and secondary literature. Inevitably, given the broad chronological and topical scope of this volume, the author relies to a great extent on the work of other

scholars. The text is densely annotated and the extensive bibliography is quite useful. In sum, this volume is a partially flawed but nonetheless valuable examination of Soviet relations with Western Europe in the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras.

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NEAR EAST

RONALD C. JENNINGS. *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1570–1640*. (New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilization, number 18.) New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 428. \$60.00.

Ronald C. Jennings is more closely associated with the fruitful use of the records of the Ottoman empire's Islamic courts than perhaps any other historian on this side of the Atlantic. Beginning with his "Loans and Credit in Early Seventeenth Century Ottoman Judicial Records" (*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 16 [1973]) and continuing with articles on women, wealth, taxation, slaves, and urban demography, among other topics, his work has confirmed the richness of Ottoman court records as a source for the social history of the Balkans and Middle East in the Ottoman era. Jennings's most recent effort combines two of his abiding interests, court documents and Cyprus, in a study of the Ottoman conquest of the island from Venice. The result is an archival tour de force, which, despite its flaws, will remain an authoritative source not only for Cyprus but also for many issues relating to Ottoman-Islamic practices in newly conquered lands.

In addition to an introduction, conclusion, bibliography, and indexes, the book has thirteen chapters ranging over such topics as: "The Women of the Island"; "Kadi, Court, and Legal System"; "The Military Corps (Janissaries and *Sipahis*) and the Police"; "The Zimmis: Greek Orthodox Christians and Other Non-Muslims"; "Disastrous Effects of Locusts, Plague, and Malaria on the Population of the Island"; "Forced Population Transfers and the Banishment of Undesirables"; "The Economy as Seen through Western Sources"; and "The Economy as Seen through Ottoman Sources." The book's great merit is its focus on the changes in, and patterns of interchange among, the various social and economic populations of Cyprus: Muslims, non-Muslims, converts, Orthodox, Latin Catholics, women, men, immigrants, natives, borrowers, creditors, the military, civilians, and slaves, among others.

No document, traveler's account, or history seems to have escaped Jennings's notice, and he weighs his own findings against existing records. There is much that is new here, and more than a few surprises. For example, colonization of the island through the forced transfer of Anatolian Muslims was an unmiti-

gated failure. Resistance to being transferred seems to have been strong, with most of the targeted families managing to avoid removal to Cyprus. The number of Muslims on the island did, however, increase over the period, largely through voluntary conversions. Among these, according to court registers, were a number of Christian women, who appear to have converted to Islam to escape unhappy marriages. Their husbands were given an opportunity to convert as well, but if they refused (as many did), the marriages were nullified and the women were free to go their own way. Also among the new converts were former members of the Latin Christian landed elite, who had dominated Cyprus since the Crusades. Here the chief incentive was property, since those permitted to convert were also allowed to retain their estates. As for the Ottoman troops on the island, nearly half of the Janissary infantry and *sipahi* cavalry were converts, although not necessarily native to Cyprus. The findings here remind us again that the terms "Ottoman" and "Turk" are not the easy synonyms many present-day politicians from the Ottoman successor states make of them.

Despite its store of information, the book has been poorly edited. From the start its organization, with two chapters on specific legal cases inexplicably preceding the explanation of the legal system in chapter 3, adds unnecessary opacity to an already challenging subject matter. It is also repetitious, with many cases appearing in several different chapters, and Jennings's chapter summaries echoing his introductions. There is no glossary, no guide to spelling and pronunciation, and no table of abbreviations. These are essential for the nonspecialist as well as for the expert, who is left to wonder at the translation and transliteration oddities encountered throughout the book. Typographical errors are legion, particularly in the romanized Turkish that Jennings uses for the original Ottoman Turkish (Arabic alphabet) excerpts. The book leaves out most diacritical marks and letters—umlauts and the undotted "i" especially—that make Turkish distinctive, comprehensible, and pronounceable. One could trust the alternate spellings here if they were consistent throughout the book, but they are not.

All that being said, the book is still a useful piece of scholarship. The research that underlies the work, and the illumination of both place and peoples that result from that research, help to compensate for its flaws.

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BARUCH KIMMERLING and JOEL S. MIGDAL. *Palestinians: The Making of a People*. New York: Free Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 396. \$29.95.

The cover of Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal's book features a panoramic painting from 1859 of Jerusalem, dominated by the Dome of the Rock, above which lies the title. As this combination of words and images indicates, this book foregrounds the Palestinians, traces their roots as a people, and yet is premised on the assumption that their identity is constructed rather than innate, albeit rooted in the landscape and structures depicted before us.

This marks a departure from scholarly works wherein the Palestinian national narrative has been treated as an adjunct to that of others, or as if the Palestinians were a recent entrant onto a stage dominated by nations of more ancient lineage. The main thesis of this book, convincingly put forward in a coherent and well-researched narrative that makes a number of original points, is that "a Palestinian national identity, like those of other modern nations, has been created—invented and elaborated—over the course of the last two centuries" (p. xvii).

The book has a number of other merits. It gives full importance to the social and economic roots of the historical processes it traces, examining the construction of the Palestinian identity in terms of the urban notables, the rural populace, and other classes of society. Furthermore, it situates modern Palestinian history within the context of three revolts: those of 1834 and 1936–39, and the intifada that erupted in 1987. This is an original approach, especially when taken in conjunction with the authors' focus on social history and their attempt to trace the tension in Palestinian politics between the cosmopolitan cities of the coast and the towns and cities of the Palestinian highlands.

The book has a number of flaws, some serious. One seems rooted in the authors' weak command of Arabic, which leads them into errors of transcription of names, places, and terms. Their familiarity with different aspects of the complex and diffuse Palestinian reality is uneven: they have a surer touch regarding the West Bank and Gaza Strip than they do with the Palestinians in Lebanon and elsewhere. Thus, the names of several of the camps in Lebanon are given incorrectly in a map (p. 149), with a major one missing, and there are many other similar minor errors elsewhere.

More serious are questionable points of interpretation. One involves the opposition that the authors set up between Jaffa and Nablus as symbolizing the coast-hills tension, which overemphasizes the importance of Nablus at the expense of Jerusalem and gives insufficient weight to the impact of the virtual disappearance in 1948 of the Arab populations of Jaffa and Haifa, two of the three largest Arab cities in the country. Another is the assertion (p. xvii) that the Zionist movement played a paramount role in shaping the Palestinian people. Important though Zionism was, this assertion downplays the earlier historical roots of Palestinian identity and the fact that national identities arose elsewhere in the region within simi-

larly artificial mandatory frontiers without the benefit of the stimulus of Zionism.

This is not, as the authors admit, a historical work based exclusively on primary research. Indeed, although heavily researched (with forty-seven pages of notes), it has no bibliography and uses no archival materials, or any Ottoman materials. It suffers from the absence of such an underpinning, in terms of broad matters of interpretation as well as points of detail. It nevertheless presents a generally accurate and often original interpretation of the historical development of the Palestinian people and in so doing fills a gap in the field.

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AFRICA

DAVID NEWBURY. *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780–1840*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 371. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Among the centralized states of Interlacustrine East Africa, oral traditions typically portray state formation as an extemporaneous process, precipitated by the sudden arrival of an immigrant royal family, by which institutions of kingship are imported from the outside. Many subsequent scholarly treatments, often involving intricate analyses of oral and other data, tended to present a more complex picture of interaction between "court and commoner," although they still basically accept a vision of the direct transmission of institutions from the outside. Other, more recent examinations have advanced a further variation by which political expansion emerges from a previously constructed base of ritual centralization.

David Newbury's study of the evolution of kingship on Lake Kivu's Ijwi Island in the western Rift Valley presents an intriguingly different view. Questioning earlier notions, he argues that the arrival of the Basibula royal family on Ijwi was more an end than a beginning of the process there. Instead of a direct transmission of political structures, Newbury reconstructs a more subtle procedure by which concepts of kingship on Ijwi initially were derived from early traditions of royalty common to much of the wider Rift region, and then adapted to the texture of a dynamic Ijwi social environment. Central to this process were fundamental changes in Ijwi clan identity that served to define, and often limit, the role of the Basibula court. Newbury contends that both ritual and political centralization actually served to narrow the political arena, as local interactions (better expressed as between "king and clans" rather than "court and commoner") intensified on Ijwi. With kings becoming ever more dependent on island ritualist clans, a concept of kingship isolated from the mainland evolved. The author thus offers a strikingly comprehensive and nuanced analysis that transcends

the rather one-dimensional treatments of many earlier studies.

Newbury often builds his analysis with consummate skill, displaying solid detective work and an intimate familiarity (derived from his considerable periods of residence) with the fascinating world of Ijwi. This is particularly evident with his perceptive examination of the Muganuro first fruits ceremony. The vivid picture that emerges here demonstrates not only the essential opposition between centralization and differentiation on Ijwi but also significantly contributes to an understanding of the religious structures of the western Rift.

Newbury's sophisticated investigation of the evolution of Ijwi clan identity is also successful. In this analysis, he considers not merely factors such as assimilation or migration on the emergence of clan conceptualizations, but examines the fundamentally changing nature of clan categories themselves. From this sometimes subtle, yet always compelling, treatment, Newbury concludes that the processes of clan formation on precolonial Ijwi bore marked similarities to those by which "tribal" identities would be created in the colonial era. This is an important observation that will, perhaps, help us to rethink the rather overstated and simplistic dichotomy, evident in some recent studies of East African social organization, between transient and fluid precolonial groups and the rigidly exclusive ones of the colonial world.

Finally, one is impressed with the sheer volume of oral interviews Newbury conducted during his periods of fieldwork (over 600 on Ijwi itself and many others in adjacent mainland areas), although it is lamentable that the interviews were recorded merely as handwritten notes, rather than verbatim on tape. In an appendix the author also provides a useful discussion of his methodology and offers a remarkably honest assessment of the difficult research environment in which he had to work.

But all this does not mean the work is without problems. There is a curious structural imbalance between the text itself and the sixty pages of endnotes, which, together with appendixes and glossaries, comprise one-third of the volume. Much important information, and even potentially key themes, are relegated to these sections. For example, the possibility that Ijwi kingship may have been merely an embryonic institution, really only developing in the twentieth century under colonial rule, is acknowledged by Newbury only in an endnote (p. 316, n. 22), instead of being confronted more directly in the narrative itself. The text, however, sometimes is rather verbose and esoteric, loaded with intricately detailed information that can consume wider analyses. This is especially evident in those areas concerned with ethnography and genealogy, where readers must decipher such complexities as "The *mumbo* [king's classificatory sister] in question was the *mumbo* of a man who himself had succeeded as classificatory sororal nephew of the preceding *mubake* [king] . . . ;

in fact he was the son of the unmarried daughter of the unmarried consanguine sister of the former *mubake*" (pp. 53–54).

On another level, some of Newbury's historical reconstructions are less than convincing. In the second chapter, for instance, his re-creation of a "Lake Kivu region prototype society" is an unfortunately hypothetical and selective exercise. The most important problems, however, pertain to certain aspects of Newbury's handling of the oral materials. He contends that Ijwi oral recollections are not really "traditions" in any conventional sense, but rather tend to be informal, although thoughtful, renderings by informants who are best described as "true historians." To some degree overwhelmed by the vast array of data collected from these individuals, he concludes that this complex mosaic of oral recollection cannot be reassembled into any coherent whole; instead, he offers the analogy of a jigsaw puzzle missing many pieces, which never constituted a total picture in the first place. Observers of other East African societies, working with similarly diverse and often informal materials, have seen things rather differently, however. To employ an analogy similar to Newbury's, they often have discerned several distinct, although sometimes overlapping, puzzles, and see as their main task as determining which pieces belong to which puzzles.

Compounding such problems is the fact that the author never provides us with much direct insight into the Ijwi oral materials themselves. Even short excerpts from specific renderings are extremely rare, and so one has to rely exclusively on Newbury's broad portrayals of them. In chapters 9 and 11, however, there are some indirect references to a number of traditions, and here, quite unexpectedly, one catches a glimpse of apparently elegant, formal sagas, replete with dramatic and symbolic imagery that raise serious questions about Newbury's depiction of Ijwi oral recollection. It is a pity that the author did not allow the oral materials, at least occasionally, to speak for themselves.

And yet Newbury has made valuable contributions, both to the history of the western Rift and to the essential question of state formation in Africa. Despite some limitations, the book has much to teach us and is worthy of the attention of any student of African history.

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JOHN MIDDLETON. *The World of the Swahili: An African Mercantile Civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 254. \$30.00.

The last twenty years have seen a massive increase in the number of Western works on aspects of Swahili culture, history, and language. Some are books, some

are articles, some treat the whole coast, some treat local areas. The result is that the East African coast is now reasonably well dealt with compared to the spotty coverage of 1970. John Middleton's book, and his forthcoming edited version of James de Vere Allen's posthumous history, are the latest in a lengthy line.

In chapter 1, "The Swahili People and Their Coast," Middleton introduces the coastal setting and settlements, deals briefly with the thorny issue of Swahili origins and identity, and sets out the Swahilis' traditional mercantile position between Africa and Asia. He next examines the political and economic history of Swahili settlements, from the mythical to the colonial period, describes the components and organization of the two types of Swahili settlement, "stone-towns" and "country-towns," and analyzes the internal social organization of the two kinds of town. He explores the strategic implications of marriage, and also examines the personal significance of marriage, mainly for women. Middleton devotes a chapter to the Swahili belief system, that of Islam and of the spirits, and then discusses how change and continuity arise and how society and individuals deal with them. The titles or themes of several chapters are recurring themes running through the book: change and continuity, stone-town versus country-town, Africa versus Asia, and how Swahili society has endured down the centuries. Middleton's aim is to present a historical ethnography, and he succeeds in doing this. Some may find his subtitle, "An African Mercantile Civilization," misleading, for, other than chapter 2 and part of chapter 1, little of the book deals with mercantilism.

Middleton's qualifications and abiding interest in his topic are obvious. His first contact with the East African coast goes back to 1944, he first worked there thirty-five years ago, and his whole career as a social anthropologist has been punctuated by regular publications on the Swahili coast. As a linguist, I am more confident about the quality of writing on any topic when I see that the writer can handle the language of his target: Middleton seems to have conducted his interviews in Swahili, the Swahili of the glossary and text are error free, and the book contains no linguistically unacceptable statements.

I found this a good, enjoyable, thoughtful, and well-written book. It has a wealth of detail and at the same time a persuasive synthesis. The author wants to present a "new interpretation" (p. viii), but I doubt he does. He does, however, present many old and some new facts and interpretations in a wise and balanced way, and also provides some new insights. The book is easy to read and not weighed down by theoretical matters, and it leaves the reader with a feeling that this is a solid and comprehensive book.

The study does have a few minor failings. Its geographical focus is Lamu and rural Zanzibar, with less geographical coverage of other areas and none of Somalia or Mozambique. There are a few small factual mistakes: the Comoro islands are not Swahili

speaking (p. 8) and there is a gravestone at Barawa at least as early as the early monuments cited on page 161.

The positive far outweighs the negative. I would strongly recommend the book for students, anthropologists, and those interested in East Africa.

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ROBERT G. GREGORY. *South Asians in East Africa: An Economic and Social History, 1890-1980*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xii, 410. \$76.00.

On the eve of political independence in 1960, nearly 400,000 Asians resided in the four British colonial possessions of East Africa: Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. Many of them had been born in East Africa, and most of their families had arrived in the region during the twentieth century. With the publication of Robert G. Gregory's study, the precise nature of their contribution to the economic and social life of East Africa has now been elucidated. Based on a large number of interviews and an impressive array of primary sources drawn from archives in East Africa and Britain, Gregory's work destroys numerous myths and offers a definitive record on Asian activities in British and German East Africa from the beginning of the colonial period through the first two decades of independence.

Gregory's narrative is framed around a simplifying, yet analytically useful, assumption. In his view, the Asian population was the true capitalist force in East Africa while the European colonial administrators and even a large segment of the European settler and business community embraced a more socialist and state-managed economic philosophy. This perspective controverts the conventional historical wisdom that European capital was the primary social dissolvent in colonial East Africa. Yet it is confirmed repeatedly in the life histories of Asian entrepreneurs who pioneered commercial and industrial establishments in East Africa in the face of administrative and settler hostility.

In important chapters dealing with commerce, agriculture, and industry, the author offers striking new data about the manifold activities of Asians in East Africa. First, he demonstrates that the vast majority of the Asian émigrés were from poor farming families and were not, as many scholars have assumed, the sons and daughters of the merchant class, who could draw on a wealth of business experience. Quite the contrary, their skills were agricultural, but after early experiments in farming had either failed or been blocked, business, the crafts, and clerical and professional occupations became the accepted avenues to wealth and high social status. Gregory provides a stimulating and new perspective on some early British proposals to create Asian farming communities in East Africa. Although most failed, they did leave a

residue of Asian-run sugar estates and sugar-refining factories in Uganda. Second, the author's unparalleled set of interviews with Asian businessmen demonstrates that many of the industrial advances made in East Africa after World War II stemmed from the vision of Asian entrepreneurs and were made in spite of administrative opposition.

A word of caution is in order. If it is possible that a study suffers from an excess of enthusiasm, then this work does. Gregory adopts the stances of the Asians themselves on the most controversial issues of recent East African history. He is faithful to the point of view of his informants, and in places the tone of his work is that of an apologia. To be sure, Asian contributions have been overlooked, perhaps even maligned, and Gregory's book provides a needed corrective. But the complaints against the Asian communities of East Africa from their critics concerning their aloofness, their corruptibility, and their loyalty to outside groups and authorities are too gently passed over. A more penetrating discussion of these issues would have illuminated the dilemmas and tensions facing politically vulnerable yet economically dynamic populations compelled to make their way in a colonial polity.

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DIANA JEATER. *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia 1894-1930*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 281. \$72.00.

Joining a growing body of literature concerning gender and sexuality in colonial Zimbabwe, Diana Jeater's fluidly written book examines the transformation of African marriage relationships in Southern Rhodesia during the first four decades of European rule. Jeater explores a number of themes recently investigated by other scholars, particularly the European "civilizing mission" as it relates to the reconstruction of gender and sexual identities and European attempts to control African sexuality through "moral legislation" and the reconstitution of "customary law." Hers is, however, the first book-length study to focus specifically on the impact of colonization on African marriages.

Jeater's stated intention is to examine the rules of African marriage relationships before colonization and to show how these rules were transformed during the colonial period: through what processes and in whose interest. Her ultimate goal is to demonstrate the ways in which Africans participated in "the creation and contestation" of the new rules and how they felt about the end result (pp. 1-2).

Jeater argues that before the European occupation, African social identity was largely determined by a person's place within a web of lineage relationships. A

man's or woman's sexual identity could not be conceived of separately from his or her membership in a family group. Hence, marriages were not simply arrangements between individuals but rather between lineages, which laid out and enforced rules about sexual behavior, selection of spouses, and the provision of bridewealth or brideservice. Lineage elders were the power brokers who, because they controlled marriage arrangements (and the regulation of sexual desire more generally), controlled the reproduction and identity of the group.

According to Jeater, two factors led to the fundamental transformation of African marriage relationships during the colonial period. First, new rules were established for gender relationships, particularly in urban areas, as women and junior men cut themselves loose from lineage control and entered into unions unauthorized by lineage heads. Second, the intrusion of European moral discourse altered the meaning of African sexuality. The colonizers viewed African sexuality not in terms of lineage identity and obligation, but in terms of the moral and the immoral, the acceptable and the perverse. European attempts to legislate African behavior and morality resulted in state intervention into the most private and personal aspects of Africans' lives.

Jeater does an admirable job of accomplishing two of her three objectives. She presents a convincing picture of African marriage relationships in the pre-colonial period and examines in detail the ways in which these relationships were altered under colonialism. She falls short, however, of her final goal. Although Jeater claims to explore African women's and men's conceptions of their gender and sexual identities according to their own terms of reference, African perspectives, while not absent from her work, are relatively sparse. For the early period, Jeater relies on African testimony in colonial court cases, an appropriate albeit problematic source. For the later period, she conducted oral interviews. Given her emphasis on African self-definition and the perspective these interviews provide, it is disappointing that she conducted so few.

Finally, although Jeater makes reference to a number of general, mostly older, works written about colonial Zimbabwe, there is less sense that her study fits into a larger, more recent historiography of gender relations in that country. An important contribution to this burgeoning field, Jeater's book could only have benefited from the insights of other scholars who have written extensively about gender, sexuality, and race relations in Southern Rhodesia during the same time period.

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G. R. BERRIDGE. *South Africa, the Colonial Powers and "African Defence": The Rise and Fall of the White Entente*,

1948–60. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xiii, 234. \$59.95.

Unhappily, for both historical and intellectual, let alone political, reasons, this careful monograph by G. R. Berridge is of marginal interest for students of either South(ern) African diplomacy or international strategic studies. It could easily have been otherwise as this book's detailed archival research in fact makes a contribution to several continuing discourses about the character of postwar interstate diplomatic and strategic relations.

The always fanciful schemes of the apartheid regime to position itself in the West's Cold War structures, largely through an "African" defense organization agreed to in principle at allied conferences in Nairobi and Dakar in the first half of the 1950s, are here revealed to be quite problematic. This is so for a variety of bureaucratic, economic, personality, political, strategic, racial, and ultimately extraneous reasons. Aside from any qualms about humanitarian ethics, the cost-benefit equation of any African arrangement involving the Afrikaner state was increasingly negative for postwar Britain, France, and the rest of then still-metropolitan Europe: "by the end of the 1950s," Berridge writes, "the usefulness of the South African entente to the colonial powers had greatly declined, while its difficulties and dangers had increased significantly" (p. 158).

Berridge's slight analytic "framework" of entente versus alliance is, however, rather irrelevant: "by the end of 1960 not only had South Africa's dreams of a multilateral white alliance dissolved; the white entente itself was also hollowed of most of the content which it had enjoyed in the first half of the 1950s" (p. 182). Also rather irrelevant are the protracted bureaucratic struggles among European ministries, commands, and ministers. More fascinating is the book's subtext of changing economic-strategic calculations as the postwar world's political geography (consider the divergence between Afrikanerization and Africanization, both of which eroded British influence and interest) and technology (Berridge makes brief mention of Britain's shift to nuclear defense in the Northern Hemisphere [p. 157]) became apparent. This is especially so now, as both the bipolar and apartheid eras are ending.

Berridge has gained access to hitherto secret archival files that illustrate the complexities of sustained negotiations, fluctuating agendas, and side deals. Successive British governments engaged in "linkage" to advance their waning leadership in the Middle East and declining arms exports. By contrast, nationalist regimes played both anticommunist and Cape route cards effectively, leading to early control over the then-salient Simonstown naval base. Moreover, Pretoria's relentless pursuit of imperial protection, but on its own terms, provides lessons in the misuse of apparently multilateral and/or functional arrangements: the racist state's imperative was always defense

of apartheid in depth, whether regional or continental.

There are three other regrettable silences in this book. First, Berridge mentions postwar African nationalisms throughout the continent only as a complication rather than as a "new" security focus. Second, he emphasizes only official interstate negotiations, whereas "civil society" in both Africa and Europe also played a role. Finally, he fails to mention the postwar economic plans, from Bretton Woods to the Marshall Plan, despite their political and economic implications. In short, there is too little here for analysts and activists in either the "new" South(ern) Africa or the "new" security studies.

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ASIA

JO-SHUI CHEN. *Liu Tsung-yüan and Intellectual Change in T'ang China, 773–819*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 221. \$54.95.

The dust-jacket blurb for this book, reprinted on the first page, makes two claims: that this is the first comprehensive study in a Western language of Liu Tsung-yüan; and that it offers a new interpretation of the origins of the T'ang-Sung intellectual transition. The first claim is certainly false. Jennings Mason Gentzler's dissertation, "A Literary Biography of Liu Tsung-yüan" (Columbia University, 1966) and William H. Nienhauser *et al.*, *Liu Tsung-yüan* (1973), whatever their respective failings, both attempted comprehensive portraits. The second claim may be plausible, but serious methodological problems centering around the handling of original T'ang texts call much of this "new interpretation" into question.

Jo-shui Chen's stated concern is not to present a comprehensive account of Liu's writings but rather to examine "the life and thought of Liu in the light of their connections with mid-T'ang intellectual changes" (p. 188). He extracts and analyzes from Liu's surviving corpus only those passages that he deems useful for a modern reconstruction of medieval Chinese intellectual history. He thus passes over virtually all of Liu's poetry and his fables, the genres in which traditional Chinese opinion held Liu to have made his most important contributions to literary culture. These writings presumably contributed little to Chen's concerns as an intellectual historian, but a comprehensive study of Liu is impossible without them.

Chen's focus is on Liu as an intellectual. Yet no T'ang term or concept approximates this recent notion of a distinct class of people qualified by virtue of superior intellect to comment on public and political matters. The modern Chinese term (*chih-shih*) is a neologism imported from Meiji Japanese. Even the present English usage does not predate the nine-

teenth century. Chen's imposition of this Western concept back to the society of ninth-century China ultimately invalidates much of his view of that world. We encounter, for example, a puzzling attempt to divide Liu's early associates into two groups, one of which is labeled "nonintellectual," even though it included Han Yü (768–824), one of the most important writers and thinkers of the period (pp. 57–59). Chen even interjects the notion into primary texts, translating the term *shih* as "intellectuals" and *mo-hsüeh* (literally "superficial learning") as "nonessential intellectual activities" (p. 27). As the work of Peter Bol (*This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* [1992]) has shown, the term *shih* designated the ruling elite of China as a social class; specific members of that class may or may not have been intellectuals in the modern sense. Yet for Chen, Liu and his contemporaries are "intellectuals" who generate "ideas and tendencies." They develop "theories" and form these into a "thought." They have "campaigns" that "surge" and "flower" into "movements." In brief, they behave remarkably like the intellectuals of contemporary China.

Chen's handling of primary texts is both a symptom and a cause of his fixation on Liu as an intellectual. For him, Liu's corpus is a uniform, undiversified block of text, a repository of ideas, opinions, and tenets. Chen is not interested in individual texts as conceptual wholes, in genre, in language, or in rhetoric. So he has dissected Liu's corpus into a multitude of snippets, each containing an intellectual theme. His scholarship fragments the text in an effort to separate the intellectual nugget from the nonintellectual dross. In the entire book, Chen translates only two complete texts, both short poems (pp. 174, 187). All other translations are excerpts and fragments, usually presented without indication of the title of the work from which they come or discussion of their original contexts. Many of these translations are taken from the earlier versions of Gentzler and Nienhauser. And in spite of recent research suggesting the intentional ambiguity of even the most innocent-looking T'ang philosophical tracts (T. H. Barrett, *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist or Neo-Confucian?* [1992]), Chen ignores the rhetorical suggestiveness of Liu's writings, the nuance, irony, and allegory that are his major hallmarks as a writer. For Chen, only the articulation of intellectual content is more important.

Chen's discussion of Liu's "Record on the Western Balcony of the Lung-hsing Temple in Yung-chou" (pp. 173–75) and his relations with the local T'ien-t'ai monk Chung-hsün may serve to illustrate how dangerous such a treatment of T'ang texts can be. In this text, Liu, writing in metaphors, invites Chung-hsün to be his master: open a window on my ignorance as I have opened a window to admit the light into my darkened room here in the temple and I will "follow" (*t'u*) you (p. 174). Yet Chen adopts Gentzler's flat, prosaic translation (which missed the technical Buddhist vocabulary), excerpts the text to omit the closing

reference to Chung-hsün, ignores the polysemous possibilities of the graph *t'u* ("to follow, to become a disciple of"), and finally generalizes the passage to refer to the world at large rather than to Liu himself. Then Chen refutes the "baseless claim" in a Sung text that Liu was a disciple of Chung-hsün. Generally, Chen's insistence on dividing the Chinese spiritual life into philosophy and religion (the former is intellectual, the latter is not), an outmoded division that no serious scholar of Chinese Buddhism or Taoism any longer maintains, considerably muddies his discussion of Liu's relation to Buddhism.

To write a valid intellectual history of medieval China it is necessary to allow the primary texts to generate their own categories for investigation. All texts are potentially relevant, and each must be understood as an integral whole before its working parts are dissected. Such a history would encompass all forms of the Chinese intellectual life as its subject and not confine itself to being simply a history of ideas, narrowly conceived along Western lines and without connection to actual events. Chen's book presents many examples of this latter tendency. For example, he informs us that the mid-eighth-century "resurgence of Confucian consciousness" was instigated by three "groups of intellectuals": Tu Fu and Yüan Chieh, the Hsiao Ying-shih/Li Hua group, and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* scholars (pp. 24–31). Yet Chen himself admits that the first and third groups were unknown in their own time and that the second group "did not launch an independent Confucian intellectual movement" (p. 28). In other words, there was a Confucian resurgence in the eighth century only from the viewpoint of a later-conceived, diachronic history of Confucianism. A movement has been created where in fact none existed. Chen's intellectual history remains in the final analysis more intellectual than history, a modern reconstruction of a progression of ideas isolated from their contemporary impact or value.

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JOHN F. RICHARDS. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Part 1, volume 5, *The Mughal Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 320. \$44.95.

John F. Richards's volume fills an important gap. Until now there has been no basic narrative, political history of the Mughal empire. The treatments available have been either seriously compromised by religious, political, or economic assumptions, or are out of date, or both. The virtue of this work is to present in a single volume the newest research by scholars from India and abroad on the rise, spread, and development of Mughal rule in India.

Although Richards's reliance on the political-military theme causes his narrative to lag at times, his decision proves wise in the end. By situating the

discussion of the social, economic, institutional, cultural, and religious developments of the period within a chronological, dynastic context, he casts new light on many of the issues of Mughal history. For example, his discussion of the institutions of Akbar's new state—the *mansabdari* system of ranks, the land revenue system, and the religious organization—makes much more sense in the context of the emperor's effort to stabilize the state in the face of strong resistance from Hindu warrior groups, rigidly orthodox ulema, and his own immigrant followers.

In the same way the placement of the chapter on the economic and social changes of the late seventeenth century after the chapter on the early political and military successes of the emperor Aurangzeb both illustrates the increase in wealth and power of the empire in the one hundred years after Akbar and hints at the weaknesses that will ultimately prove fatal to the Mughal state in the ensuing thirty to forty years. The penultimate chapters on the causes and disastrous results of Aurangzeb's Deccan wars are another example of Richards's ability to summarize skillfully and clearly the newest information on a complicated and often confusing subject.

Richards's approach has the virtue of integrating a great deal of the newest research into a familiar framework, but it suffers from the defects of its strength. Although this approach serves him well when the problem is one of digesting and presenting new but uncontroversial material, it tends to be less satisfactory when called on to treat issues about which there is no consensus. Two examples stand out. In chapter 3, Richards straddles the debate about the structure of Akbar's new state by characterizing it as "both centralized and decentralized, both bureaucratic and patrimonial" (p. 78). Likewise, in chapter 13 and the conclusion he argues that the fall of the Mughal empire should be dated to 1720. Although he advances plausible reasons for this opinion, he does not, and probably could not within the format of this book, take the time to develop the longer argument that the choice of this somewhat controversial date requires.

These caveats aside, Richards has performed a signal service to the field of Indian history by providing a framework useful to both student and scholar alike. His clear and concise synthesis of the new scholarship on the Mughal empire in India provides a context for the student and a point of departure for all subsequent scholarly work in the field.

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ELLISON BANKS FINDLY. *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 407. \$50.00.

The English medievalist V. H. Galbraith once cautioned against attempting to write the biographies of

medieval figures based on formulaic or defective sources. Ellison Banks Findly sets out to portray the life of Nur Jahan, consort of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27), although she admits: "We do not, quite remarkably, have any firsthand personal account of her thoughts and feelings. We have no memoirs, no authentic poetry, no miniature painting verified to her hand. All we can do is project onto her what might be reasonable responses to the course of life she experienced" (pp. 86–87). This sounds like a prescription for a work of fiction rather than scholarship, and when Nur Jahan's personality is described as being "singular in its talents, consuming in its ambitions, and passionate in its tastes" (p. 4), we may anticipate a Barbara Cartland heroine in the making. This impression is reinforced when, despite the fact that there exists no eyewitness account of Nur Jahan, we learn that she was "a tall, attractive woman of proportionate limbs" (p. 36). In the same vein, we are told that her first husband was a "Persian Romeo" (p. 31), that Abul Fazl's assassin was "a fearless Bundela chief" (p. 20), and that "the women of the *zenana* were, as a group, sophisticated, self-assured and by most accounts happy" (p. 90).

This is a long book, meandering over nearly three hundred pages, although the subject hardly warrants such extended treatment. Since not much is known about Nur Jahan personally there is a good deal of supposition. This is perhaps a book for lettered tourists with a long flight to Delhi or Lahore ahead of them. For two decades, between 1611 and 1622, Nur Jahan unquestionably occupied a conspicuous place in court politics (as recounted in John Richards's *The Mughal Empire* [1993], 102–03 and 115–17), and her role as a patron of the arts is neatly summarized in two recent volumes of *The New Cambridge History of India* devoted to Mughal painting and architecture. Is there much more to be said than that?

The central problem of this book is the question of its sources and how they are treated. Indo-Islamic historiography presents peculiar difficulties of interpretation, as Peter Hardy first pointed out in his seminal study of 1960. Findly's book appears to be based mainly on Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge's translation of Jahangir's memoirs (1909–14), translations of the chronicles of Jahangir's reign included in H. M. Elliot and John Dowson's *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (1867–77) (while ignoring Azra Alavi's excellent edition of Khwaja Kamgar Husaini's *Maasir-i Jahangiri* [1978], a source of the greatest importance for the reign), and on extracts from Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan* (1768–72), regarding which she would have been well advised to read J. S. Grewal's perceptive essay in *Muslim Rule in India: The Assessments of British Historians* (1970). Furthermore, she quotes generously from accounts of the Mughal empire by contemporary European travelers who depended heavily on bazaar gossip and servants' tittle-tattle for news of what happened at court or within the *zenana*.

In addition to these sources, Findly admits relying heavily on two modern studies by M. Shujauddin and R. Shujauddin (1967) and by C. Pant (1978). When she remarks at one point that "Three things sustained the power of a Mughal emperor: his army, his treasury, and his women" (p. 88), the reader must wonder how familiar she is with recent writing on the Mughal patrimonial-bureaucratic state by, say, M. Athar Ali, Stephen P. Blake, M. N. Pearson, J. F. Richards, and Douglas E. Streusand, none of whose names (nor C. R. Singhal's papers on Nur Jahan's coinage) appear in her bibliography, which consequently has a distinctly dated look.

This book reads like some of those volumes on Mughal India written around the turn of the century, based on the colorful narratives of such worthies as François Bernier or Niccolao Manucci, which evoke the splendors of an Oriental never-never land, and whose genealogy reaches back to Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817). Regrettably, neither the available sources nor the nature of the Indo-Islamic historiographical tradition permit the writing of a "life and times" of Nur Jahan.

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PETER REEVES. *Landlords and Governments in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of Their Relations until Zamindari Abolition*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 359. \$29.95.

For anyone seriously interested in the history of agrarian relations, this solid work by Peter Reeves is worth possessing. Considering the incredible complexity of land control and social structures that have prevailed in India, the competent, eloquent, and masterful scholarship that this book reflects is impressive. It is also, in fact, a better and clearer restatement of previous understandings, of what has already been known, than most works of this genre. It describes in detail the sinews of land control in the heartland of what was "Hindustan," what is now often dubbed "the Cowbelt" of India: that vast alluvial plain where acolytes of the Sangh Parivar now rally forces of "Hindutva" against imagined legacies of Muslim (and Mughal) misrule. If the game of studying land control in India is ever a fascinating rhetoric, that rhetoric itself has also become fair game. This game, so often a shell game, has been one in which ever-rising spirals of inflationary concepts have for centuries been used to distort reality and to confuse the unwary and wary alike. And shrouded within mists of metaphors has been the multilayered mystique of mediators which, like the Mughal mystique itself, still seems to defy modification.

As meticulously thorough as this study is, however, it is also somewhat unimaginative. What Reeves argues he also seems to contradict. Whatever the nature of the various layers of landlords, whatever their persistent lack of cohesiveness as a group, whatever

the allegedly reactionary character of their attitudes, whatever the dangerousness of their increasingly communal rivalries, and whatever their seeming "failures," one conclusion seems clear. The same kinds of forces that controlled the land and its people before the East India Company first extended imperial sway over what is now "UP" (United Provinces, alias Uttar Pradesh) are the kinds of forces that control the land today. Landlords and ex-landlords—whether *taluqdars* and *zamindars* (self-styled "rajas"), whether *maliks* or *kisans* or even *ryots* (sometimes also self-styling themselves "rajas"), whether lesser "peasantry" or "tenantry"—still remain powerful. "Landlordism" has not been destroyed: old landlordism has merely been replaced by new landlordism. This the author knows all too well.

Yet Reeves sees the agrarian system in UP as a device invented by the British. Landlords, it seems, were something new pressed on the *tabula rasa* of India, created so that they could be "used" for imperialist ends and for achieving control over each locality. Imperial rhetoric is viewed as touting the "naturalness" of local collaboration by bestowing honors and titles. One might well wonder, after such a reading, whether the Mughals had not had to do the same, whether concepts like "*zamindar*," "*taluqdar*," "*jagirdar*," and "*mansabdar*" had never before been known, or how the British had managed to acquire such notions, all by themselves, as if by sudden inspiration or divine revelation. One might never suspect that the professional soldiers and police and civil servants of the Raj came from families of the same high caste and high class lords of land as the great landlords themselves, from some of the same families that had served the nawabs of previous regimes. One might never guess that the "Oudh Policy," and the recruitment of sepoys for a standing army of some 300,000, not to mention another 300,000 native Indian civil servants of the empire, might have had some connections to Mughal and pre-Mughal precedents or predecessors. But surely, had not Mughals had to do the same as the British? Would not any imperial ruler have had to rely on, if not "discover," some of the same kinds of "natural" leaders, on landlords whose "natural" position within the agrarian system enabled them to control the countryside? Are not such practices and relationships as those "promoted" during the Raj part of the logic of power for any large regime in India?

Oddly enough, in the end, Reeves seems almost surprised to notice that the system supposedly "devised" by the British was so tenacious. For all practical purposes, it has not only survived Zamindari Abolition but also virtually all attempts at "land reform." As he acknowledges, a "continued inequality" has resulted: "Taluqdars and zamindars successfully adjusted to each new situation, using their immense resources and their newly consolidated holdings as platforms." Like the Mughals and the British before them, "the Congress government [has] had the means

to realize the imperial dream: progressive farming amongst the gentry." And, as a consequence, "virtually every district could field a fine crop of demonstration ex-zamindars . . . and their groves, their rights over fairs and bazaars, their brothers and sons in the civil service and industry, the army and policy sending regular remittances to swell family accounts." Dirk Kolff has traced families of these same kinds of "peasant" lords, *naukars* and sepoys of the Raj, at least as far back as the fifteenth century (*Naukar, Rajput, and Sepoy* [1990]). "Peasant" landlords of many shapes and sizes have occupied a central place in North India's politics and decision making for much longer than Reeves seems ready to acknowledge. Yet he himself shows this to have been so. The styles of political life have changed much during the last fifty years. But the substance remains much the same.

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NOBORU KARASHIMA. *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 294. \$19.95.

This welcome volume by Noboru Karashima traces the movement of his interests forward in time. Having produced *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions, A.D. 850–1800* (1984), a collection of essays that—in spite of the title—dealt primarily with the period of Chola dynastic rule in the Tamil country from the ninth through thirteenth centuries, he has now usefully assembled a dozen additional essays, mostly previously published (some in Japanese) but in varying degrees revised, on societal changes during the Vijayanagar ascendancy, in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, when Tamilnadu fell under the sway of Telugu warriors from the north. His approach to analyzing evidence from temple inscriptions relies heavily on detailed case studies of microregions, such as examining the rise of the rule by regional military commanders (*nāyaka*) during the late fifteenth century in a selected area now comprising the North and South Arcot districts. This localized, Tamil-centered approach yields many valuable insights into the structure of the sprawling Vijayanagar state, but it has limitations because, in contrast with the Chola kingdom whose heartland lay in the Tamil country, the Vijayanagar state's authoritative center lay far to the northwest. Thus, only part of the story is examined. The principal strength of this methodology lies in the numerous corrections and challenges that its conclusions pose to more generalized histories.

The essays in this volume are grouped topically, the first five addressing the emergence of a "new political structure" in the Vijayanagar period, the next five concerning the corresponding socioeconomic conditions in northern and central Tamilnadu, and the last

two analyzing Vijayanagar revenue policy, employing statistical analysis of revenue terms to sustain the arguments of the preceding sections regarding changed political institutions and the agrarian order. Karashima is concerned not only with contrasts between Chola institutions and those of the Vijayanagar period but also with differences between early and later phases of Vijayanagar rule. In particular, he emphasizes the emergence of a profoundly altered state system resulting from the establishment of rule by *nāyakas* near the end of the fifteenth century, producing a regime that greatly resembled, he argues, the feudal institutions of medieval Western Europe and Japan, and lasting for about 150 years. Readers who are skeptical about pressing the evidence into that particular mold are unlikely to be convinced by Karashima's discussion, but the principal value of his investigations lies elsewhere: in the detailed examination of sociopolitical relationships in the countryside, discussion of evidence for international trade and the rising power of merchants and artisans, and other disquisitions. Among the many topics illuminated by his analysis is the widespread revolt of artisans and cultivators, evidently against the intrusive Vijayanagar administrators and their landlord allies, that erupted in 1429.

This book adds to the growing list of recent studies on late-medieval south India, including Burton Stein's provocative survey, *Vijayanagara* (1989), whose interpretation Karashima seeks to correct on numerous points. All of these works are engagingly revisionist in tone, their authors taking issue with one another as well as with the more vintage literature. Although Karashima's book suffers from the virtually simultaneous release, by the same publisher, of the more strikingly original and insightful *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamil Nadu* (1992), by Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam—which includes a concise but sharp critique of Karashima's work—his close reading of the epigraphical evidence amply rewards the patient reader by shedding revealing light on the "new formation" of local society and polity under Vijayanagar.

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ROSIE LLEWELLYN-JONES. *A Very Ingenious Man: Claude Martin in Early Colonial India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 241. \$22.00.

A Very Ingenious Man is not just the title of this biography of a French soldier of fortune, Claude Martin of Lyons, in eighteenth-century India when it was the land of opportunity for Europeans. It is also a startling opinion that must be made credible with careful research and insistent argument. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones's first book, aptly titled *A Fatal Friendship* (1985), was a well-received history of the nawabs of Oudh and the British in the capital city of

Lucknow. In that book, she compellingly told the well-known tale of the officers of the English East India Company who systematically bilked the nawabs and begums (kings and queens) of this prosperous and independent north Indian kingdom of millions of pounds sterling, relentlessly bullying and plotting before its unjustifiable annexation as the final territorial addition to the vast empire in India in 1856. On the political stage of Oudh, crowded with a cast of British actors of inspired avarice and ruthless designs, the Frenchman comes off as a benign eccentric and run-of-the-mill fortune hunter, a fine soldier, a builder of palaces and gardens, and a philanthrope.

With considerable talent and perseverance, Llewellyn-Jones now takes this bit player and puts him on center stage in the role of an ingenious but much-maligned man, defending Martin from his European detractors. Even by contemporary European standards he acquired the reputation of being damnably greedy, sycophantic, self-promoting to a point of being deluded, and corrupt; he was also a glutton, drunkard, and alleged sexual pervert because of his extravagant parties and gaggle of very young Eurasian or Indian mistresses.

Martin was a deserter from the French Army after Pondicherry fell to the East India Company forces in 1760, the date that signals the end of French ambitions in the subcontinent. His heroism in further battles on the British side is evident by the fact that he survived the action and also a shipwreck, and eventually wound up, by way of Calcutta, living (and dying in 1800) in Lucknow, officially as the manager of the British arsenal but really as an indefatigable businessman and money lender, imitating the life style of the wealthy native "blacks" he so despised. He took up arms again in the service of the British in the campaigns to conquer Mysore, which finally won him the rank of major general. His ingenuity can be largely surmised from the inventory of his estate. He owned several thousand volumes of books and the latest gadgets and novelties (which he sold to wealthy Indians and to the nawab at considerable gain to himself), a fact that rather tenuously supports his depiction as "a polymath." He courageously endured a prolonged operation to rid his bladder of two pounds of kidney stones, despite his doctors' assessment that his health problems were fanciful.

Martin was made more than justly famous because of his dubiously flamboyant taste in building some rather substantial buildings decorated with plaster statuary and possessing defensive features such as moats, drawbridges, and hidden passages. His role in adding to the remarkable fabric of Lucknow, a capital that grew from a small grain market to one of the populous and splendid cities in the subcontinent between 1785 and 1856, was an engrossing part of the narrative of *A Fatal Friendship*. This and Martin's flare for astute posthumous charity, rather than sincere philanthropy, which established Anglican schools originally only for European children in

Lucknow, Calcutta, and Lyons—the famous La Martiniere Schools—redeem him to a great extent. But there are few leftovers to reheat and serve up this time around and the effort often appears more as an exercise in casuistry than in biography. When he died he was worth a half-million pounds sterling, equal to more than a hundred million today.

In this volume we are given elaborate details of Martin's real-estate deals, profiteering, money lending, and occasional extortion, and his indigo and attar of roses factories. His obsessive importuning for promotions in military rank (he winds up a general with captain's pay), his fawning and self-interested gifts (actually bribes) to British officials, make the task of appreciation of his genius rather more complicated. But Llewellyn-Jones is honest and brings to light the very considerable inconvenient evidence that gave Martin his reputation in the first place, even the story of Martin "adopting" a girl from a respectable Muslim family in Lucknow only to use her as a mistress in a few years. True, a more nuanced and balanced portrait of Martin emerges from this study, but ironically it is the small glimpses and sketches of the other rogues in the gallery of that age of insatiable European imperialism that engage us this time around.

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RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX and T. J. JACKSON LEARS, editors. *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. vi, 292. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$13.95.

Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears have assembled an excellent collection of innovative and imaginative essays. Featuring contributions by authors of many of the best recent monographs in the field, this volume succeeds splendidly in its stated goal of displaying advanced approaches to "the actual practice of cultural history" (p. 5).

Careful readers will discover subtle differences among these essays in their concerns, methods, and theories. Reflecting creative ferment in a growing field rather than antagonistic contradictions among adversaries, these differences display three distinct agendas among the authors who share the broader project embraced within the volume, agendas that coalesce around textual, anthropological, and political concerns.

The text-oriented authors in this collection ground their inquiries in issues raised by the rise of modern capitalist culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the tensions between "genteel" and "mass" culture, between "character" and "personality," between "self" and "society." Lears explores the search for "authenticity" underlying the anxiety

and anger consuming Sherwood Anderson as he negotiated the contradictions between his career in advertising and his literary endeavors. Joan Shelley Rubin details the democratic impulses and commitments to cultural elevation contained within the contradictory projects of "middlebrow" popularizers Stuart Sherman and John Erskine. Fox analyzes the scandal surrounding the alienation of affections charges brought against Henry Ward Beecher as a result of his relationship with Elizabeth R. Tilton for what the controversy can teach us about the corrosive effects of liberal individualism on traditional standards of interpersonal propriety and behavior.

Other authors in this collection take a more anthropological approach, asking how and why cultural texts shape social behavior by looking at their uses and effects. Christopher Wilson shows how the text of Tillie Olsen's *Yonnondio* bears traces of the social conditions under which it was created, traces that now block critics from appropriating it for purposes of literary evaluation alone. Conversely, Michael Smith shows how exhibits at the 1964 World's Fair presented distinctly social messages under the guise of technological imperatives, presenting fair goers with another kind of "resistant text," one that hides rather than discloses the social conditions of its own production. Karen Halttunen's absolutely brilliant analysis of the demise of execution sermons and the rise of novelistic horror literature reveals how changes in popular literary conventions can offer clues about monumental shifts in ideology about individual and collective identity.

In their essays, Elizabeth Cohen, Robert Westbrook, and Casey Nelson Blake use cultural practices as primary evidence about political power, addressing themselves to the consequences of cultural hierarchies for democratic hopes during different decades in the twentieth century. Cohen's deservedly celebrated study shows how working-class communities in Chicago during the 1920s and 1930s maintained class consciousness in the face of mass-marketing and commercial spectacles. Westbrook's complex substantive discussion of private interests and political obligations during the 1940s explains how liberal states cultivate and colonize private interests for public purposes, but he also acknowledges the profound desire for a participatory public life that persists within popular culture and mass politics. Blake's extraordinarily subtle and sophisticated interpretation of the controversy surrounding federal support for sculptor Richard Serra's work in the 1980s employs cultural history questions and methodologies to raise profound questions about community, culture, and power in contemporary life.

In their jointly authored introduction and in their own essays, Lears and Fox make principled inclusive gestures toward the many kinds of cultural studies scholarship not included in this volume, including feminist epistemology, gay and lesbian post-structuralist studies of the body, and research on race. Indi-

vidual chapters, and this book as a whole, would certainly have profited from sustained engagement with emerging scholarship in these areas (exemplified in the work of Donna Haraway, Teresa de Lauretis, Wendy Kozol, Michael Rogin, Robin D. G. Kelley, Sterling Stuckey, Nancy Enstad, George Sanchez, and Vicki Ruiz, among others) not because any one collection needs to be encyclopedic and comprehensive, but because the methods and theories central to these inquiries promise to contribute so much to cultural history in the years ahead. But one reason for the bright promise of this new work comes from the firm foundation for cultural history established already by the editors and contributors to this important volume.

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LAWRENCE W. LEVINE. *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 372. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$16.95.

This book brings together Lawrence W. Levine's stimulating essays on the two broad subjects to which he has devoted most of his career: the folk expression of African Americans and the nature of American popular culture. The collection also includes Levine's reflection on the role of the historian in a heterogeneous society. Written between 1968 and 1992, all of the essays have been published before; several were pilots for Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977) and *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (1988). Except for the elimination of some overlapping discussions of the 1930s, the articles are unrevised. Nor does Levine interpolate comments on changes in his thinking since the essays first appeared. Hence the chief virtue of the volume is that it usefully displays the development of the author's critical vocabulary and interpretive practice.

For example, many of the essays illuminate the assumptions coloring Levine's approach to "the folk." Levine first embraced that category out of dissatisfaction with the methodology of political history. Engaged in a study of African-American protest, he decided to look beyond the ideas of movement leaders to the "folklore" of the slaves: their songs, stories, humor, and religion. His analyses of the slave trickster figure and of slave music, both represented by essays here, remain compelling, especially his argument that the continuity between African and American cultural artifacts lay not so much in shared content as in common form and function. The language with which he describes "folk culture," however, also encodes another set of premises: as "The Concept of the New Negro and the Realities of Black Culture" makes especially evident, Levine regards folk expression as participatory, active, spontaneous, genuine, and instrumental in the construction of

communal identity. In that respect, Levine himself exhibits affinities with Depression-era Americans who, he observes, turned to the "folk past" as a symbol of a simpler, cleaner, less problem-ridden time when . . . individuals shaped their own universe" (p. 274).

Levine's implicit endorsement of those characteristics constitutes a link between his work on African Americans and his more recent investigation of what he has called "cultural hierarchy." Although throughout the book he mainly uses the word "culture" to signify a way of life, a pivotal essay entitled "Jazz and American Culture" forcibly restricts the latter term to "refinement" or "gentility." Thus defined, "culture"—equated with order, repression, passivity, and Eurocentrism—becomes the enemy of "the folk." The same polarity governs Levine's depiction of the fate of Shakespeare in the nineteenth century: at first, he writes, "the liberties taken with Shakespeare . . . were often similar to liberties taken with folklore" (p. 160); later, in his view, frightened elitists severed the connection between Shakespeare and folk art, turning the playwright into stultifying "high culture." The role of the book market and, eventually, the radio in bringing Shakespeare to a wide public, the life-enriching possibilities of the aesthetic experience thus disseminated, and the complex ideological underpinnings of those efforts do not enter into Levine's story.

If, in Levine's estimation, the construction of "cultural hierarchy" diminished the overall quality of American life, he nevertheless demonstrates that "popular culture" has remained a repository of vitality. His essays on the self-image of the 1920s and the mood and iconography of the Great Depression reflect Levine's sensitivity to the meaning of a wide range of popular artifacts. In his concluding essay, Levine explicitly declares popular culture "the folklore of industrialism." His belaboring of the point that mass entertainment, like folk activity, contains opportunities for interaction between text and audience and his general defensiveness about the study of popular materials become understandable in light of the evolution from political to cultural historian this book traces. More troubling is Levine's failure to assign sitting in a concert hall or reading *Hamlet* the same capacity for active engagement that he discerns in listening to a radio soap opera or watching a film.

Levine's dichotomous approach to folk (or popular) and high culture thus sometimes undermines the principle he asserts and illustrates so well in his essays on the 1920s and 1930s: that historians must reject "the notion that things must be one way or the other." Yet, if one may borrow from Matthew Arnold in spite of Levine's distaste for him, students of American cultural history will be glad of the chance this book provides to see Levine's important work steadily and whole.

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KARIN CALVERT. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 189. \$30.00.

This little gem of a book deserves a wider reading among historians than it will probably get. Modest in its professed goals, and generally understated in tone, Karin Calvert's study is nonetheless a powerful scholarly achievement.

The achievement has several dimensions. First, and most obviously, Calvert substantially refines the received wisdom in "family history." Whereas most contributors to this somewhat protean subfield continue to embrace one or another version of a "premodern" versus "modern" dichotomy, Calvert finds abundant variation—and change—within such broad categories. Her opening section, entitled "The Inchoate Adult," spans the period 1600–1750. (It should be said that her focus throughout is American family history.) Her theme here is an underlying discomfort—verging at times on repugnance—felt by most "colonial"-era parents in relation to young children. Infants, in particular, seemed dangerously unformed, even "animalistic"; for example, in their tendency to crawl about on all fours. Parental duty, therefore, lay in hurrying them toward a manifestly human status as thinking, speaking, and "upright" (standing, walking) beings. Then there arose, in the period 1750–1830, an entirely different set of attitudes, which Calvert summarizes under the rubric of "The Natural Child." Childishness itself was now recognized, accepted, and (on the whole) appreciated. A third period, covering the remainder of the nineteenth century, featured "the innocent child": a creature at once intrinsically "pure" and highly vulnerable. Thus protection emerged as the key to parenthood.

These formulations, necessarily oversimplified in any short summary, are important—and persuasive—in their own right. But even more important, for scholarship at large, is the skill with which Calvert deploys her remarkably varied evidence. Few, if any, other works succeed so fully in making "material culture" speak to fundamental questions of social history. Calvert's point about seventeenth-century parents subduing the "animalism" of infancy emerges from a close analysis of the practice of swaddling, and of furniture-forms such as go-carts and standing-stools. A different point, about nineteenth-century distinctions of age and gender, is based on patterns of dress and coiffure. Still other issues are explored through the evidence of architecture, toys and games, and family portraits. Indeed, the list of such examples could be lengthened almost indefinitely. Calvert does not ignore traditional (that is, written) sources; rather, she brings them into a kind of creative interplay with her material "artifacts." The process, no less than the results, should prove instructive for historians of many stripes.

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E. ANTHONY ROTUNDO. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xii, 382. \$25.00.

Through a skillful reading of voices to represent "the northern middle class," E. Anthony Rotundo shows the transformations in that class' governing metaphors for masculinity between the late eighteenth century and the early twentieth century. By relating the transformations persuasively to the ongoing male struggle to maintain dominance in the face of changing conceptions of both sexes and of their roles, Rotundo makes a major contribution to the history of gender relations in the United States.

The broad outline of the book's interpretive framework for change in the social construction of gender is by now familiar, but Rotundo elaborates on it with noteworthy sophistication and balance. The colonial definition of masculine virtue as communal usefulness was replaced in the increasingly competitive economy of the young republic by the self-discipline of the self-made man who moderates his passions in a morally dangerous world. Woman, newly defined as the more virtuous sex, became responsible for moral purity and educating the young in the now separate sphere of the home.

Thereafter, Rotundo's primary motor of gender change becomes the challenge to male dominance from women's criticism and growing influence, reflected not least in men's discomfort in discovering feminine habits and attitudes in themselves. The challenge from women provoked a backlash in the late nineteenth century in which influential northern middle-class male voices revalued positively men's "primitive" passions and tough-mindedness and created new gendered terms of contempt for the tender-minded. Business and professional men moved to restrict women's entry to their occupational world largely to "feminine" specialties and to bring more of boys' activities under adult male rather than female supervision.

Rotundo elaborates nicely the varied ways by which middle-class males resolved their experience of tension between male and female values, including reformers conceiving of themselves as Christian soldiers to appear more manly. For Rotundo, however, historically temporary solutions like progressivism pale in significance compared to a more lasting and bitter turn-of-century legacy: the shift from defining manhood in opposition to womanhood and boyhood to defining it in opposition to "womanishness" and to a related stigmatized new identity, the male homosexual seen as a woman in a man's body. Softness and tenderness became suspect, impoverishing relations between men and women as well as between men.

After describing the transformation of masculinity at the turn of the nineteenth century, Rotundo turns successively to portrayals of the cultures created by boys and young men and their development of atti-

tudes toward women, love, sex, courtship and marriage, work and male identity, and the male culture of the workplace, before concluding with chapters on changes in masculinity in the late nineteenth century. Every chapter brims with insights; I particularly enjoyed the subtle repetitions that Rotundo perceives in different phases of growing up male, especially the extent to which boy culture anticipated the complex movement between home and the world of adulthood, and the romantic friendships of young men that served as rehearsals for marriage.

Future researchers are unlikely to improve on Rotundo's treatment of gender metaphors in the writings of northern middle-class men during the nineteenth century. Nor are they likely to surpass the quality of his analysis of how some men negotiated the complex relations between the sexes and between home and the wider world. But Rotundo's presumption that their experience can be generalized to represent that class as a whole seems premature given the relatively small number of contemporary voices who provide so much of his evidence on the many subjects where there are, as yet, few secondary studies. (This caution is less applicable to his able synthesis of the literature on occupational subcultures.) These voices are too few to determine the significance of variations in outlook and experience between groups within the middle class.

Were evangelicals—with their preoccupation with the heart and love rather than the head and "toughness"—so unimportant a minority influencing antebellum norms of masculinity as Rotundo's slight mention of them suggests? The same question can be asked about that growing minority in the late nineteenth century who, according to Rotundo, achieved intimacy in their marriages or acted on the advice of the "domestic masculinity" literature. Rotundo implies that twentieth-century bourgeois males would shun as a contradiction in terms attempts to combine domestic and manly virtues in their lives. But this suggestion and his judgment about the attitudes and experience of even broad proportions of middle-class males persuade by their logic, not by his evidentiary base. How pluralistic or how unified in outlook that class was during the nineteenth century remains to be determined.

That limitation noted, Rotundo's study is an interpretation of certain nineteenth-century voices that greatly advances the historical investigation of masculinity and is a delight to read.

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AUDREY SMEDLEY. *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xii, 340. \$48.50.

Audrey Smedley's provocative yet thoughtful synthesis of the scholarship of the last thirty years on the

concept of race will be an enduring contribution to the field of intellectual history. Tracing the origin and transmogrifications of the idea of race from early modern Europe through the twentieth century, Smedley succeeds in demonstrating how and why the nagging and seemingly perennial idea of race has such an obdurate persistence, despite its vociferous repudiation by most leading, competent scientists.

Taking to task "primordialists" such as Thomas Gossett, Bernard Lewis, Pierre Van den Berghe, Edward Shils, and Kenneth Gregen (who treat race consciousness as a transcendent given), Smedley, who is an anthropologist, argues that "we cannot explain the phenomenon of race by reference to psychological processes that we speculate may be taking place within individuals" (p. 24). Furthermore, Smedley also takes to task Marxists who privilege class over race. Prioritizing race over class, she demonstrates convincingly that "race differences in identity and social position were, and are, more important than class differences in American society" (p. 224).

For Smedley, race was "a folk classification . . . a cosmological ordering system structured out of the political, economic, and social realities of peoples who had emerged as expansionist, conquering, dominating nations on a worldwide quest for wealth and power" (p. 25). This "folk classification" was incorporated into the scientific and legal discourses by the end of the eighteenth century in order to enable elites to rationalize and justify the existing Northern and Western European dominance over Native Americans, persons of discernible African ancestry, and Asians. As a consequence, by the end of the nineteenth century, the hereditarian perspective of the racist component had sought to prove that biological differences in the behavior of so-called races existed, despite the protestations of competent scientists who call for the separation of social reality from the function of race. The idea of race, Smedley argues cogently, "continues in large part because of its value as a mechanism for identifying who should have access to wealth, privilege, loyalty, respect, and power and who should not . . . it is a powerful psychological force, providing scapegoat functions as well as a facile external means of establishing and measuring one's own self-worth" (p. 29). Nevertheless, Smedley surmises that the "force and meaning" of race in the larger society will diminish, "perhaps in the far future" (p. 309).

I have two reservations in reference to Smedley's erudite work. First, in assigning to Franz Boas a monumental role in undercutting the concept of race, she exaggerates his attempt to recontextualize the idea. My extensive research into the writings of the founder of modern American anthropology has demonstrated that Boas was less perceptive and open-minded on the idea of race than current scholars acknowledge. Second, Smedley's prognostication that science and technology may "refashion for us our perceptions and understandings of human diversity"

(p. 309) seems a bit too optimistic. To my mind, it may well be the case that the idea of race in the United States will depend more on the political and economic vicissitudes in the new world order than on science and technology.

These reservations are minor quibbles. Smedley has written an authoritative and important work that deserves a close reading by scholars and lay persons alike.

VERNON J. WILLIAMS, JR.
Purdue University

CELESTE MICHELLE CONDIT and JOHN LOUIS LUCAITES. *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African Word*. (New Practices of Inquiry.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 355. Cloth \$56.00, paper \$15.25.

Celeste Michelle Condit and John Louis Lucaites, both professors of speech communication, attempt in this book to bring the current wisdom of their discipline to bear on the history of a key word in American public discourse. They contend that the word "equality" has no definite or essential meaning but rather has been redefined or reconstructed several times, and that African Americans seeking their liberation from slavery and racism have played a major role in altering and broadening its meaning.

The authors believe that historians, with few exceptions, have missed the "linguistic turn" and persist in failing to appreciate the historical function of rhetoric apart from its immediate social and political uses. They may be right, but I find little or nothing in this book, apart from its own rhetoric about how innovative it is, that departs substantially from the normal practices of intellectual and cultural historians. Substituting "rhetor" for terms like advocate, polemicist, spokesperson, publicist, or opinion leader does not automatically improve one's understanding of the process being described. They accuse historians of "essentialism" for arguing that there was an inherent contradiction between the egalitarianism of the American Revolution and the enslavement of blacks. But they themselves use expressions like "authentically egalitarian" (p. 29) and "essentially inegalitarian" (p. 126). Indeed, they condemn "nihilistic forms of relativism" (p. ix) and seem to be groping for some middle ground between radical postmodernism and Enlightenment liberal humanism. But if they have found a solution to this major intellectual conflict of our time, they have failed to make it clear to me.

They argue that the accepted meaning of equality has changed from a narrow view focusing on the rights of property through a broader conception of equal citizenship and opportunity to the modern contention that substantive equality has implications for groups as well as individuals. Their contribution is to show that black protest against inequality has had a significant effect on the course of this discussion,

although it remains unclear how a persecuted minority can have such a powerful influence on national values if the conception of equality to which it is appealing does not already resonate within the broader culture. An alternative approach would be to recognize that a finite plurality of possible meanings of equality existed from the time the ideal was affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, and that African Americans were successful in their struggle when they could invoke an original meaning that was also being accepted, for whatever reason, by substantial numbers of white Americans.

The authors make some valid and interesting points about the meaning of the "equal" in "separate but equal," but they exaggerate the black acquiescence to government-enforced segregation around the turn of the century and ignore the extent to which the goals of the civil rights movement were not invented in the mid-twentieth century but had expressed black aspirations since the Civil War. When many black leaders in the late nineteenth century said they were not demanding "social equality," it did usually mean they had given up on the Reconstruction conception of equal rights, because they normally meant something different from what white supremacists meant by the same expression. For the most part, they did not consider legalized segregation to be a legitimate means of protecting social freedom even if was advertised as "separate but equal," and a small but articulate group of white egalitarians agreed with them. A problem with recent demands for government-enforced group equality—demands that bother Condit and Lucaites because they threaten social harmony—is that they are difficult to reconcile with any meaning that can be logically derived from the Declaration of Independence.

GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON
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RALPH KETCHAM. *Framed for Posterity: The Enduring Philosophy of the Constitution*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. xii, 195. \$25.00.

This volume is a richly rewarding musing on our constitutional heritage by one of our foremost constitutional scholars. Ralph Ketcham's contribution to the University Press of Kansas's American Political Thought series tackles an intractable issue for constitutional historians: what should the role of history be in determining the meaning of the U.S. Constitution? Historians have provided ammunition for both sides in the debate over originalism; some have even joined in the fray, but are the lessons of America's past so obvious and compelling that scholars can make decisive contributions to juristic discourse?

Ketcham frames his essay with the quarrel between Judge Robert Bork, who argued for a jurisprudence that hews to the original intent of the framers or,

when that intent cannot be plainly established, defers to the elected branches, and Justice William Brennan, who insisted that constitutional principles can and should evolve to reflect changing social understandings. Ketcham recasts this combat into a series of genuine paradoxes. If a constitution is fundamental, how can it be altered? If it cannot be altered, how can it embody the will of the people, the fundamental principle of fundamental law? If there are enduring principles that underlay America's laws, why do Americans disagree so strongly and persistently about the nature of government? If there are no fundamental principles (a theory that Ketcham associates with the modern mind but which goes all the way back to the ancient Greeks), on what basis can the language of the Constitution compel allegiance?

Ketcham's answer to these conundrums is a wise and generous philosophy of self-government based on four principles that link the framers' ideas to Americans' values: republicanism, liberty, the public good, and federalism. Nowhere does Ketcham emphasize property, quietly but sharply distinguishing his position from other recent scholars, notably Richard Epstein and Jennifer Nedelsky.

For Ketcham, "what we mean today by *democratic* the framers intended with the word *republican*." They wanted a "self-governing community" (p. 27) based on "consent" (p. 32) that incorporated the common man. Ketcham here subscribes to the thesis of nascent revolutionary democracy so powerfully elucidated by Gordon Wood, and, with Wood, he finds the promise of full incorporation of marginal groups more important than their disenfranchisement at the time. The result was a Constitution that had within it the seeds and the impetus for genuine democratic reform.

If republicanism in their minds led to democracy, so liberty led to freedom. "With resounding force and crystal clarity they sought repeatedly, according to the circumstances and standards of their time, to enlarge human liberty. That intent is still implicit in the Constitution today" (p. 40). Ketcham's qualification notwithstanding, his reading of the framers' commitment to liberty privileges the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, and other reformers over the more conservative sentiments of C. C. Pinckney, Fisher Ames, and Timothy Pickering (none of whom are mentioned in the book). The result is a group of homogenized "framers," all of whom became "both modern liberal advocates" and "devotees of the classical ideal of public-spirited citizens" (p. 44).

Despite their fear of despotism, Ketcham's framers were strong adherents of active government when government intervention was necessary for the public good. They agreed that the state had "wide responsibility and potential" to promote the public good and embodied that tenet in the preamble of the Constitution. Ketcham argues that the "process of government, detailed in the body of the Constitution, is merely instrumental to the purposes enunciated in the preamble" (p. 53). The fact that the preamble was

written by a rump committee after most of the delegates had returned home and without substantive debate does not detract from Ketcham's argument if one considers that the preamble was not challenged in the ratification process. Moreover, Ketcham is undoubtedly correct in his description of the framers as an extraordinarily public-spirited group of men. They took the purposes enunciated in the preamble seriously.

Federalism, the guiding star of so many conservative readers of the Constitution, interests Ketcham less than the three other principles. He concedes that local initiative was a basic principle of the framers' constitutionalism, but does not regard it as an automatic curb on the vitality of national government, as Herman Belz and Earl Maltz have suggested. Instead, Ketcham regards federalism not as an absolute grant of sovereignty to the states but as a simultaneous grant of authority to national and state governments.

In the end, Ketcham's Constitution is shaped by the "tension between a still-vigorous classical republican outlook . . . and a new, modern, democratic liberalism" (p. 79). The tension made the Constitution novel in its time and still invigorates those who debate its interpretation. Is there, then, a "proper middle ground" (p. 164), a set of viable and flexible principles? Ketcham gives a powerful rendering of Justice Felix Frankfurter's search for such a ground in his opinions on the Flag Salute Cases (1940). Frankfurter agonized over the potentially oppressive character of the state requirements, but he did not want the Supreme Court to undermine the democratic process. Ultimately he lost the majority of the Court, but Ketcham seems to find Frankfurter's position more compelling than Justice Robert Jackson's or Justice William O. Douglas's.

Whatever my nagging doubts about some of Ketcham's conclusions, this book is a genuine pleasure to read. Its final lesson, that "The more one attempts . . . to find specific references in the founding era to modern concerns, the more one is likely to find either no guidance at all or particulars that are confusing or irrelevant" (pp. 162-63), is the very sort of caution that all scholars should keep before their eyes. In the end, it is U.S. lawmakers who must accept the burden of deciding what U.S. laws mean; voices from the past are not and should not be as important as the voices of those whose lives will depend on the decisions these officials make.

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PAUL W. KAHN. *Legitimacy and History: Self-Government in American Constitutional Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 260. \$27.50.

How is it possible, asks Paul W. Kahn, to have self-government under the conditions of temporality that characterize the state? "My answer is disappoint-

ing," he responds. "Under the conditions of temporality within which any state exists, self-government is not possible" (p. 8). Furthermore, he contends, we should worry less about democratic legitimacy and more about justice in our thinking about power. In arriving at this position, Kahn has written a perceptive history of American constitutional theory that he feels has been generally geared to the resolution of conflict between self-government and the restraint of self-government.

Unlike Oliver Wendell Holmes, Kahn believes that the history of constitutionalism has been driven by logic, not experience. Through such lenses he looks at the founding, the Dred Scott crisis, Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, substantive due process, legal realism, and the counter majoritarian "difficulty" (p. 135). In his careful examination of the role of the Constitution in history, he makes clear the degree to which those subject to the authority of self-government did not really participate in its creation. Neither has popular consensus ever existed in his structural framework. Even though generations of pro-constitutional types have sought to rationalize what has really been taking place in government, it has been the tensions between the ideas of self-government and historical continuity that have been the driving force in the development of constitutional theory. This has been true through four different historic models that have required rationalization to make them constitutionally meaningful.

Kahn's initial model, which marked the process operating in the early years of the republic, was a model of "making." Partially opposed to this and subsequent to it was a model of what he calls "organic maintenance." Not to be confused with a post-Darwin idea of organic evolution, it is, like the model of "making," not a model of change but a model of the maintenance of form in the face of a temporal threat of change. The third, post-Civil War and early twentieth-century model was one of growth and change: movement toward an end. It is exemplified in social institutions as well as individuals. The final conceptual model of order is that of "community." The emphasis here, however, is on a community of discourse, a community bound together for the ongoing discussion of its members. Each model is always available to place order on phenomena that are the object of understanding. They do not all enter American constitutionalism with the same size or the same force, but each gains meaning through constitutional theorizing. Thus, the constitutional history of the United States is particularly interesting because constitutional theorists collectively have had long enough to overcome hesitations and missteps and to advance through a full range of what might best be called the logic of self-government within the historic state.

The individual's role in this is a further test. Constitutional theory began with a respect for autonomous self-forming individuals and the way their freedom could be turned to the service of a self-

governing state. Granted, with the collapse of historical constitutionalism, the modern reemergence of these individuals has partially occurred. Yet the main push of contemporary constitutionality is toward the new model of synthesis, which is community. But most significant is the fact that it is a community of dialogue. This to Kahn makes it totally unreasonable in terms of law; rather, it looks like an effort to found law in the destruction of the conditions of law. This ultimately leads to his conclusion that constitutionalism as self-government in practice is impossible, leaving us again with theory as the only possible way to maintain constitutionalism in the modern state. Well, maybe.

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JAMES W. ELY, JR. *The Guardian of Every Other Right: A Constitutional History of Property Rights*. (Bicentennial Essays on the Bill of Rights.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 193. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$10.95.

Attention to the problem of property rights and their changing constitutional status has never been lacking in the work of American historians, at least since the advent of "Progressive" history. Nor has the issue of vested rights and the legitimacy of governmental regulation been absent at the very core of studies of U.S. constitutional development, whether in the works of historians or in writings of legal scholars. Curiously enough, however, until the appearance of this book by James W. Ely, Jr., there has been in the literature no accessible work designed as a synthesis of materials on the subject of American property-law development.

In recent years, research mainly inspired by James Willard Hurst has taken up in a fresh light the study of property as an evolving institution in American development. One prominent element of this newer work has been a broadening of the scope of evidence to include systematic analysis of law at the state level—the record of state constitution-makers, legislatures, and courts—and to integrate it with analysis of national development. Another fresh feature of the recent literature has been heightened recognition of the ways in which lawmakers historically have differentiated in various (and often controlling) ways between "dynamic" and "static" property rights, a theme made central by Hurst in his *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century United States* (1956) and subsequent writings. Finally, there has been a resurgence of interest among students of legal history—related in some measure, but not exclusively, to the recent claims concerning "republicanism" as the central organizing principle of American law and politics—in the relationship of economic individualism (and, of course, the institution of pri-

vate property rights through which individualism was assured of expression) to legal culture and legal mores more generally.

All these new emphases and themes have become commonplace enough that they are pervasive in, for example, the essays touching on property and its regulation in such reference works published in recent years as *The Encyclopedia of the American Constitution* (1986) and *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States* (1992). And so it is unsurprising that they should be reiterated throughout Ely's book, which provides an overview that focuses heavily but, happily, by no means exclusively on the Supreme Court and its treatment of property rights since the nation's founding era.

Ely handles both federal and state judicial decisions in a sure-handed and accessible way; but he also provides a serviceable summary and synthesis of much of the recent literature that looks beyond the nation's high court and its doctrines. Withal, this slender volume should serve well on reading lists both in introductory American history courses and in the upper-division legal history or constitutional law courses. It is a largely conservative overview and commentary that he provides, however, for while emphasizing that property rights in the Anglo-American legal tradition have always been regarded as subject to regulation in the interest of the public, Ely unfailingly comes back to the proposition that property rights are entitled to no less respect under the law than other types of rights, and that protection of property rights is an essential underpinning for individual liberty in the large, not only economic liberty.

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DAVID F. ERICSON. *The Shaping of American Liberalism: The Debates over Ratification, Nullification, and Slavery*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 238. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$14.95.

David F. Ericson has made an ambitious effort to resolve the conflicting claims made for liberalism and republicanism in the shaping of American political thought. Louis Hartz and others of like mind are wrong in thinking of liberalism as a monolithic idea. Revisionists since the 1960s have also been wrong in positing republicanism as an alternative to liberalism. Deeming republicanism versus liberalism a false dichotomy, Ericson considers the relationship of the two "as species to genus" (p. 2); and he sees "pluralism" as another species of liberalism that existed in tension with republicanism. America has been liberal from the creation, but its central emphasis on the ultimate ends of liberty and happiness has lent itself to a meaningful dialogue that escaped Hartz's notice. As "the poles of an evolving liberal tradition" (p. 10) republicanism granted relatively more space to the

"public sphere," and pluralism to the "private sphere" (p. 2).

These categories seem to work fairly well in charting the evolution of liberal thought from its predominant "republican" element during the American Revolution toward the virtual ascendancy of "pluralism" by the Civil War. Ericson focuses on debate at three selected points to mark significant stages in the process. By conceding the need for "partial consolidation" (p. 29), the Antifederalists signaled some measure of retreat from older emphases on a small republic and social homogeneity. Publius's support for the Constitution took special note of the diversity of interests, but he also claimed the sanction of older ideas for an extended republic and a public good transcending factions. Four decades later, John C. Calhoun reaffirmed the republicanism in states' rights and social homogeneity. At the federal level, by contrast, his concept of the concurrent majority brilliantly reflected the growing pluralism of interests. In opposing nullification, Daniel Webster shifted emphasis from virtue to patriotism and from economic homogeneity to a national consensus of shared history and feelings. By the 1850s, the Lincoln-Douglas debates centered on "how pluralistic American society had (or should) become" (p. 4). Although Stephen A. Douglas used states' rights as a tactic to oppose any national decision on slavery, he celebrated diversity and moved toward the concept of government as a democratic marketplace for resolving the conflict of irreducibly plural interests. Abraham Lincoln's republican rhetoric prescribed for statesmen the duty of molding opinion and promoting the public good. Apart from the substantive issue of the expansion of slavery, however, he basically shared Douglas's pluralistic vision. His central emphasis was, after all, the quintessentially liberal one of equal liberty: the private liberty of blacks took precedence over the public liberty of whites.

On balance, Ericson's effort to deal with the liberalism-republicanism issue is not very convincing. Many historians will find its analysis of the debates over ratification, nullification, and slavery expansion rather thin: the rigorous application of the new categories serves more often to truncate than to illuminate the rich texture of the debates. More generally, a lack of symmetry between the two "species" of liberalism casts doubt on the whole approach. Although republicanism constituted an articulated cluster of ideas and values, the pluralist "ideas" were more implicit than explicit; indeed, they gained full articulation only in the twentieth century. The encounter of these putative "species" of liberalism was thus one between old "ideas" opposed to modernity and the new "realities" of rapid economic and social change. Maybe Hartz was right after all in thinking of liberalism as a monolithic essence, immanent in American society from the beginning and "coming out" more fully over the wreckage of republican ideas. Instead of being a species of liberalism, Amer-

ican republicanism by the eighteenth century was rather, in whatever attenuated form, the product of earlier encounters between classical republicanism and the affirmations of Hobbes and Locke. In any case, it would seem, historians still have to deal with the liberalism-republicanism thing.

MAJOR L. WILSON

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BRUCE MIROFF. *Icons of Democracy: American Leaders as Heroes, Aristocrats, Dissenters, and Democrats*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. ix, 422. \$25.00.

We have too few books of this sort today. Less a work of original historical scholarship than an imaginative use of some of the best historical scholarship available to address an issue of pressing public concern, it merits the wide audience it seeks and alerts us to the virtues of sometimes taking that audience to be one of fellow citizens rather than fellow historians. Bruce Miroff's concern is democratic leadership, which he insists is not an oxymoron. Unlike democracy's critics who believe leadership cannot be democratic and democracy's advocates who take it to be a priesthood of all believers, he contends that democracies both require and, on occasion, find a unique kind of leadership. "Democratic leadership," he says, "involves a difficult balance between closeness to the people and a political education that may challenge and discomfit the people" (p. 353).

Choosing (thankfully) to advance this argument concretely rather than abstractly, Miroff offers portraits of nine American leaders—Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Theodore Roosevelt, Eugene Debs, Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr.—and derives from these depictions some thoughtful generalizations about the sort of leadership best suited to a democratic public life. Several of these biographical sketches are cautionary tales. Hamilton, Theodore Roosevelt, and Kennedy are characterized as "heroic aristocrats" who "harbored a sense of superiority and a desire to guide a public whose instincts and capacities they fundamentally distrusted" (p. 354). Hamilton gets points for being open about this contempt for the public, whereas TR and Kennedy dressed aristocratic leadership in a democratic guise—although Roosevelt ranks higher for possessing genuine rather than "manufactured" heroism. All three suffered from an excess of testosterone and failed to rein in their masculine impulses with a compassionate, "feminine" sensibility.

Miroff labels Stanton, Debs, and King "dissenting leaders" who worked at the margins of American society and politics and sought to extend its democratic precincts. Such leaders faced the tough task of securing power for their followers and doing so democratically. Theirs was a record of mixed success.

Although the larger hopes of each were defeated principally by the forces arrayed against them, Miroff criticizes Stanton for her appeal to racist arguments during Reconstruction and Debs for his efforts to stand above the fractious internal politics of American socialism. King was, Miroff contends, the exemplary dissenting leader by virtue of his willingness and capacity to "strike the precarious balance between morality and political effectiveness, between the impassioned rejection of injustice and the calculated compromises that advance the welfare of followers" (p. 356).

The key portraits of men of power are those of Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt, for, Miroff argues, they were presidents who avoided the temptations of aristocracy and sought to wield the tremendous power of their office democratically. Although both had racial blindspots, each stressed "mutuality in place of superiority, education in place of dominance," each tempered his ego and ambition in the interests of democracy, each combined masculine strength with empathy and care, and each sought to be at once effective and just (p. 353).

Stated so briefly and baldly, this summary of Miroff's portraiture makes it seem unfairly like caricature. Readers may quarrel with the particulars of each of his mini-biographies and with the weight of his assessments, yet one of the great strengths of the book is its balanced consideration of the values and practice of heroic aristocrats and anti-heroic democrats alike. Miroff's nuanced and sympathetic portrait of Adams as an aristocrat who stood (unsuccessfully) against Hamilton's program of capitalist and imperial expansion and for a coupling of personal ambition and civic virtue is perhaps the most idiosyncratic and rewarding in the book. And he sharply criticizes FDR for fostering the undemocratic "elaboration of an overweening presidency, a bureaucratic state, and a military leviathan," a judgment that seems to me to push FDR well out of Lincoln's league as a democratic leader (p. 354). On this account, no American leader has found a way to resolve the tensions in democracy that, to use one of King's metaphors, require leaders to be drum majors in concert with their band. Such tensions are, Miroff wisely concludes, irresolvable. We can only hope for leaders such as Lincoln and King who sustain the tension.

We must also hope for followers who will respect such leaders and accept the burdens of self-government they require citizens to shoulder. "Greater American leadership," Miroff rightly notes, "rests on fuller American citizenship" (p. 358). And, he might have added, on the faith that Americans have not lost the taste for democracy, a faith capable of weathering such troubling signs as a Gallup poll from 1983 in which John Kennedy ranked as the greatest president in the history of the United States.

ROBERT B. WESTBROOK
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TOM HATLEY. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 320. \$45.00.

Tom Hatley's book exemplifies recent scholarly attempts to allow Native Americans and whites to share center stage in the history of intercultural relations. Assessing Cherokee interaction with white South Carolinians from the founding of Charleston in 1670 to the mid-1780s, Hatley imaginatively reconstructs events through cultural and comparative analysis, probing both conscious and unconscious levels of assumption and action by Indians and whites alike. African Americans enter the narrative insofar as they relate to this basic interaction. Blending a close reading of mostly familiar documents with anthropological and psychological insight, this study offers new and welcome perspectives on colonial South Carolina's changing backcountry.

Hatley's focus is on how the different sources of social power and powerlessness among Cherokees and whites—especially their distinctive male and female cultures—promoted a "slow process of alienation" between the two races (p. xiii). Early white interest in the Cherokees' geopolitical and commercial potential led to extensive trading connections after the Yamasee War of 1715 and more opportunities to create a common ground, and mutual misunderstanding. Hatley stresses gender and generational divisions within the tribe, the impact of a growing number of *métis*, and, especially, the Cherokee War of 1759–61, which shaped intercultural relations for the next generation. Following that conflict white patriarchal kin-communities from Virginia moved into the Carolina backcountry, bringing deep-seated anxieties about Indians. Likewise, young Cherokees chafed at the rapid loss of land and the seeming capitulation of their elders (which actually masked imaginative attempts to bridge intercultural divisions). Under Dragging Canoe's leadership, Cherokee dissidents (the so-called Chickamaugas) seceded and harassed white settlements from the American Revolution into the 1790s.

Hatley's analysis of men like Andrew Williamson and Andrew Pickens reveals much about social dynamics in the Carolina backcountry. He contends, for example, that such leaders ascribed to the newer kin-communities from Virginia many of the traits the leaders associated with Cherokees—barbarism, unruliness, egalitarianism—and that these feelings were manifest in the Regulation movement of the late 1760s. Hatley also suggests that the patriarchal elite found the relative freedom and authority of Cherokee women threatening, raising "deeper issues of male competence and control within Carolina society" (p. 150). Thus, domination of Cherokees—a necessity if white expansion were to continue—also symbolized elite control of the backcountry population. Ironi-

cally, these same men legitimized their leadership by appropriating the image of the Cherokee warrior and blending it with the newer one of planter patriarch.

The net effect of Cherokee-white contacts was "the willful collective distancing of red and white people from the reality of one another's lives" (p. 240). Indians and whites mirrored one another and yet distorted the other's reality, using those distortions as a means of defining their own uniqueness and apartness. This sense of distinctiveness continued even amid Cherokee "civilization" following the revolution; after most of the tribe was removed from the Southeast in the 1830s, the Indians largely disappeared from southern self-consciousness.

There are a few problems with this book: a sometimes confusing organization, inadequate maps, and no bibliography or bibliographic essay. Hatley, moreover, pays little attention to some major external factors and ultimately drops his thread of geopolitics, which, if anything, became more pronounced in the 1770s and 1780s as the Cherokees participated in a pan-Indian resistance stretching all the way to the Great Lakes. And considering Hatley's attention to gender roles, it is surprising he offers so little analysis of the "Beloved Woman" as cultural mediator in Cherokee society. One also wishes for fuller discussion of the Chickamaugas, who resemble the multi-ethnic village republics discussed in Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1991). Indeed, readers may wish to compare Hatley's analysis of social dynamics with White's. Comparisons aside, this book stands on its own merits and is certain to become an often-cited reference.

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DANIEL A. COHEN. *Pillars of Salt, Monuments of Grace: New England Crime Literature and the Origins of American Popular Culture, 1674-1860*. (Commonwealth Center Studies in American Culture.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 350. \$39.95.

This book by Daniel A. Cohen is a kind of bargain: predominantly a scholarly monograph, with several of the virtues and vices common to the form, it also incorporates, toward the end, some touches of a popular thriller.

The term "crime literature" in the subtitle refers to the changing genres that New Englanders used to interpret the lives and deaths of capital offenders. In the beginning, such stories reached the reading public only via "execution sermons," simple pegs on which to hang a Calvinist moral. With time, however, this ministerial monopoly was challenged by other voices, heard or echoed in "criminal conversion narratives," last speeches, trial reports, ballads, and news-

papers; by the Victorian era, the penny press, romantic novels, and sensational pamphlets had won the day. Changing forms reflected a changing social structure, as colonial New England was subsumed into a far more pluralistic national network of readers and writers. Pluralism, too, encouraged a new epistemology, as the single authoritative voice of the sermon was succeeded by a number of competing accounts and viewpoints, and in the reportage of the mid-nineteenth-century issues of guilt or innocence were greatly complicated by matters of class, gender, and romantic sentiment. "The Origins of American Popular Culture" in the book's subtitle then reflects not simply the banal fact that sex and violence always sells, but a more important one: that crime literature had already helped to produce, by the Victorian era, a mass media that offered many versions of both "fact" and "interpretation."

This argument, if not wholly novel, is embellished with much else of interest and presented with care. Cohen uses the modern critical arsenal in exploring many relevant areas of life and of art. Two of the most important of these areas, the nature of actual criminal behavior and the deconstructed motives of those who either wrote or read about it, are murky enough to demand a stream of qualifiers, "perhapses" and "probablys," signs of both scholarly frustration and caution. Cohen's diffidence about these sources, his own theses, and perhaps "truth" itself is reflected too in his approach to earlier scholars, usually a search for common ground, never an attack.

Cohen is sometimes pedantic, often repetitive. He begins with an "Overview" and ends with a "Conclusion." Each chapter is also bracketed by an introduction and a summary. And in just sixteen pages devoted to the murder of a prostitute I counted at least eight (one tires of the exercise) same-sentence references to a polarity between "sentimental victim" and "sexual predator," not including a wealth of minor variations.

But however heavy, this is not a dull book. The two complex mysteries of love and murder traced in chapters 8 and 9 are simply fun to read, and shortly after describing one courtroom drama Cohen even traces the later life of a bit player, daughter of the accused, just in order to wonder whether, as an old lady, she ever recalled her part as the charming little girl who (p. 243) "had caused such a stir simply by walking into the chamber, clasping her mother's hand?" This single cornball reference to the contemporary "True Crime" genre is doubtless meant to underline the point that the reader of a twentieth-century monograph about crime and punishment, much like the reader of a seventeenth-century execution sermon, may experience little *frissons* not, on the surface, intended by the author.

ROGER LANE
Haverford College

RICHARD NORTON SMITH. *Patriarch: George Washington and the New American Nation*. (A Richard Todd Book.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1993. Pp. xxi, 424. \$24.95.

Richard Norton Smith has written a good and important study of George Washington's presidency and of Washington as a political leader. He argues that Washington was the glue that held together the fragile Union through the tempestuous 1790s.

Smith maintains that Washington accomplished his Herculean feat not merely because he was a symbol around which rival factions could rally, but because he was awash with talent. He was a gifted politician-statesman who instinctively fathomed popular sentiment, deftly controlled himself, and brilliantly understood just which steps could and could not be taken if America's republican experiment was to survive. In addition, Washington combined the artistry of an actor, the skill of a trained psychologist in comprehending the hidden yearnings of others, and a lively, inquiring mind. Smith maintains that Washington was not merely a puppet whose strings were pulled by Alexander Hamilton. Nor was he simply the chairman of the board. He thought for himself, understood politics and politicians, and was an active and assertive chief executive.

How did our first president come to possess such overarching talents? Smith does not divulge this secret. The mystery is all the deeper because Smith portrays Washington's abilities in the French and Indian War and the War of Independence as barely adequate. Young Colonel Washington of the Virginia Regiment, Smith writes, was deeply insecure, terribly rustic, poorly educated, and culturally impoverished. General Washington, the mature commander of the Continental Army, is limned as a commander whose "strategic visions were flawed" from the day he assumed command until he literally stumbled into the great victory at Yorktown (p. 18).

Yet Smith is certain why Washington was a great president. Washington's bitter experiences during the War of Independence caused him to jettison his youthful idealism in public virtue; by 1789 Washington had disabused himself of "the excessive faith in the goodness of men that is a chronic affliction of most modern reformers" (p. 279). Now cynical and tough, President Washington possessed the tools to achieve three major goals. First, he understood and overcame the threat of decentralization inherent in the American Revolution, an achievement that preserved the Union and saved liberty. Second, Washington, uninhibited by "the modern reformer's illusions about human perfectability," perceived the need to limit the democratization and leveling impulses unleashed by the revolution (p. 215). Third, he sufficiently harnessed Hamilton's imaginative genius; indeed, the essence of Hamilton's true objective, the furtherance of capitalism, was realized only because of Washington.

Not all readers will share Smith's enthusiasm for

Hamiltonian Federalism or agree with his contention that democracy posed such a profound threat to the Union. Some, unlike Smith, will believe that Washington's actions in fact did much to democratize the country, for his politics helped arouse a vibrant anti-Federalist opposition that soon swept to power and moved the nation in the very democratic and egalitarian direction that he abhorred.

Smith has produced a lively study of the Washington presidency, one that can be read with delight and debated in earnest, for like the era it depicts, this book is filled with passion, politics, and ideology.

JOHN FERLING
West Georgia College

JOSEPH J. ELLIS. *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. 277. \$25.00.

John Adams felt unappreciated throughout most of his life and periodically predicted that his greatest achievements would never receive full recognition. They did not in his own lifetime, and they have not in the years since his death. Reading Joseph J. Ellis's book, one realizes that Adams would have taken satisfaction in his historical fate and not simply because he anticipated it. For he was a contrary man, a man of opposition and even perversity at least so far as praise and blame of himself were concerned.

Just what sort of a man Adams was and the need to explain him is the task Ellis has given himself in this book. There have been a number of such attempts in the years since the Adams Family Papers became available on microfilm, and since the publication of John Adams's *Diary and Autobiography* (4 vols., 1961), followed by different series given to his papers and family correspondence now well under way. Many of these books and studies—those by Page Smith, John Howe, and Peter Shaw, for example—are excellent. Ellis pays generous appreciation to them, but he charts his own course. His book concentrates on Adams in retirement, the old man, and ends on reconstructing Adams's reputation since his death, with a comparison to Thomas Jefferson's reputation, and an interpretation of why Adams's star has not shined more brightly. In this last part of his book, Ellis without any pretentiousness, but rather with subtlety and sophistication, offers insights into the American past and the historiography of its broad course from the early nineteenth century to the present. His analysis shows that Adams's thought about power and human nature—Adams's values and prescriptions—put him at odds with American development. Adams's thought, with its emphasis on restraint and public responsibility, its skepticism about unrestrained democracy, and its distrust of unchecked individualism, was a bad match for the liberal energies of modern America. Much of this review of his thought will be familiar to specialists, but

Ellis's perspective—seeing the old Adams reflecting on his experience—is different.

Adams faced enormous difficulties in following George Washington as president. He was aware of the circumstances he faced, and so was everyone else. The issue that dominated his presidency concerned revolutionary France: whether to declare war on France or to settle differences peacefully. The Jeffersonians favored a tilt toward France, the high Federalists under Hamilton's leadership toward England. Adams wanted to stay in the middle, to adopt a policy of neutrality. He tried to bring Jefferson, then vice president, into the administration, but was rejected. Adams's own role came naturally to him; he was the virtuous statesman, which for him usually entailed estrangement from popularity. Throughout his long life he seems to have felt that maintaining virtuous principles guaranteed public disapproval. The settlement he reached with France confirmed this point in his mind. And the loss of the election of 1800 made it in still another way.

For the remainder of his life—a full quarter-century—he remained convinced that he would never receive the recognition he deserved for his service in the revolution and as president. A variety of doubts, fears, and compulsions drove him in retirement as well as his own great intellectual curiosity and energy. He hated Hamilton, disliked Thomas Paine, and felt jealous of Washington, Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin. The three great effusions of his life after he left the presidency were his "Autobiography," his letters to Mercy Otis Warren in response to her *History of the American Revolution*, and his essays of the years 1809–12 in the *Boston Patriot* on the events of the 1780s and his presidency. Ellis describes these essays as "unbridled self-vindication."

One of the joys of these last years—from 1812 to 1826—was the correspondence with Jefferson. Like so much of what he said and wrote in these years, these letters offered the release he required from the passions boiling within him. These passions, Ellis shows, were translated into Adams's explanation of much in human motivation. What he found in himself, in other words, was in some complicated fashion attributed to others: a passion for distinction provided the primary impulse for human action. Economic motives—greed, avarice, desires for power—all grew out of the ambitions of men to set themselves apart from others. It was distinction that humans craved, either by elevating themselves or bringing someone else down.

Ellis's analysis of the core of Adams's soul is done with insight and sensitivity. It is also marked by style and wit. John Adams probably would not have agreed with all of this analysis, but he would have admired its intellectual power and honesty.

ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF
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JAY FLIEGELMAN. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 268. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$12.95.

The present participle has come of age in recent scholarship on the Declaration of Independence. First there was Garry Wills's *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (1978). This was followed by my "Justifying America: The Declaration of Independence as a Rhetorical Document" (1989). Now we have Jay Fliegelman's study. The verb in all three titles—inventing, justifying, declaring—is indicative of each author's sensitivity to the performative dimensions of the Declaration as a political, rhetorical, literary, and social act.

Unlike the other two works, however, Fliegelman's book does not aim to explicate the epochal document approved by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776, primarily as a charter of political revolution. Instead Fliegelman approaches the Declaration as symptomatic of the rhetorical revolution that transformed conceptions of political discourse and public speech in England and America during the mid-eighteenth century. According to Fliegelman, the leading theoreticians of this rhetorical revolution (James Burgh, Hugh Blair, Thomas Sheridan, John Rice, and Lord Kames, among others) shifted attention from style and argumentation, which had been the loci of classical rhetoric, to delivery: the vocal tones, facial expressions, and physical gestures that revealed a speaker's true moral disposition and that were the surest vehicles for promoting sympathetic identification with the speaker and his message. Like most revolutions—aesthetic as well as political—the upheaval in rhetorical theory caused a host of associated innovations and was rife with internal conflicts. Part and parcel of such sweeping changes as the growing democratization of social and political leadership and the emergence of new perceptions of personal identity and self-presentation, it was also connected, Fliegelman contends, with a variety of developments in music, theater, literature, preaching, portraiture, even furniture making.

Fliegelman develops his argument by an accretion of striking insights that compel the reader to see familiar occurrences in new and arresting ways. The effect is at times kaleidoscopic as Fliegelman juxtaposes such seemingly disparate phenomena as revivalist oratory and *Clarissa*, William Billing's *The New England Psalm Singer* and Jefferson's first inaugural address, Patrick Henry's oratory and Gilbert Stuart's *The Skater*, *Charlotte Temple*, and *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson's stagefright, and his repeated efforts to suppress the long "s" in his handwriting. All of this is accomplished with considerable erudition, intellectual sophistication, and stylistic virtuosity.

Yet this volume will not pass by specialists unscathed. Eighteenth-century rhetorical theory was more variegated and less univocal than Fliegelman

suggests. The elocutionary movement, influential as it was, did not entirely displace classical conceptions of rhetoric on either side of the Atlantic. The dominant rhetorical treatise in America from 1760 to 1780, for example, was John Ward's singularly classical *System of Oratory*, and the Ciceronian model of republican eloquence was part of the classical revival that informed the thought and action of the revolutionary generation. There is likewise an elusive quality to Fliegelman's claims about the impact of elocutionary ideas on the dynamics of political authority. His speculations on this subject are invariably provocative, but not always convincing.

Fliegelman also slips into some minor—but nonetheless unfortunate—factual errors. The Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking up Arms of 1775 was composed by Jefferson and John Dickinson, not Jefferson alone. Only in the sense that 1776 came after 1774 can the Declaration of Independence be fairly portrayed as a response to the Coercive Acts. Nor do all of the grievances against George III in the Declaration begin with "He has." One—the foreign mercenaries charge—begins with "He is," while the final accusation—that the king has ignored the colonists' petitions for redress—is composed in a different idiom altogether.

These concerns notwithstanding, Fliegelman's book is a notable achievement. Although it does not add a great deal to existing knowledge about the Declaration of Independence itself (fewer than forty pages deal directly with the Declaration), it provides an absorbing, richly nuanced view of late-eighteenth-century American culture as refracted through the prism of rhetorical theory and praxis. It will be read with pleasure and profit by scholars of rhetoric, history, and literature alike.

STEPHEN E. LUCAS
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ANDREW FEDE. *People without Rights: An Interpretation of the Fundamentals of the Law of Slavery in the U.S. South*. (Distinguished Studies in American Legal and Constitutional History.) New York: Garland. 1992. Pp. xvi, 261. \$50.00.

In the past fifteen years, the law of slavery has been investigated by numerous historians in a variety of venues. From articles in law reviews and history journals to monographs to collections of case law, a vast amount of new information has been made available to those interested in the subject. Not unexpectedly, different approaches have been taken trying to determine the meaning and impact of the law of slavery on areas such as the federal system, the southern legal structure, southern courts, and criminal justice patterns and procedures in the slave states. Scholars including Paul Finkelman, Kermit L. Hall, Michael S. Hindus, A. E. Keir Nash, Philip J.

Schwarz, and Mark V. Tushnet have made significant contributions to our understanding of the legal dimensions of slavery.

Andrew Fedé now adds to this body of work. Commenting on that scholarship and his connection to it, Fedé is not bashful. He maintains that the historiography on slavery is still characterized by writers who view the institution through the eyes of either the slave masters or the abolitionists. In Fedé's judgment, "dispassionate analysis is long overdue" (p. ix) in slavery studies. The time has come, he asserts, "to cast out the demons of the past and look at historical evidence without preconception" (p. ix). Of course, Fedé claims that he has taken that course.

Fedé states that he focuses on the legal relationship among the slaves, their masters, and third parties. His main concern is with the alleged identity of slaves as both persons and property. I use "alleged" because Fedé argues that the concept of person or humanity involving slaves had no bearing at all in the law. In his brief, even those southern jurists who thought they were considering the humanity of slaves in their decisions were engaging in imaginary jurisprudence. For Fedé, no other interpretation has legitimacy. He is neither more nor less tolerant than slave masters and abolitionists.

Fedé also arrives at other particular decisions, some more helpful than others. He makes the point that growth of procedural fairness for slaves mirrored the increase of capital crimes. In his reading this development is based solely on concern for the owners' property rights. He also finds that "the criminal law of slavery discriminated against the slaves" (p. 177) and that "social conditions" forced masters and politicians "to mask and reify the oppression of slavery" (p. 237). Fedé concludes that "slaves were not afforded all of the common law's rights" (p. 244).

On a quite different front, Fedé's publisher has not served him well. The production quality is lacking; in addition, a fairly extensive errata sheet accompanies the book.

WILLIAM J. COOPER
Louisiana State University

JOHN MICHAEL VLACH. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 258. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$18.95.

A recognized pioneer in the study of southern and African-American material culture, John Michael Vlach has written or edited a half-dozen books and numerous journal articles highlighting the creative contributions and historical importance of black folk artists and craftspeople, their techniques, and their dwellings. This attractively designed volume on the vernacular architecture of plantation slavery is his most cohesive and fully realized work.

To document his study of plantation buildings and spaces, Vlach has selected more than 200 photographs, site plans, and measured line drawings produced over the last half-century by the Historic American Buildings Survey, a division of the National Park Service. These research aids executed by professional architects, draftsmen, and photographers depict surviving slave cabins and workplaces at nearly 300 different sites in fourteen southern states. Here the focus is on structures frequented by black bondsmen, not on the white folks' "Big House." The author's selection from this treasure trove of images is judicious, the reproductions large and crisp. Those accustomed to historians' descriptions of what an antebellum slave quarter, tobacco barn, sugar mill, winnowing house, or cotton gin looked like will revel in the opportunity to visit these sites via clearly rendered black-and-white illustrations. Even specialists already familiar with Vlach's work in this area will want to mine this book for its iconographic riches.

In 110 pages of text, Vlach provides a running commentary on these plantation vistas. He leads readers on a fast-paced tour of the slave workers' world. Stops are made at the house servants' and field hands' quarters; at kitchens, smokehouses, blacksmith shops, dairies, and stables; and at the outbuildings containing various types of production machinery. Vlach also visits slave dining halls, chapels, and hospitals as well as the cabins of overseers and drivers.

A summary section moves beyond these examples of standard building types to consider seven "landscape ensembles" (p. 183), groups of related buildings from different sites that reveal the influence which individual taste, local vernacular tradition, and varied commodity production had on plantation design. Certainly, there could be no single, unifying plantation style in such a large and geographically diverse region. The author recognizes this fact and is careful to note changes over time and to account for both subregional variations and borrowings from Old World or northern architectural models.

Like any good tour guide, Vlach spices his descriptive commentary with interpretation. On-site investigations as well as research in black oral histories and in the published journals and papers of antebellum planters allow him to conclude that slaveowners may have established the context of servitude, but they seldom exercised absolute control. Opportunistic bondsmen asserted counterclaims over the spaces and buildings to which they were assigned, taking a far more active role in defining their "territorial domains" (p. xi) than whites ever anticipated or suspected. They created their own landscapes by carefully regulating access to their dwellings, appropriating outbuildings for private entertainments, and continually frustrating the planters' passion for order and symmetry. By claiming and exercising these territorial prerogatives, slaves overturned the declared order of the plantation world.

Adherents to the "community and culture" school of American slavery studies will be pleased that this interpretation meshes so well with those found in works that focus on more widely recognized modes of black day-to-day resistance. Others may, with some justification, conclude that Vlach is too eager to find a broad "social statement" (p. 153) in every piece of crumbling plantation plaster. Always symbolic or emblematic, the architectural remains are obliged to bear considerable interpretive weight, often with little assistance from Vlach's literary sources. That certain of his findings are more suggestive than definitive in no way diminishes the overall value of this insightful and engaging work. Vlach's book is one of the most user-friendly studies of African-American material culture ever written.

WILLIAM L. VAN DEBURG
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STEVEN EPPERSON. *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel*. Salt Lake City: Signature. 1992. Pp. ix, 228. \$18.95.

By European standards, nineteenth-century Jews were well treated in America. Yet Europe's anti-Semitic stereotypes, if not its pogroms, migrated to the United States with its immigrants. Nineteenth-century Mormons, by contrast, viewed Jews not only with toleration but also with an unusual respect, and it is the purpose of Steven Epperson's well-written book to explain why this was so.

Initially, part of the reason lay in the church's theology. In the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith's subsequent teachings, the Jews emerge as a separate and special people who have retained their covenanted relationship with the Lord. In due course God would return them to Palestine, where they would play a unique role in the events leading to the millennium. In time, these abstract views were buttressed in a practical manner after Smith's favorable contact with the scholar Joshua Seixas whom the prophet hired to teach Hebrew to the Mormon elders. This feeling of reverence and respect perhaps reached its symbolic apogee in the Apostle Orson Hyde's well-known mission to the Holy Land in 1840-42. Hyde's labors among the Jews in the Holy Land contrasted with the condescending proselytizing of Protestant missionaries. Smith's attitudes, in turn, were continued by Brigham Young, whose "independence from classic sources of Christian theology and eschatology," as Epperson delicately puts it, "made possible a more positive view than scholarly familiarity with these traditional sources might have yielded" (p. ix). Yet what keeps the Mormon story from being one of unalloyed religious enlightenment is that there were those in the church who did have knowledge of the scholarly anti-Semitic views of

Christian theologians. Indeed, Mormons of a more intellectual bent, such as Oliver Cowdery and Orson Pratt, proved resistant to adopting Smith's and, later, Young's theological respect for the Jews.

This is an interesting book in that it reverses the standard portrayals in recent Mormon historiography of sensitive and tolerant Mormon intellectuals contrasted with a bigoted, narrow-minded, yet more powerful church leadership. And if Epperson overly delineates the divisions between nineteenth-century Mormons, he nonetheless points to a significant anomaly in Mormon thought, for it is on the rock of anti-pluralism that the Mormon church was founded.

This book is not intended as a work of comparative religion, nor does it attempt to show us what Jews thought of their Mormon encounters or Mormon theology. And, unfortunately, the historical evidence is sometimes so thin that Epperson has to include discussion of some rather trivial matters because that is all the material available to him. Given the work's narrowly conceived theme and its sometimes overly refined discussion, one suspects that it might have made a stronger article.

Epperson has, in part, written this book for contemporary Mormonism, a humane history designed to foster a respect for Jews that does not subordinate them to a demeaned position in Mormon theology and eschatology. For that, and for those who have a somewhat refined interest for Mormon theological views, this is a good and often insightful book.

KENNETH H. WINN
Missouri State Archives

JOHN HOYT WILLIAMS. *Sam Houston: A Biography of the Father of Texas*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993. Pp. 448. \$27.50.

After years of neglect, Sam Houston has attracted several new biographies on the occasion of the bicentennial of his birth. Each is distinctive in size, scope, and interpretation. This volume by John Hoyt Williams is one of the most critical, emphasizing on the public level Houston's persistent imperial dreams and his failed pursuit of the U.S. presidency. It also gives considerable attention to personal concerns such as excessive drinking and flawed family life; however, on fundamental matters of interpretation the book is not coherent or persuasive.

Essentially, Williams finds in Houston an unsolved riddle. The best the author has to offer is that "the key to the controversies" of Houston's life "is found in his penchant for secrecy . . . and his chronic vacillation at crucial moments" (p. 368). Williams repeatedly poses questions that he does not answer, and he cannot seem to decide whether Houston was a mere manipulator or devoted to principle as suggested by his frequently unpopular stands. Williams's other major assertion—regarding Houston's fatal flaw of inaction—is often made in the work but not fully

supported. Houston "appeared to many to be a man for all occasions, but he was not," the author writes. "A flawed giant, he often stepped onto the stage and froze" (p. 12). The more conventional view of Houston as a visionary tempered by realism appears stronger if only because Williams in other places acknowledges his subject's courage and activism.

Houston's complexity and secretiveness were real, but another reason why Williams fails to solve the puzzles in this extraordinary life is that he did not consult a great number of the important primary sources and secondary works. His research in Houston's own correspondence centers on one Texas library, thus neglecting numerous collections of unpublished materials in other depositories. Many of the best recent studies—ranging in subject matter from Houston's romances to Mexican colonial policy toward Texas, war and diplomacy in the republic, politics during statehood, and the secession crisis—go unexamined. The result is that Williams presents simplistic and confused accounts of most of these topics. Readers in search of new interpretations of Houston's policies as president, senator, and governor will be disappointed.

These weaknesses are complicated by the work's blurred focus. Williams frequently loses sight of Houston in an attempt to establish historical context and has a myopic vision of critical issues. For example, Williams provides a lengthy description of imperial plans that came to nothing, but fails to present a clear description of unionist dilemmas in Texas in 1860–61. He adopts phraseology indicating he intends to write a major reinterpretation, only to drop the theme. The most glaring example of this problem is the subtitle. It suggests that the mantle "Father of Texas" is to be wrenched from the traditional holder, whom the author misnames "Stephen Foster Austin" (p. 103). Not only is the concept undeveloped with regard to Houston but also the title is used to refer to Austin (p. 168). All in all, this biography leaves the impression of a rush order to meet a deadline; it is inferior to both shorter and older works.

PAUL D. LACK
McMurry University

LAURENCE M. HAUPTMAN. *The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation*. (The Iroquois and Their Neighbors.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 214. \$29.95.

The Vietnam War was not the United States' first conflict to ignite major repercussions on the home front. During the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln struggled continually with behind-the-lines economic, social, and political problems. Other Americans fought the war on two fronts, but their stories are less well known. Laurence M. Hauptman's original study greatly enhances our understanding of the war's

dramatic impact on the Iroquois. The tale is incomplete, but it is the best we are likely to get from the fragmentary records of a scattered people.

Part 1, which examines Iroquois military participation, focuses on the experiences of soldiers from New York, Wisconsin, and the Indian Territory, plus those of seaman William Jones, who took part in the Battle of Fort Fisher. Once the Iroquois overcame initial racial discrimination in recruitment, they went off to war in integrated army and navy units, received the same pay as non-Indians, and fought for the Union as privates and as non-commissioned and commissioned officers. Hauptman devotes two chapters to the last group: "Grant's Indian," Ely S. Parker, and the less well-known Lieutenant Cornelius C. Cusick (War Eagle), "the most important Iroquois commander of Indian troops during the American Civil War" (p. 39). Four chapters examine the experiences of ordinary soldiers, particularly those in the 132d New York State Volunteer Infantry and the 14th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. Although some Iroquois fought to preserve the Union and to abolish slavery, others had different agendas. Hauptman astutely discerns, for example, that some "joined the Union effort to satisfy certain aspects of their Iroquois identity, namely to use the war, as others had before them, to gain status and prestige within their communities" (p. 147). Iroquois military operations in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and the trans-Mississippi are described in detail.

The struggle of Iroquois home communities to maintain their lands, governments, and cultural identities is the subject of part 2. Hauptman treats the strategies developed by Samuel George, the major political spokesman of the Iroquois confederacy during the war years, and the conflict's far-reaching effect on families, including orphaned children and, as revealed in pension records, destitute widows. An essay on "Railroading" analyzes how New York State and railroading interests continued to nibble away at the Iroquois land base in the 1860s.

Hauptman's conclusion examines the Civil War's legacy in Iroquois country. Besides the activities of Grand Army of the Republic veterans and the plight of pensioners, the war also brought a population decline, permanent non-Indian intrusions onto the reservations, and generally broke down the historic separation between the Iroquois and white worlds.

Only a scholar with Hauptman's knowledge of Iroquois history, his grasp of widely scattered source materials, and his credibility within Iroquois communities today could have written so authoritatively about this two-front war. Excellent maps, charts, and illustrations help make this book a worthy addition to Hauptman's other two volumes on Iroquois history and to Syracuse University Press's series "The Iroquois and Their Neighbors."

EDMUND J. DANZIGER, JR.
Bowling Green State University

THEODORE J. KARAMANSKI. *Rally 'Round the Flag: Chicago and the Civil War*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1993. Pp. xiv, 292.

Chicago played a fascinating and important part in the Civil War. Its meat packers produced a significant part of the military food supply. Its shops turned out thousands of uniforms. It was the major supplier of horses for the army, and its position as a transportation hub made it a place filled with people going somewhere else. Although its male population numbered only 29,000 in 1860, it sent 15,000 soldiers to battle; 4,000 never returned. Its sea of political intrigue not only dispatched Abraham Lincoln to the White House but also produced enough dissention to prompt a minor draft riot, the military shutdown of the *Chicago Times*, and rumors that the 7,000 Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas were plotting a massive escape.

Theodore J. Karamanski neatly weaves these events into a useful book that, unfortunately, tries unsuccessfully to reach two audiences. On one hand, it resembles a popular narrative that begins with Lincoln's nomination and ends with his funeral. In between are extended discussions of such topics as Ellsworth's Zouaves, the Sanitary Fair and the creation of the Soldier's Home, Camp Douglas and the Northwest Conspiracy, and Chicago's industrial output. The chronological organization of the book reminds us that events seldom take place in the neat topical order in which academic historians place them. But, although the style attempts to be dramatic, it is constantly hindered by more scholarly details than most popular readers would probably want.

But Karamanski's volume had greater problems as a purely scholarly effort. All hopes that this might be a contribution to urban history are dashed with the author's statement in the introduction that he has "steered clear of those events which relate solely either to Chicago history or Civil War military history" (p. xii). Although this disclaimer relieves Karamanski of an obligation to consult the voluminous cache of pre-1871 city documents that have been thoroughly indexed by the Illinois State Archives, as well as other Chicago manuscript sources, their use might have enriched the book greatly. For instance, there is a connection between descriptions of desperate widows and applications for peddler's licenses, as well as a linkage between the need to increase the police force and the fact that the war caused Chicago to grow by more than 50 percent in four years.

Although the book brings to life small incidents gleaned from the press of the day, many of the stories are familiar and can be found in the older literature of the field. The arrangement of chapters, chronological and episodic, as well as the emphasis on biographical details, might have been less of a problem had there been a concluding discussion of such larger themes as the role of the hero in the local media or the impact of a large transient population.

There is no real integration of the engaging details of everyday city life with the larger picture. Instead, the story begins and ends abruptly. The actors enter and exit the urban stage, and we are told that the set has been transformed during the play, but we never understand how or why.

This book is still a good read and a useful summary of events in one city. It could have been much more.

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University of Illinois,
Chicago

MARK T. BANKER. *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 225. \$36.95.

In the modern, secular era Christian missionaries are in disrepute. Saints no more, their gospels in dispute, the best they can hope for are even-handed biographers to write bland studies of their aspirations and institutions. Under the auspices of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Mark T. Banker has composed a monograph that reports on Presbyterian motives, attitudes, and activities without endorsing or condemning them. His book examines Presbyterian missionaries for a century following the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848, at which the United States gained control over the territory now including New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado. Without breaking new ground thematically, methodologically, or theoretically, Banker informs us about what these missionaries thought and what they tried to do.

The Presbyterians found the natives of this region—the American Indians, the Hispanic Catholics, and the Mormons—to be “‘degraded,’ ‘benighted,’ ‘superstitious,’ and ‘ignorant’” peoples in need of Americanizing according to “mainstream” Protestant standards. Sheldon Jackson and his evangelical cohorts—women and men—deemed these populations “capable of civilization” and hoped that in the few years left on earth before the millennium “Christian charity and the grace of God would inevitably achieve this end” (p. x). The missionaries did not deny the religiousness already inherent in these peoples, but judged their beliefs “hopeless, potentially dangerous delusions” in dire need of overturning.

No reader will find it news that the Presbyterians viewed the Indians—Pueblos, Papagos, Pimas, Navajos, and others—as a “‘half-naked, filthy set of creatures’”; nor are we shocked to learn that the evangelists were resentfully perplexed by the Mormon “imperviousness to Protestant missionary overtures” (p. 35). Nevertheless, it is ironic to discover the preachers and teachers allied, albeit briefly, with the Hispanic followers of Padre Antonio Jose Martinez of Taos, recently excommunicated by the Catholic Archbishop of Santa Fe, Jean Baptiste Lamy. The Mexican-American *penitentes* and the Presbyterian newcomers had little in common beyond a shared hatred

of American Catholic power, and their alliance did not last for long.

The Presbyterians conducted several dozen schools throughout the Southwest, in the hope of converting the Indians, Hispanics, and Mormons to Protestant American ways; their method, however, did not alter the natives with the immediacy or thoroughness worthy of the expected millennium. They tried bribes and threats to compel children to attend their schools. They attempted to wrest the children of Indians from their parents to boarding institutions. Still, they had little success in converting adults, or holding the allegiance of baptized youngsters.

In the face of these failures, Banker suggests, the missionaries came to accommodate themselves to the forms of native culture, becoming in effect less judgmental of the peoples they had come to transform. Indeed, Banker states an interest in the “impact of the Southwest on the Presbyterians” (p. xi). More to the point, however, finances dwindled—first in the nationwide economic collapse of 1893, and again in the prolonged Depression of the 1930s—and the missionaries eventually gave up, having achieved far less than they initially hoped.

CHRISTOPHER VECSEY
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DEVON A. MIHESUAH. *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 212. \$35.95.

This study by Devon A. Mihesuah documents the history of the Cherokee Seminary (located in Indian Territory) from its inception in 1851 to its merger with what later became Northeastern State College. The narrative is rather short, only 150 pages. The book does contain numerous appendixes, the data from which could have been analyzed and added to the text.

According to Mihesuah, the Cherokee Seminary was patterned after Mount Holyoke Seminary, one of the most conservative seminaries in New England. Several Cherokee Seminary teachers were Mount Holyoke graduates. As evidence of the students’ traditional attitudes toward gender, they chanted to gubernatorial candidate Charles Haskell, “Haskell, Haskell he’s our man.” “If I can’t vote my sweetheart can!” (p. 74).

Despite the fact that all of the women studied philosophy and physiology, the Cherokee Seminary educators and missionaries furthered class divisions among the student body. For example, the Cherokee Seminary offered a liberal arts education for a “Talented Tenth” of its students years before W. E. B. Du Bois put forth the notion. Moreover, “wealth always gave students an advantage,” Mihesuah writes, “while some elite young women who failed courses semester after semester were . . . reinstated” (p. 51). Chief

John Ross's ownership of more than forty slaves before the Civil War also contributed to the students' inability to identify with people of color. It is little wonder, Mihesuah concludes, that the students experienced a great deal of ambivalence.

Such feelings may have contributed to the fact that only a small percentage of students (only 212 out of 2,770) graduated from the school. The women who did complete the curriculum were those who had educated parents and were only partially Cherokee in their bloodline. Although many of the students seemed to be proud of their Cherokee heritage, they did not observe Cherokee customs and viewed their ancestors as quaint.

Mihesuah pays scant attention to other scholarly works relating to female seminaries. She cites Ann Scott's article on Troy Female Seminary, which opened in New York in 1821. Yet there are countless other studies on the seminary experience. Each offers a discussion of the schools as liberating, oppressive, or a combination of both. Other works by Margaret Szasz, Francis Paul Prucha, Angie Debo, Guy B. Senesse, and Sally McBeth are not mentioned. Their discussions of American Indian education and self-determination are applicable to the Cherokee Seminary. Much more scholarship is needed before conclusive statements can be made about the education of Indian women enrolled in seminaries and other types of schools.

COURTNEY VAUGHN
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MICHAEL C. COLEMAN. *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1993. Pp. xvi, 230. \$37.50.

Despite its title, this book by Michael C. Coleman does not contain the history of "American Indian children at school." Thousands of Indian children representing dozens of tribes attended federal, missionary, and tribal boarding schools during the period from 1850 to 1930, but the book recounts—by the use of "autobiographies"—experiences of only 102 Indian pupils from twenty-nine tribes. Some of the cited autobiographies are coauthored or edited by non-Indians, are only a few pages in length, and several appear to have been barely utilized. Memoirs of oft-quoted Indian writers such as Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, Helen Sekaquaptewa, and Francis La Flesche are used disproportionately to the rest of the sources. The book is divided into chapters that promise to discuss tantalizing topics such as cultural confusion, curricula, peers, and resistance to education, yet they offer little analysis, just cursory descriptions of school life according to a few former students. Because Coleman has used almost exclusively autobiographies to chronicle American Indian children's experiences at boarding schools, the result is an incomplete study.

Depending on autobiographies for accurate infor-

mation can be problematic, and Coleman does at least acknowledge a few pitfalls of which researchers should be aware. My own experiences in working with oral histories and reminiscences of Indian boarding school students has been that many recountings are erroneous and embellished "memories" of what the individuals wished had happened. Identifying inaccuracies and filling in historical gaps can only come from synthesizing information contained in autobiographies with data from government documents, teacher memoirs, newspaper editorials of the day, school and tribal records, as well as the students' socioeconomic backgrounds in order to determine their motivations for either resisting enrollment because they had no use for "white" education, or for attending school because they believed assimilation was the key to survival. Demographic analysis can reveal students' cultural adherences (traditional or progressive), their physiological make-up (fullblood, mixed-blood, light or dark skin; appearance is definitely a factor in determining whether or not educated, but phenotypically looking Indians could realistically aspire to live in white society), and family characteristics that influenced the students. (Did their parents read and write in English? Were they affluent or poor? What kind of work did they do? Did they associate with whites? Were they concerned about retaining tribal customs?) It is a mistake to generalize about Indians, for not all Indians are alike, and members of the same tribe often do not share the same values.

Boarding schools (and "common," or neighborhood, schools) of at least four of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole) were especially interesting in that they were established by the tribes—not the federal government—in order to acculturate their own people. These schools educated children from all socioeconomic backgrounds, thus making them vital sources of information about tribal identity, assimilation, and cultural and psychological differences between tribal members. Inexplicably, memoirs of students who attended Indian Territory/Oklahoma boarding schools have been overlooked in this study. This is puzzling, because former pupils left behind not only numerous autobiographies but also tape recordings of interviews, books, journal and newspaper articles (many became professional writers), alumni association newsletters that detail school life, and personal correspondence. Ironically, Coleman states his disappointment in La Flesche for embracing white education (pp. ix–x). But if he had investigated the experiences of children from Indian Territory, his image of Indians resisting white encroachment into their tribal cultures would have been irrevocably shattered, for thousands of Indian children flocked to Indian Territory schools (and white schools outside of their tribal nations), which were patterned after eastern white institutions, to learn as much about the white world as possible.

Although Coleman has chronicled only a fraction of the history of American Indian boarding schools, this book is still a worthwhile contribution to the study of Indian education. It is well written, impressively edited, and nicely organized given the data Coleman decided to work with.

DEVON A. MIHESUAH
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JAMES W. CORTADA. *Before the Computer: IBM, NCR, Burroughs, and Remington Rand and the Industry They Created, 1865-1956*. (Princeton Studies in Business and Technology.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 344. \$55.00.

James W. Cortada is a computer consultant and prolific writer who has made contributions to the maturing field of the history of computers with his bibliographies and historical dictionaries. In this book he blends his professional experience, the insights of academic business history, and the grand perspectives found in the history of information to create a new interpretation of the American precomputer data-processing industry. Concepts from the works of Alfred D. Chandler and James R. Beniger, as well as archival materials, help make his book more than a synthesis of secondary company histories.

Cortada demonstrates that a significant and important data industry existed before the 1960s. He examines that industry in terms of "strategy and structure" and analyzes the routes to success or failure. He emphasizes the business sector over government or science in generating innovation and stresses the importance of management in creating a market for business machinery. Cortada tries to base his explanations on more than truisms and attempts to be specific about the causes of change. His descriptive company histories, however, are what stand out.

It appears that Cortada's editors did not fully appreciate his efforts. There are garbled and incomplete sentences, some spelling errors, and at least one poorly edited table (pp. 10, 16, 207, 259). Worse, the critical word "electronic" was allowed to remain where electromechanical should have appeared (p. 108). These oversights are perhaps the result of editorial energies being turned to a social cause. For example, although the author states that there were no women in the industry's sales force before the 1960s (p. 273), readers are dragged through semantic contortions during an exploration of the role of marketing. Cortada's effort to avoid the use of the words "man" and "men" goes too far. (See, for example, p. 72.) Yet when something "bad" in history is mentioned, the words "men" and "old" are freely employed. A scholar has to wonder if the historical subjects would have approved of their being so selectively degendered and aged. A stark example of ahistoricism is the treatment of one of the volume's

many illustrations. A cartoon from a *New Yorker* issue in 1941 shows a room full of new tabulating equipment with young, well-dressed, and stylishly coiffured women busily creating information. In a dark corner, dressed for a bygone era, sits an isolated pen-and-pencil male clerk who is being pointed to by a manager, who says, "We just keep him on in case of emergency." The comment about the cartoon does not mention the clerk's plight, his job and retirement insecurity, the willingness of the women to displace older workers, nor the traumatic union struggles over such issues during the 1930s and 1940s. The 1990s caption even has style errors. It reads, "Note that the equipment is in the accounting department and is headed by a conservative male manager with women clerks" (facing p. 288, n. 39).

COLIN BURKE
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EDWARD K. SPANN. *Hopedale: From Commune to Company Town, 1840-1920*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 213. \$37.50.

While researching his excellent synthesis of American utopian thought and experiments (*Brotherly Tomorrows* [1989]), Edward K. Spann encountered a fascinating community that seemed to demand treatment at greater length than was possible in a general work. This community was Hopedale, Massachusetts, founded in 1842, which evolved from a utopian experiment devoted to the realization of "practical Christianity" into a model progressive company town devoted to the production of textile machinery.

Fortunately, Spann did not consign his notes on Hopedale to a shoebox, but instead wrote the book that the Hopedale experiment deserves. Hopedale merits extended treatment if for no other reason than to rescue from obscurity the community's guiding spirit, Adin Ballou (1803-90). Raised in the emerging textile region of Rhode Island and southeastern Massachusetts, Ballou was a self-taught preacher and a gentle and persistent idealist who remained true throughout his long life to the goals of non-violence and Christian socialism. To realize these goals he and a small group of followers purchased a derelict farm fifteen miles southeast of Worcester where he hoped to inspire the world by actually living the tenets of "practical Christianity."

Yet Ballou was genuinely "practical" in the best sense of the word. Ballou was careful to found "Fraternal Community No. 1" on a site with sufficient waterpower to supply small-scale manufactures. He sought to balance the individual and collective first by vesting ownership of the community and its industries in a joint-stock company where individuals could hold shares, and then by allowing Hopedale residents to pursue an ever-greater range of private businesses outside the community's collective enterprises. As its

machine-tool shops and other enterprises expanded with the growing textile industry, Hopedale briefly managed to combine agriculture and manufactures, idealism and practicality in one small embodiment of what Lewis Mumford celebrated as New England's "golden day."

Nevertheless, nice guys finish last, even in utopian communities. In the 1850s, when the agitation against slavery turned even Ballou's closest associates away from non-resistance, the serpent of self-interest made its appearance in the Hopedale garden. Among Ballou's followers was the Draper family, who had invented a device to speed up power looms. They took advantage of the community's increasing tolerance for private enterprise to manufacture the device in Hopedale for their own profit, and they used their profits to buy shares in the joint-stock company that owned the land and other common resources of the community. When in 1856 the Drapers attained a controlling interest in the Hopedale company, they bought out Ballou and the other shareholders. Utopia fell victim to a nineteenth-century version of the leveraged buyout.

By the early twentieth century, the Draper Company completely dominated a bustling factory center where Ballou and his ideals were almost forgotten. Hopedale had become the leading producer of textile machinery in the country, and, in the opinion of one expert, America's best company town.

Spann is particularly good at using Ballou's voluminous publications as well as other Hopedale records to reconstruct both the daily life of the community and the larger intellectual context in which it was founded. Spann is especially attentive to the role of women and to Hopedale's many creative attempts to foster equality between the sexes.

The book disappoints only when Spann attempts to evaluate the meaning of the transition from utopian community to company town. Hopedale in both its stages represented an attempt to realize a collective order: the earlier based on shared ideals, the later on the wealth and power of a single enterprise. The company town as much as the utopian community challenged individualism and attempted to redefine the boundaries of the public and the private. Spann argues that the Drapers's "welfare capitalism" owed "at least something to the distant influence of the Hopedale Community" (p. 171), but the connection remains elusive.

The Draper factory finally shut down in 1980, but Ballou's quest for social justice, peace, and "Good homes in good neighborhoods for all who try to be worthy of them" is still very much with us.

ROBERT FISHMAN
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ELIZABETH HAWES. *New York, New York: How the Apartment House Transformed the Life of the City (1869–*

1930). New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993. Pp. xv, 285. \$30.00.

Elizabeth Hawes's writing style is lively and engaging, and her book is filled with interesting details. It could serve to get a novice interested in the history of New York's architectural styles and dwelling issues. Hawes, however, is a journalist rather than a scholar, and she has little sense of a researcher's and author's responsibilities. Those first-time readers therefore would get wrong "facts" and misnamed architectural styles; they would also get the concepts and interpretations of the several scholars who preceded Hawes in laying out this field, but ill-digested and unattributed.

The virtues of the book begin with its excellent period photographs. Hawes shows individual buildings, larger-scope streetscapes, and a few architectural plans. She evokes well the texture of the urban experience, as in her chapter on the 1880s and 1890s New York of William Dean Howells, or on the development of Park Avenue. Her prose delivers insights: the Waldorf Astoria "embraced all people; it brought exclusivity to the masses" (p. 138). Small biographies of architects and developers give flavor to her story. Developer William Stokes, for example, raised goats and chickens on a rooftop farm, and he sold cheese, milk, and eggs to Ansonia tenants (p. 158).

The virtues of Hawes's book, however, are outweighed by her faults in terminology, interpretation, and use of scholarly conventions. Hawes's handling of architectural terms is confused. She uses "classicism" to mean the use of any historical style, rather than properly pointing to the Classical (ancient Greek, Roman, and their revivals). She calls the Villard Houses "cooperative apartments" on one page, "row houses" on another. Without plans and diagrams, her description of the New Law of 1901 governing multiple dwellings is hard to grasp (pp. 153–54).

Hawes is most interested in apartments for well-to-do and upper-class tenants, but she never gives us any sense of how her class categories are defined. She declares that "people" in the 1920s began to realize the modern advantages of sharing a tall building with others (p. 220); my research (*Alone Together* [1990]) made clear that by the mid-1880s upper-middle-class tenants experienced these advantages and by 1905 many writers had made an issue of them. Is it only the very rich who missed the point for another two decades? Her concept of class again becomes a problem when she recounts that the "affluent," people who previously occupied huge Fifth Avenue apartments, discovered the new small, streamlined apartments of the Magestic and Century around 1930; are these the same people? Did a social class change its standards (as she implies) from grand scale to small scale, or is it a generational change, or is it a different income level?

She uses endnotes, but since there are no corresponding note numbers in the text, the reader has no idea (except from the table of contents) that the

information lies at the end. Hawes furthermore acknowledges only sources of facts or quotes, not of concepts or interpretations.

ELIZABETH COLLINS CROMLEY
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KLAUS HÖDL. *"Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side": Galizische Juden in New York.* (Böhlau's zeitgeschichtliche Bibliothek, number 19.) Vienna: Böhlau. 1991. Pp. 305. S 476.00.

Immigration history has long ignored the categories of identity that often mattered greatly to the immigrants themselves. Regional and local identities have only recently become part of the mainstream concerns of immigration historians, but their introduction has made for a major advance in the field. This work by Klaus Hödl goes beyond the old Jewish immigrant and East European Jewish immigrant studies to focus on the major streams of East European Jewish migration from the Austrian empire province of Galicia between 1880 and 1920.

Although he relies mostly on secondary sources, Hödl does a fine job of synthesizing the latest material covering developments on both sides of the Atlantic. He explores the sources of Jewish emigration from Galicia and clearly develops the differences between this, primarily economic, emigration and the better known flight of Jewish refugees from tsarist Russia. In the process, he breaks down some of the widely accepted stereotypes of the Eastern European emigration.

Hödl also explores the different streams of Jewish emigration from Galicia, distinguishing between those who left for Vienna and those who crossed the Atlantic. The material synthesized and the analyses presented in these first sections will be particularly useful for Americanists, but even Europeanists will find them fresh and interesting.

Even as he shifts across the Atlantic to New York, Hödl's frequent comparisons between the Galician Jewish communities of New York and Vienna provide the basis for important insights into each of them, particularly regarding the contrast between New York socialism and Vienna Zionism. Some of the New York material loses the clear focus on Galician Jews in its exploration of Jewish New York in general, and specialists will find much of this material familiar. But just when it seems to have lost its freshness, Hödl's own research on Galician *Landsmanshaften* and their federation in New York brings new life and interest to his study.

It is here, in his consideration of the formation and function of a Galician Jewish identity-structure, that Hödl makes his greatest contribution to the historical literature on Jewish immigration. The often-considered hostility and tensions between German Jews and Ostjuden are extended to those between Russian and

Galician Jews. Residential segregation and high levels of endogamy are explored in addition to institutional forms of separation. The strength of his analyses of ethnicity and class, however, stand in strong contrast to his lack of attention to gender issues.

Hödl writes simply and clearly (although sometimes somewhat repetitively), and his consideration of the literature is both incisive and up to date. His major failing in this respect is that he ignores most primary sources and secondary literature in Yiddish; a short run of a New York Galician Yiddish weekly seems to be his only Yiddish source. Nor has he been well served by his publisher, as the copy editing is poor and no index has been provided. Nonetheless, this book is still worth serious attention by anyone interested in immigration or Jewish history.

STANLEY NADEL
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RANDOLPH E. BERGSTROM. *Courting Danger: Injury and Law in New York City, 1870-1910.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 213. \$32.95.

Traditionally, American legal history has been the history of formal legal doctrine. In it, change is the result of the thinking of lawyers and judges. Lately, however, legal historians, influenced by social history and the law and society movement, have begun to see society, politics, and conflicts among the users of the law as determining change.

Randolph E. Bergstrom's book closes the circle. For him, change in the law is once again the result of ideas, only now it is the ideas of ordinary people and the culture at large. Bergstrom seeks to explain the precipitous rise in personal injury suits in New York City between 1870 and 1910. First, he establishes the increase, then he dismisses possible explanations. Mechanization was not the answer; there were too many injuries that had non-mechanical causes, and the rise in suits was much more abrupt than the gradual process of mechanization. Chapters pass as Bergstrom eliminates changes in the rate of injury, the law, lawyering, the conduct of judges and juries, alternative sources of assistance, and the success rate of suits.

Finally, at the end of the book comes the payoff. New ideas among the people of New York were the cause, specifically a higher standard of care to which people held others and a greater acceptance of remote causation. New Yorkers rejected the "rugged individualist" notion that people were personally responsible for whatever befell them, the prevailing assumption of personal injury law before the turn of the century.

Although this book is carefully researched and its argument thoughtfully presented, Bergstrom has little direct evidence for his ultimate conclusion. He relies on other scholars to develop his logic, especially

the work of critical legal scholars on "rights consciousness" and Thomas Haskell on capitalism and the rise of the humanitarian sensibility. Although these writings are relevant to Bergstrom's argument, they are far from convincing in the absence of other evidence. It is never clear what Haskell's heightened sense of moral responsibility has to do with "rights." Haskell's capitalism and Bergstrom's mechanization are not the same thing, yet they are treated here as if they were. Both the spread of the market and (according to Haskell) the rise of humanitarian sensibility far predated the sudden increase in personal injury suits. If Bergstrom rejects other possible explanations on these grounds, why not this one too? More tantalizing is Bergstrom's own suggestion that as improvements in medicine and sanitation reduced mortality rates from disease, the steady rate of death from injury appeared anomalous, and people demanded that measures be taken to reduce that as well. This, however, makes the ultimate cause of legal change less ideas than other arenas of social change.

It is also possible that the change in behavior that Bergstrom discovers was not so stark. Americans were quite litigious during the nineteenth century. Torts and ordinary criminal suits, which also depended on private initiative, were very much alike, and people took many causes that would later result in civil suits to criminal courts. As criminal prosecution became less accessible late in the century, people may have simply transferred their litigiousness to another kind of suit.

ALLEN STEINBERG
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EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR. *Litigation and Inequality: Federal Diversity Jurisdiction in Industrial America, 1870–1958*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 446. \$59.00.

The relation among individuals, corporate giants, and government is central to the history of industrial America. The rise of managerial capitalism, labor strife, social and political reform, the railroads, racial struggle, the closing of the frontier, changing boundaries of gender roles and patriarchy, antitrust, and the regulation of business are some of the themes scholars have explored in order to understand the long era reaching from the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction to the aftermath of World War II. In recent years a number of scholars have argued that studying federal courts can yield valuable insights concerning these and other themes. Edward A. Purcell demonstrates in important new ways the truth of this argument.

The social and market dislocation industrialization engendered imposed new demands on the federal courts. In order to protect the rights of the freedman and pro-Republican southern whites during Reconstruction, Congress enlarged the federal courts' juris-

diction to its constitutional limit, particularly in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which among other things expanded the right to remove cases from state to lower federal courts, and the Judiciary Act of 1875, which increased the removal authority to the maximum in diversity cases (suits between residents of different states, territories, or nations), and for the first time established a general "federal question" jurisdiction, giving the federal judiciary cognizance of any case involving a federal or constitutional issue. The Republicans retreated from supporting civil rights and racial justice. Corporate lawyers, however, used increased federal jurisdiction to defend the interests of corporate giants and managerial capitalism, the dominant market and organizational innovations of industrial America. Arguing that "local prejudice" against nonresident corporations prevented a fair trial, and that because of uncertainty arising from federalism those same corporations required the benefits of a more uniform federal common law, corporate lawyers successfully removed cases involving injured workers, holders of insurance contracts, and numerous other tort and contract cases from state tribunals to the friendlier federal courts.

Between the 1870s and 1930s reform-minded critics attacked the enlarged federal jurisdiction as a tool of corporate exploitation. Thus, the procedures permitting removal and conferring the benefits of the federal common law aided the interests of corporate capitalism, as did the more familiar *laissez-faire* constitutionalism identified with economic due process and such notorious decisions as *Lochner v. New York* (1905). More than any other scholar before him, Purcell provides a systemic critique of both the corporate lawyers' defense of federal jurisdiction and the opposing reform impulse. In so doing, Purcell uses social-science theory to significantly revise established interpretations.

Various writers, including Harry N. Scheiber and myself, have argued that federal jurisdiction enabled large corporations to overcome the costs of federalism. Although these scholars accepted the reformist critique concerning issues of social justice, they nonetheless emphasized the real obstacles federalism created for the efficient operation and development of managerial capitalism. Federal jurisdiction thus contributed to more efficient corporate organization through increased managerial centralization, thereby promoting economic growth and benefiting consumers. These benefits deflected the critics' attacks until Franklin D. Roosevelt during the 1930s and 1940s appointed judges to the lower federal courts who were sympathetic to the critics' views. In such famous cases as *Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins* (1938) the Supreme Court also reversed itself. Meanwhile, corporate managers embraced the greater market stability that the New Deal administrative state made possible by removing cost factors associated with federalism.

Purcell profoundly and insightfully revises this

interpretation, employing what he calls the social litigation system. The convergence during the 1870s of expanded federal jurisdiction and the rise of large-scale corporations created an unequal condition between weaker plaintiffs and powerful corporations in tort and contract litigation. Corporate defense lawyers exploited the procedural advantages resulting from the acts of 1866 and 1875, as well as other legislation Congress enacted to permit corporations to remove cases from the state courts. Thus, Purcell emphasizes, the new expanded federal jurisdiction enabled corporate defendants to actually choose the court in which the trial would occur, reversing the traditional rule that left this choice to the plaintiff. Purcell shows convincingly that the most important advantages resulting from this social and institutional inequality involved not so much specific substantive rules of tort and contract law but instead the corporate defendants' procedural right to choose the forum.

Why was this right of removal so important? Because it forced weaker individuals to choose between fairly certain yet much lower settlements agreed on through informal bargaining and a potentially higher court settlement that nonetheless was more difficult to win in federal court. Accordingly, Purcell demonstrates, the larger "advantages arose primarily from a variety of social, procedural, and institutional factors that allowed corporations to impose steep discounts on the amounts that they had to pay individual claimants to induce them to settle out of court" (p. 7). The ultimately dominant influence of the informal over the formal legal process was the core of the system of corporate diversity litigation Purcell describes, explains, and analyzes.

Establishing the importance of the distinction between formal and informal legal process enables Purcell to revise further the accepted interpretation. Because the right to remove a case, rather than an actual federal suit resulting from removal, forced the weaker party to negotiate an out-of-court settlement, it was the procedure rather than substantive rules of the federal common law that most benefited the corporations. Similarly, the procedural advantages inherent in the right to remove were sufficiently technical that they could be used regardless of whether or not "local prejudice" in fact existed in the state courts. "Local prejudice" therefore did not in fact significantly influence the system of corporate diversity litigation.

The Supreme Court's sanction of the system also changed. Initially, the Court upheld the broadened federal jurisdiction in order to increase the federal accountability of corporations. Faced with growing social unrest during the 1890s, however, the Court reversed this policy in favor of using the system to protect corporations. Shortly after the turn of the century, amid the spread of Progressivism, the Court again reversed its policy, curbing the system and facilitating its decline and eventual disintegration.

That change rather than continuity better characterized the system's life shows the need for qualifying the reform critics' arguments. More importantly, this state of flux supports Purcell's argument that the system spawned opposition within itself, from such conservative justices as David J. Brewer, who feared a social backlash that would destroy the judiciary's constitutional independence. In addition, plaintiffs' lawyers gradually were able to turn the technicalities of system against the corporate defendants, undercutting the pressures to reach an out-of-court settlement. By the 1950s these factors fostered the system's demise.

This short review cannot do full justice to the depth and sophistication of Purcell's fine book. To be sure, he underestimates the complexity of changes taking place in the states, raising a question as to whether he dismisses too lightly the importance of local prejudice. At least in southern states from the 1880s to the 1960s and 1970s, for example, conservative bar organizations whose membership was drawn principally from larger towns and cities campaigned against local judicial establishments dominated by socially and politically connected lawyers, judges, and juries. This localism fostered within each state an intricate pattern of pro-plaintiff and pro-defendant counties, which corporate legal staffs ignored at their peril. Purcell also misses the timing of the rise of the plaintiff's bar. From the 1870s on, small businesses, workers, and middle-class consumers faced with rising corporate power created a growing demand for legal services, a demand satisfied by such skilled lawyers as Louis Brandeis and Hugo L. Black. How this dual market for legal services influenced the Court's fluctuating approach to the system also deserves further study. Hopefully, Purcell will turn his considerable abilities to these and related issues in a future book.

TONY FREYER

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BENNETT RAMSEY. *Submitting to Freedom: The Religious Vision of William James*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 177. \$24.95.

Bennett Ramsey begins his analysis of the religious vision of William James with the admission, or perhaps the boast, that this is "a rather old-fashioned intellectual history" (p. 3). It is a traditional work in many ways, but it is also one that has some new things to say about James.

Ramsey has two goals. One is to take issue with previous works on James, which, in his view, have fallen into one of two errors. Some have dismissed James's writings on religion as extraneous to the central point of his work. Others have limited their treatment of James's religious thought to "philosophical arguments about the status of religious claims and

the assertion of foundationists' claims about the autonomy and originality of our experience of the divine" (p. 4). Ramsey's other goal is to try to put James into the context of his times, particularly the widely perceived cultural "failure of nerve" of the 1870s and 1880s and the reassertion of the active and martial spirit of the 1890s.

Ramsey argues that in the 1870s and 1880s James was largely concerned with responding to what he saw as a "loss of self." James did so most notably in his *Principles of Psychology* (1890). In it he attempted to find new grounding for the self by reasserting what Ramsey calls "connectedness," a sense of the inextricable interdependence of the self with everything around it. That led James to take seriously even things usually regarded as irrational, such as psychic research. As Ramsey succinctly puts it, "James heard evidence customarily ruled inadmissible" (p. 34).

Ramsey continues this line of analysis in his last chapters, which deal mostly with *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1907). He sees it as a continuation of James's earlier consideration of the disconnected self. Ramsey gives particular emphasis to James's vision of the nature of religious conversion, what James called "the twice-born individual." For James, however, conversion was not an escape from this world; rather it was becoming more fully a part of it. The result would be the union of the individual "to a binding wider than the self could assert, and the eruption into consciousness of a new center of life and action" (p. 98).

This book is not easy reading. James's thought makes demands on those who would explore it, and Ramsey's explanations are not always easy to follow. The chapters that provide the intellectual and social context, although sound, are not as fully integrated with the discussion of James's thought as they might be. In many ways the book reads more like a series of discrete essays. But these are hardly fatal flaws. Ramsey has given us a book that deserves the attention of anyone interested in William James, which should include anyone interested in American religious or intellectual history.

THOMAS D. HAMM
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EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 306. \$34.95.

The platitude that "women are the backbone of the black church" has been often repeated but rarely investigated. Its double meaning—that women make possible through their efforts an institution that insists on their subordination—has come to signify the ambivalent attitude of women historians toward the black churches. The phrase allows us to respectfully acknowledge the women who hold up this essential

bulwark of African-American communities while simultaneously dismissing the institution that is so dear to them for its double standard on issues of equality. Scholars interested in the religious history of African-American women have tended to focus on exceptional women, especially women preachers, who through some extraordinary effort have attained a position explicitly reserved for men. Male historians of the black church, like their white counterparts, have generally accepted the fiction that female subordination is intended to promulgate: that the activities of one man in the pulpit are more important than those of the scores of women in the pews who make the pulpit possible. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham presents a study of the black church that finally focuses on the female laity who make up the majority of its members, taking both the church and the women seriously. She presents a history of the women's movement in the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc., the largest organization of African Americans—secular or religious—at the opening of the twentieth century.

Higginbotham chronicles the activities of black Baptist women with both the insight of an insider and the rigor of a historian. The account contains a number of surprises. Portraying the church "not as the embodiment of ministerial authority or of any individual's private interests or pronouncements, but as a social space for the discussion of public concerns" (p. 10), she finds complexity everywhere. Baptist women's preoccupation with respectability, for example, reflects not only "an attack on the values and life styles of those blacks who transgressed white middle-class propriety" but also "an attack on the failure of America to live up to its liberal ideals of equality and justice" (p. 15).

The complexity that Higginbotham finds leads her to a concept of culture that she calls "dialogic." Her book contributes to recent developments in cultural theory and cultural studies by proposing a more modern and complex concept of "culture" and fully exploring it in a concrete historical context. Her view of the church as "a social space of unifying and conflicting discourses" coincides, for example, with anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's view of culture as a "busy intersection" rather than as a static structure. She follows the paths of African-American women outward from the junction to show how they connect with other intersections, for example the cultural concerns of the white women in the northern Baptist churches. This approach allows her to go beyond the false dichotomies of a number of current debates about the relative roles of gender, race, and class in the construction of identity, or whether religion encourages accommodation or resistance. Her "dialogic" view allows her to argue convincingly that specific actions and policies could incorporate resistance and accommodation at the same time, and that women could simultaneously join in asserting racial dignity and progress as the first priority of the church and

assert that priority in a way that was informed by gender and that reflected an internal struggle with black men.

The weakest section of the book is the chapter on "Feminist Theology," a term that can only be used anachronistically for the period under consideration, and that is applied rather loosely here. But this is a minor flaw in a very strong book. Higginbotham's study will interest not only students of the black church but also those concerned with understanding the relation between lay and clerical religious concerns, and with the role of gender—the strongest barrier between pulpit and pew—in shaping those relations. It moves beyond the sort of banal gender analysis that simply documents the numerical presence or dominance of women and then asserts that they are therefore "important." Instead this study asks how women's experiences and concerns shaped the program of the northern Baptist church, and how the church itself served as a "discursive arena" for the negotiation of the complex web of race, gender, and class concerns that constituted black Baptist identity and action during the crucial formative decades following Reconstruction.

ANN BRAUDE
Carleton College

FAITH ROGOW. *Gone to Another Meeting: The National Council of Jewish Women, 1893–1993*. Foreword by JOAN BRONK. (Judaic Studies Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 300. \$24.95.

Faith Rogow attempts to negotiate the terrain between institutional history and scholarly analysis. Initially she asks how the separation of male and female roles in both traditional Jewish culture and in nineteenth-century American society led to the founding of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), and how the Council staked out a unique role for women in the Jewish world and for Jewish women in the world of women's activism. Rogow clearly has mastered the history of American women and the history of the Jewish people in America, and she has laid out the story of one of the most significant, and certainly enduring, Jewish women's organizations.

Organized by Chicagoan Hannah Greenebaum Solomon, the NCJW grew out of the politics of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Solomon had been asked to organize a Jewish Women's Committee to participate wherever it wanted in the fair's events. Solomon decided to side-step the Woman's Building because of its association with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who, in her *Woman's Bible*, condemned both Judaism and Christianity. Solomon felt stung as a Jew, but she could not answer Stanton's charges. As a woman she had received no Jewish education; she had studied no texts. She could not debate. Therefore Solomon decided to organize her Jewish Women's Committee

through the World Parliament of Religions, and it was that committee that served as the nucleus for the NCJW.

From its inception the Council committed itself to the whole range of Progressive causes. It concerned itself with legislative action on behalf of women and children. It sponsored nonsectarian projects of social service and developed programs of direct aid to the poor, immigrants, and women of all classes and groups. Through its social and philanthropic work it consistently emphasized the importance of preserving traditional American definitions of motherhood and womanhood. Yet it also pursued a specifically Jewish agenda. Over the course of its history its study groups tried to foster Jewish learning among women and to familiarize women, who in the first decades of the NCJW's history had received no Jewish education, with basic texts and concepts.

Rogow carries the story of the NCJW from its founding in the Progressive Era to today, although her final chapter spans the years from the 1920s through the 1990s. The first sections of the book deal in great detail with the founding of the Council, with the articulation of its ideology (referred to here as "Council Religion"), and its early relationship to rabbis and other male Jewish communal leaders, and she offers something in the way of a conceptually based argument. Rogow has laid out an analytic framework that tries to place this Jewish women's organization into the culture of progressive American women and into the mosaic of American Jewish life. Rogow succeeds in showing that the NCJW engaged in a kind of balancing act between the demands of those two systems.

But after analyzing the conceptual issues involved in the initial decades of the NCJW's existence, Rogow essentially drops any kind of analytic thread and ends up telling a story. The absence of a conclusion is emblematic of the lack of any conceptual framework that would link the entire book together, and this fault ultimately pushes the volume to the zone of institutional history and outside of the scholarly realm.

HASIA R. DINER
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DEBRA LINDSAY. *Science in the Subarctic: Trappers, Traders, and the Smithsonian Institution*. Foreword by WILLIAM W. FITZHUGH. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1993. Pp. xvii, 176. \$34.00.

Debra Lindsay's slim, 130-page volume opens a window on a little-known subject, the mid-nineteenth-century beginnings of natural science collecting by the Smithsonian Institution in the Canadian subarctic. Her principal protagonists are Spencer Fullerton Baird (1823–87), longtime assistant secretary (1850–78) and then second secretary (1878–87) of the

Smithsonian, and Robert Kennicott (1835–66), an Illinois field naturalist and one of Baird's many protégés.

In 1859, Joseph Henry, then secretary of the Smithsonian, secured permission from the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to send young Kennicott into the Mackenzie River District at Baird's behest. In his nearly ten years in Washington, Baird had embarked on an ambitious program to catalogue North American fauna. The Smithsonian, in existence for a mere dozen years, had already amassed the largest collection of specimens in the nation, although in North America the field of biogeography and ecology were in their infancy. Baird had little Canadian material, however, until Kennicott went up to the Mackenzie. Kennicott had had little formal schooling because of delicate health, but did have the advantage of studying with several naturalists (including Baird), and he had attended several medical lectures in Chicago. The author of a natural history survey of Illinois at the age of twenty-two, he was also the founder of Northwestern University's museum and of the Chicago Academy of Sciences. While in Canada, Kennicott gave Baird's field methods their first test. These methods involved the collection of type or voucher specimens of vertebrates and the taking of notes that served as a basis for the scientific description and analysis of regional wildlife resources. This approach in turn was based on the experiences of collectors whom Baird had been attaching to other government expeditions since 1851. Kennicott proved adept in persuading HBC officials, trappers, and local Indians to secure and prepare animal specimens for the Smithsonian. Some 12,000 of these found their way to Washington in the ten years after 1859, along with a smaller number of anthropological artifacts and notes. Baird was able to send those who cooperated with him little cash but plenty of liquor, books, weapons, ammunition, periodicals, and even a small printing press by way of reward. He also sent much instructional literature and collecting equipment. HBC personnel, who are well and interestingly described by the author, often held low status in the company, but they welcomed Baird's appreciation of their collecting efforts. They were also grateful for the social status and prestige that accompanied the scientific recognition their work received in Smithsonian publications. Traders and natives showed an aptitude for collecting specimens, and the materials Baird received at the Smithsonian were notable for their quality as well as their quantity. They were used by Baird as a basis for some of his pioneering biogeographical studies and have also been crucial to the Smithsonian's long-term scientific efforts.

Kennicott made several trips to northwestern Canada and Alaska for the Smithsonian and other organizations between 1859 and 1862. His final effort, in 1865–66, was not a success. The Western Union Company engaged him to provide scientific expertise in the placement of a telegraph cable across Alaska,

but the company ignored his recommendations, provided inadequate supplies for his party, and failed to provide promised support for his natural history collecting. He died while still in the field in May 1866.

Lindsay provides a brief but useful summary of Baird's towering influence in North American zoology and as a collector. Baird was primarily interested in birds and was a prodigious worker, but he was frustrated because a heart condition precluded active field work for most of his career. He did organize 110 Smithsonian-sponsored collecting expeditions and placed many young, often inexperienced, but carefully coached collectors on another sixty-five government exploring and surveying expeditions between 1851 and 1870. He authored several massive tomes summarizing what was then known concerning American mammals and birds, wrote innumerable articles, and was a prolific correspondent. Lindsay's well-written and well-documented account sheds new light on Baird's orchestration of pioneering scientific research in subarctic and Arctic America.

KEIR B. STERLING

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ALBERT E. MOYER. *A Scientist's Voice in American Culture: Simon Newcomb and the Rhetoric of Scientific Method*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 301. \$40.00.

As the book's subtitle suggests, this is an intellectual biography of Simon Newcomb that focuses almost exclusively on the way in which he derived and subsequently promulgated his ideas about scientific method. Method became, for late-nineteenth-century scientists, a heavily laden term that connoted far more than an experimental technique, and Newcomb was among the most consistent and articulate spokespersons on the subject. Albert E. Moyer's careful research in the Newcomb Papers at the Library of Congress, his thorough reading of the publications of Newcomb and his closest contemporaries, and Moyer's grounding in the secondary literature on the history of science in the United States in the nineteenth century make this a persuasive account.

Newcomb played an important and distinctive role in American science, ever ready to express his opinion about the importance of science and the method he understood to be its defining characteristic. These tendencies made him arguably the most visible—Moyer argues influential—scientist of the late nineteenth century. Certainly Newcomb had a podium more often than most other active scientists, and he earned a considerable addition to his salary by publishing in such popular journals and newspapers as *Harper's Magazine*, *Scribner's Monthly*, *Popular Science Monthly*, *North American Review*, and the *New York Times*. His popular writings were sometimes related to astronomy, but many also were a commentary on issues in political economy.

Much of Moyer's book deals with how this scientist, educated at Harvard and a colleague of Chauncey Wright and Charles Peirce, formulated and expressed his ideas about method in order to enhance the possibility of a more scientific culture in the United States. Rarely modest or hesitant, Newcomb was an outspoken proponent of an ideology of scientism to a broad public. In fact, Moyer points out, Newcomb seldom engaged in a discussion of method within the scientific community, taking for granted that his own impressions of experimental techniques, instrumentation, and theories that governed his discipline of astronomy were applicable elsewhere.

Moyer's book reveals an individual whose originality remains open to questions but whose commentary was widely disseminated. Newcomb is studied less for his personal life and scientific work—indeed his family and his work at the Naval Observatory are almost invisible here—than for the expression he gave to individual and collective scientific enterprise at the end of the nineteenth century. Moyer explores Newcomb's attitude toward Christianity, his involvement with psychic research, his opinions on political economy, and his advocacy of institutions to teach and promote science. For all, the litmus test was whether the subject was accessible by the carefully explicated methods Newcomb attributed to science. At its core, the biography is an investigation of pragmatism, Newcomb, and the rhetoric of methodology in the late nineteenth century. The outspoken philosopher is a participant in the dialogue, but Moyer draws back from claiming that Newcomb himself is key to the intellectual formulations, and suggests rather that in his early years he was a catalyst while in his later years he was a disseminator of the core ideas, perhaps best reflected in his frequently reprinted *Principles of Political Economy* (1885). Newcomb was indeed a scientist whose voice was widely heard in American culture in the late nineteenth century.

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ANN SHELBY BLUM. *Picturing Nature: American Nineteenth-Century Zoological Illustration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxxiv, 403; 74 plates.

Traditionally there exists little common ground between studies of American natural history and American science. Works on Mark Catesby, John James Audubon, and others are descriptive accounts with little effort to examine natural history in relationship to contemporary science and society. Ann Shelby Blum's book constitutes a significant departure from such previous work. Focusing on scientific practice and representation, the author investigates the technical details of illustration, engraving, and publication within the context of the changing conceptual and institutional structure of nineteenth-century zo-

ology. The result is a masterful analysis of the dynamic interplay among science, technology, and art that promoted innovation but also maintained established conventions of zoological illustration.

Focusing on the technical and social dimensions of art and science, Blum offers new insights into well-known figures and episodes of nineteenth-century American science. Although European pictorial conventions and zoological conceptions influenced early American work, the emergence of the naturalist-illustrator with first-hand knowledge of animals served as an ideal for future naturalists and an icon of independence. Rembrandt Peale and Alexander Wilson combined observation with art, and both "privileged vision over verbal description" (p. 31). Audubon asserted the primacy of illustration and narrative, and melding bird illustration with fine art achieved remarkable success. Yet, as Blum indicates, by the 1840s naturalists had become critical of Audubon's lack of scientific accuracy and objectivity. The development of a corps of zoologists with specialized knowledge and a commitment to professionalization created tension between scientific community and popular audience. Further specialization and institutionalization of science subordinated the importance of narrative, promoted changes in illustration, and produced increasing separation of the social roles of scientist and technician. The publications of the Wilkes Expedition had no need for Titian Ramsay Peale's lavish backgrounds or portraits of individual animals. The organism was now conceived as a specimen, not a living individual, and use of multiple specimens provided for a better understanding of morphology and geographical distribution. At the Smithsonian, Spencer Baird institutionalized techniques that emphasized detail and symmetry, and those conventions soon reigned supreme throughout the country. Hierarchy and differentiation of social roles accompanied the institutionalization of zoology, and new techniques—photography, microscopy, and wood engraving—were absorbed into the requirements, conventions, and practices of the discipline.

Blum provides a powerful argument for the consolidation of conventions that characterized zoological illustration. By emphasizing artistic practice the author describes the technical details of engraving and photography and explores the little-known social world of technicians. Yet the author emphasizes continuity at the expense of innovation. Although the paleontologists Edward Drinker Cope and Othniel Charles Marsh retained conventions of composition and arrangement, Cope was also an innovator in the effort to represent extinct animals in dramatic lifelike poses. There is no analysis of phylogenies, a new and widespread form of representation that followed in the wake of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. Consolidation of practice does not fully account for the illustrations that characterized the new experimental zoology. Scientists portrayed the stages of embryological development and cellular division in

terms of established sequential, symmetrical conventions. But there is no discussion of the means by which scientists and technicians sought to establish verisimilitude for the new renderings of internal morphology, or how and why the scientific community accepted such renderings. That Blum's discussion of those developments does not measure up to the book's early chapters does not detract from the magnitude of this work. This is a beautifully arranged text and a profound analysis of the social, scientific, and technological dimensions of zoological illustration that sets a standard of measurement for any future study of the topic.

RONALD RAINGER
Texas Tech University

OLIVER H. ORR, JR. *Saving American Birds: T. Gilbert Pearson and the Founding of the Audubon Movement*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida. 1992. Pp. xii, 296. \$34.95.

Oliver H. Orr, Jr., describes the founding and early history of the Audubon movement primarily from the perspective of T. Gilbert Pearson. Pearson was instrumental in establishing the North Carolina Audubon Society in 1902 and eventually became president of the National Association of Audubon Societies, a position that he held until 1934. According to Orr, Pearson was representative of a larger group of mostly amateur bird enthusiasts who started the Audubon movement. Orr traces Pearson's intellectual development from boyhood collector of eggs and bird skins to mature protector of wildlife. Through this intimate portrait the reader is presented with an engaging account of the early years of the Audubon movement.

Orr does an excellent job of describing many of the complex issues surrounding the early Audubon movement. Most members of the societies valued birds for aesthetic reasons, yet they often were forced to argue that birds should be protected for their economic value as insect predators or game. This pragmatic tactic sometimes forced Pearson and others to make difficult distinctions among groups of birds as game, valuable non-game, and pest species. Even with these distinctions made, Audubon societies had a difficult time convincing a skeptical public to support bird protection. Eventually many states passed so-called "Audubon laws," and Pearson and his followers led successful public relations campaigns against the use of feathers and stuffed birds in the millinery industry. Despite these successes, the Audubon movement remained a marginal part of the larger conservation movement. Theodore Roosevelt lent some support by creating bird sanctuaries, but, as Orr convincingly demonstrates, the themes of efficiency and economic competition that underlay the conservation ethic of Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot

fit somewhat uncomfortably with Pearson's more aesthetic preservationist values.

In his introduction Orr writes, "No method of historical analysis appears adequate to satisfactorily explain why some persons are entranced by wild birds and others are not, or why some persons believe they would experience a sense of great personal loss if all or most wild birds were to disappear whereas other persons are indifferent to the prospect" (p. 2). Unfortunately, this skepticism seems to have led the author to largely ignore the broader social context of Pearson's work. For example, although he acknowledges that religion was an important source for Pearson's belief that nature must be protected, Orr does not describe the Audubon leader's religious beliefs in any detail, nor does he seriously discuss the important role that religion played in southern society at the turn of the century. With the exception of the national conservation program under Roosevelt, he also fails to explore the connections between the Audubon societies and other aspects of popular culture such as the nature study movement.

Readers should be aware that this book covers only the first half of Pearson's career. The controversy and schisms that marked the end of Pearson's leadership are only briefly mentioned. These limitations notwithstanding, Orr has written an appealing biography of Pearson and an informative account of the founding of the Audubon movement. The book complements Frank Graham's *The Audubon Ark* (1990), which presented a broader but less personal history of the National Audubon Society.

JOEL B. HAGEN
Radford University

RICHARD A. OVERFIELD. *Science with Practice: Charles E. Bessey and the Maturing of American Botany*. (Iowa State University Press Series in the History of Technology and Science.) Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 262.

This is an intriguing, but ultimately frustrating, biography. Botany was widely esteemed in America in the late nineteenth century, both as an element of middle-class learning and as a foundation for agricultural improvement. Charles E. Bessey was a notable scientist who has received little historical attention. Richard A. Overfield uses the extensive papers of Bessey and other botanists to provide considerable new information. The book is limited, however, by a lack of interpretive distance from its subject.

Bessey (1845–1915) made his career in the volatile milieu of the midwestern land-grant colleges: at Michigan Agricultural College, Iowa Agricultural College, and, ultimately, the University of Nebraska. He participated in the movement among land-grant science faculty to build agricultural programs that, in addition to training future farmers, supported research. Bessey had great faith in the transformative

power of science. It culminated, for him, in the creation of a short-lived forestry department at the University of Nebraska whose mission was to change the least-productive part of the Great Plains into a major timber-producing region.

Bessey's real historical significance derives from his involvement with the discipline of botany. His training was haphazard, its high point being two winter vacations in the 1870s spent working under Asa Gray at Harvard. He gradually became an influential practitioner through an elementary textbook, service for journals and societies, and through training a handful of technical professionals. Bessey promoted "the new botany," the movement to place teaching of plant anatomy ahead of species identification.

As a result of these activities, Bessey figured prominently in the conflicts that wracked American botany in the 1890s. Contested issues included botanists' relations with other biological disciplines, their places in the private research universities and in the booming federal Department of Agriculture, competition among different organizations for professional leadership, and the creation of national standards for botanical work. Overfield describes a number of these battles, most notably the campaign, waged by an alliance of New York and midwestern botanical "reformers" during the decade after Gray's death in 1888, to replace the self-constituted "authority" of the Harvard elite over plant nomenclature with rules of "law" based on national professional consensus. Yet the drama and significance of these events are muted because they are framed within the botanists' own bland rhetoric of disciplinary "maturation" and "progress." Recent historiography on scientific disciplines in America leads to an alternative interpretation: that at the end of the nineteenth century botanists' disunity resulted in the decline of their discipline from cultural preeminence to a technical backwater.

The more significant problem for Overfield's interpretation is his lack of interest in integrating the intellectual interests of Bessey and other botanists with their disciplinary and political concerns. I think such linkages are evident in the language of the nomenclature debate, and they can be seen directly in the major intellectual project of Bessey's life: his unsuccessful struggle over the course of thirty years to establish a "natural system" of botanical classification. This subject is placed in a final chapter that reads essentially as a technical appendix, different in tone and independent in conception from the rest of the narrative. It seems to me, on the contrary, that faith that the world was an ordered, hierarchical, and knowable whole motivated essentially all Bessey's scientific efforts. He covered over the substantial gap between his ideal of natural systems and the manifest confusion in his specimens, his colleagues, and his society with the rhetoric of maturation and progress. Interpretation of Bessey, as with many other Progress-

sives, still needs to begin with the work of clarifying this historically specific intellectual obfuscation.

PHILIP J. PAULY
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LARRY D. BALL. *Desert Lawmen: The High Sheriffs of New Mexico and Arizona, 1846-1912*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 414. \$45.00.

Over the past twenty or so years historians have examined the role of western lawmen more critically than had scholars of earlier generations. The result has been a demythologizing of frontier sheriffs and marshals. No longer do we see Randolph Scott standing hard and alone against the forces of evil and anarchy. Instead, the sheriff as fee-collector and process server, the lawman as petty bureaucrat, now forms the image of men who were once heroes.

In his book on the sheriffs of New Mexico and Arizona, Larry D. Ball both confirms and corrects the current view of western peace officers. Over 500 men served as county sheriffs in the two territories, and Ball has compiled impressive data on a large sample of them (168). An interesting portrait emerges. These officers were men of means. The sheriff was a property-holder, and in Hispano-dominated counties he was one of the largest landowners. Over half of the sample owned ranches or farms and another quarter controlled mines or stores. A substantial number (forty-two) had military experience, but relatively few had any formal schooling (thirty-six), although a surprising number (eighteen) had some college work. About one-third had held previous public office, many in law enforcement. The majority of these popularly elected officials were not native to the territories; more surprising, Hispanos vastly outnumbered Anglos in the New Mexico shrievalty, at least until 1880, but only a few Hispanos held the office in Arizona.

Ball emphasizes the complexity of the western sheriff's job. He was responsible for a variety of tasks, from organizing his office, recruiting and paying deputies, assisting territorial courts, serving process, tracking and arresting lawbreakers, watching (and protecting) prisoners, and carrying out death sentences—all in addition to more general peacekeeping duties. Most important, Ball concludes, was the sheriff's daily struggle to bring order to his office, to organize it efficiently to serve a variety of demands. It was an unheralded challenge, made more difficult by the unwillingness of taxpayers to fund the office adequately. The sheriffs' collective success stemmed from often heroic individual efforts. These lawmen did not impose peace and order on the territories, but they did contribute decisively to its establishment.

Besides his valuable task-by-task detailing of the sheriff's role, Ball contributes three appendixes that

may interest other scholars: a list of all sheriffs by name, county, and dates of office; a list of legal hangings (101) in the two territories by name, county, and date; and a list of known lynchings (201) by name, place, and date. This information, accumulated here for the first time, is a valuable contribution in itself.

In an earlier book, *The United States Marshals of the New Mexico and Arizona Territories, 1846–1912* (1978), Ball marked himself as a leading scholar of the history of western law enforcement. This book on the sheriffs of these territories will buttress a well-earned reputation.

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BLAKE ALLMENDINGER. *The Cowboy: Representations of Labor in an American Work Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 201. \$32.50.

This volume by Blake Allmendinger proves again there is no end to fresh ways of examining familiar topics. For more than a century, novelists, historians, artists, sociologists, anthropologists, and scientists, among others, have studied American cowboys. Sometimes romantic, often nostalgic, and frequently too precious, these fictional portraits and fact-filled monographs have covered every imaginable topic dealing with the cowboy. Yet Allmendinger's stimulating book demonstrates several new methods for looking at the subject.

Uniting provocative insights with interdisciplinary and wide-reaching research, Allmendinger has produced an important study of a subject often smothered in stereotypes, sentimentality, and cliché. Centering on cowboy "work culture," the author discusses four myths and their revelations about cowboys over time: "Religion and the Branding Myth"; "Sexuality and the Castration Myth"; "Economics and the Drifting Myth"; and "Literature and the Orphan Myth." In each of these four chapters, Allmendinger discusses cowboy writings, especially poetry and songs, that reveal how these myths and their meanings have changed during the past century.

The most convincing discussions are those in the first two sections, on branding and castration. In innovatively treating these topics, the author argues that branding, although an owner's prime symbol of ownership, became for working cowboys a form of "skin grammar," illustrating their religious ideas and their class differences from owners. Even more provocative is the discussion of castration as a symbol of the confused portraits of cowboys' gender, their feeling of being "cut off" from families and yet their being viewed as hypersexual because they ingested "cut" scrotums, or "oysters." Allmendinger then asserts that square dancing became a symbol of a noncowboy's society to protect itself and its women from "rapacious" cowboys.

Less successful are Allmendinger's attempts to suggest that imprisoned cowboys and cowboy detectives reflect a recognizable duality in a work culture under threat because of sharp shifts in cowboy employment. Here and in the following chapter on cowboy orality and orphanhood, Allmendinger posits several suggestive interpretations, but these sections are more discursive and less persuasive.

Still, all readers will be impressed with the author's broad, varied research. He supplies probing readings of numerous cowboy songs and poems, he uses well new photographs of work scenes and cowboy artistry (spurs and bridles), and he has scrutinized many important novels by noncowboy authors. And he makes good use of the works of theorists and cultural commentators to broaden the meaning of his findings.

A few readers, however, may complain about aspects of the book. Sometimes the author pushes his interpretations of sexuality, gender, and class a bit too enthusiastically; and too many new clichés of cultural criticism—"discourse," "subtext," "empowerment," and "subvert"—clutter his narrative. These are minor problems, though; overall this is a wonderfully suggestive monograph. Besides, as a half-breed, son-of-a-Basque sheepherder's kid, I could not agree with everything a cattlemaster's son says. Those Stetsoned and booted folks don't know the whole truth about the West.

RICHARD W. ETULAIN
University of New Mexico

CARROLL VAN WEST. *Capitalism on the Frontier: Billings and the Yellowstone Valley in the Nineteenth Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 281. \$37.50.

What the early Euro-American settlers to the Yellowstone Valley wanted to accomplish, Carroll Van West explains, was the transformation of a hot and treeless wilderness into a "second Denver." What they succeeded in bringing forth was Billings, Montana—hardly a second Denver but nevertheless a city of considerable note in what would become the state of Montana.

Already inhabited by Crow Indians who had been there at least 100 years before whites arrived, the Yellowstone Valley would witness an astonishingly rapid transformation during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Only months following cataclysm at Little Big Horn, squatters and buffalo hunters moved into the area; farmers and merchants soon followed. A barter economy had typified the earlier Indian culture, and that pattern continued with white settlers, until it was utterly altered by the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1882. The Crows quickly lost out, as did some whites, to the new market-based economy. Much that occurred along the Yellowstone predictably mirrored patterns elsewhere in the west.

tering process. Following in the wake of the railroad, more settlers came to work the soil, to cut down trees, to mine the coal, to run the trains, and to populate the new community of Billings. Yet the story of the Yellowstone Valley contains unusual twists. The early and continuing involvement of Vermont's formidable Frederick Billings family certainly added an interesting and important dimension. In any event, by 1910 Billings boasted a population of 10,000 and the city dominated trade over a sprawling domain that reached to all points of the compass.

This is a useful book that adds to our understanding of urban development in the West, especially in the Northwest where scholars have devoted little energy to such study. Van West's thesis is clear—that profound economic change affected a particular region during a specific time frame—and he has, happy to say, provided an easy read. The analysis of Coulson, a boom-and-bust community by-passed by the railroad, is especially good. Inexcusably, however, the book contains only a single map, absolutely inadequate for the purposes of this work. And occasionally one yearns for greater depth and research and more thorough analysis. Such is not always possible, however. That a powerful symbiotic relationship existed between the community of Billings and the Northern Pacific is clear enough, but that relationship cannot be explored in depth because the railroad—although the first northern transcontinental—remains inadequately studied and without a substantial secondary literature.

Van West's study will be useful for those interested in urban studies, Montana, the Northern Great Plains, and the Northwest, but it will be less useful for railroad historians.

DON L. HOFSSOMMER
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MANSEL G. BLACKFORD. *The Lost Dreams: Businessmen and City Planning on the Pacific Coast, 1890–1920*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 189.

Mansel G. Blackford's book deals with city planning during the Progressive period in five major Pacific Coast cities: San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Portland. Blackford concludes that businessmen saw planning as a means of promoting economic growth, achieving national recognition, creating a sense of civic patriotism, and uniting their spatially dispersed metropolises. These utopian goals were, of course, unobtainable, breaking down in the political arena through the divergent pressures and aims of different groups in society.

No monolithic business community existed in any of the cities. According to Blackford, business leaders placed inordinate faith in planners: "Findings about the roles businessmen played in the planning movements of Pacific Coast cities suggest strongly that, just

as they sought to make their business environments more predictable through the adoption of modern management techniques for their firms, so, too, did businessmen try to use city planning to stabilize their urban environments. Just as they were coming to view themselves as professionals and experts in the management of their companies, so, too, did business leaders view planners as experts in the running of cities" (p. 10). Ultimately, the success or failure of planning proposals depended on the ballot box. In general, plans with limited goals had the best chances of gaining approval.

The more comprehensive plans sought to make the western cities as much like those in the East as possible. Incredibly, one plan for Seattle actually called for replacing indigenous trees with foliage from other parts of the country. Daniel Burnham, considered one of the top planners in the nation for his work in Chicago, in 1905 proposed reorienting San Francisco's gridiron, replacing it with a series of circles that ignored topography. The 1906 earthquake and fire seemingly provided an opportunity to implement in full the Burnham Plan. It died aborning, however, lost in a desire for rapid reconstruction and the passage of bond issues for such purposes as rebuilding sewers and gas lines.

Rapid growth complicated planning. Eastern expert Charles Mumford Robinson prepared plans for Oakland and Los Angeles that, although soon dated, produced some important zoning laws. Railroad planner Virgil Bogue, anticipating massive population increases, produced a plan for Seattle embracing 150 square miles. Bogue's utopian design, much argued about and admired, was simply too costly to carry out, uniting diverse groups in opposition. The far more limited scheme in Portland by Edward Bennett, a former Burnham assistant, resulted in an improved park and transit system.

Blackford's book, based on traditional primary sources and secondary works, represents an important addition to the growing and pioneering body of scholarly literature on western urban history. Of special importance is the extent that the western cities sought to transcend their "instant city" frontier roots and to emulate their older eastern counterparts. This study, a fine addition to the "Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series," should be read by all students of American urban development.

LAWRENCE H. LARSEN
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WILLIAM A. LINK. *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880–1930*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 440. \$45.00.

William A. Link has added an important dimension to our understanding of the Progressive movement in

the South. His book focuses on what Link sees as a central paradox of progressivism, namely the reformers' pursuit of uplift and democracy through coercion and control. This paradox grew out of a fundamental cultural conflict between traditional local power centers and urban-based middle-class reformers. The traditionalists and the reformers, he argues, held very different views of the concept of community and the prospects for social betterment. The traditionalists stressed the integrity of local communities and tended to see social problems as intractable. The reformers defined community as an extension of the common good and believed government power could successfully address social issues. The result, Link argues, was a "small-scale war" between the localism of the traditionalists and the paternalism of the reformers. As a result, rather ironically, the reformers never won great support among those whose lot they hoped to improve. On the contrary, the reformers often had to yield to community resistance that thwarted the goals of many progressive reforms.

Link contends that this conflict played out most acutely in efforts to implement the reforms, and he gives those efforts considerable scrutiny by carrying his study through the 1920s. Focusing on child labor, public health, race relations, schools, and women's suffrage, he demonstrates how community resistance repeatedly blocked the reformers as they attempted to translate policy into reality. Mill owners, he notes, were "probably only slightly more opposed" to the enforcement of child labor laws than were mill workers. He details widespread opposition to women's suffrage among southern women themselves. Enforcing Prohibition proved to be far more difficult than stirring public opposition to alcohol. With its long tradition of localism, southern society had relatively few administrative mechanisms for bringing state power to bear at the community level, but increasingly the reformers sought such mechanisms. Although advocates of public health and school reform were fairly successful in building bureaucracies that successfully pushed the reform cause in those areas, other reform efforts stalled. The New Deal reignited the drive for reform, but Link concludes that much of the Progressive agenda remains incomplete.

Link has significantly advanced our understanding of the Progressive movement. The sweep of his study from 1880 to 1930 gives us a broad view of the origins and consequences of the movement, and his extensive archival research provides a tantalizing glimpse of progressivism at work in the trenches of policy implementation. His work offers a provocative interpretive framework for more specific state and local studies.

DAVID D. LEE

Western Kentucky University

RICHARD SLOTKIN. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Atheneum. 1992. Pp. xii, 850. \$40.00.

With this volume, Richard Slotkin's frontier trilogy is complete and the circle is closed. In *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (1973), Slotkin first offered a link between the American experience in Vietnam and the nation's frontier heritage. In *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (1985), he moved the story toward its chronological rendezvous with Vietnam—the present that illuminates the past in his work. And in this book, past finally catches up with present and the result is an intriguing narrative journey through a century of dime novels and western movies, detective stories, urban crime dramas, and Vietnam War movies. Slotkin closely parallels the themes of these various printed and celluloid sources with developments in American domestic and foreign affairs. In analyzing late-nineteenth-century dime novels, he argues that the forces of labor insurgency were equated with those of barbarism, thereby providing justification for their brutal repression. In westerns of the early Cold War era we see justification for American foreign policy directives and, during Vietnam, justification for the escalation of the war and the use of counter-insurgency tactics. Slotkin's analysis revolves around the "regeneration through violence" theme: the civilized must themselves engage in acts of outright barbarism to defeat savage foes, and in doing so are spiritually regenerated.

Interspersed throughout the book are discussions of government policy that set the stage for Slotkin's coverage of books and films. These sources are shown to closely reflect, or preempt, and even on occasion counter the assumptions that direct policy at the national level. The analysis is insightful and thought provoking throughout (John Ford's *The Searchers* is given the sophisticated treatment it deserves), and scores of film and print sources receive extensive coverage. Indeed, in scale and scope, depth of analysis, and clarity of prose, this is a remarkable book.

Some readers may find Slotkin's parallels a little tenuous in places. One example is his discussion of the attempted rescue of POW/MIA's from Son Tay prison near Hanoi in 1970, and the efforts of Sylvester Stallone to do the same (with far greater success) in the *Rambo* movies. Such events, real and fictional, are viewed as efforts to "re-mythologize the Vietnam War . . . in terms of the most sacred of the Frontier myths—the tale of captivity and rescue" (p. 621). Although this might be true on the most subconscious of levels, it seems doubtful that the Richard Nixon administration, or Stallone, consciously intended to play on the nation's collective memory of Indian captivity narratives.

Some may feel that Slotkin pushes his analysis too far on occasion. Racism and violence both become synonymous with the frontier myth, but does that mean that the United States has had a monopoly on those commodities? Although Slotkin subjects the frontier myth to a thorough critique, Frederick Jack-

son Turner (the most renowned articulator of the "frontier thesis") comes off quite well, at least in comparison with Theodore Roosevelt (the most notable advocate of regenerative violence) and Buffalo Bill (the most significant salesman of the frontier myth). The book begins with coverage of these three figures and ends, a century later, with the collapse of the frontier myth in the wake of the failure in Vietnam and the subsequent failure of Ronald Reagan and George Bush to revive the myth in the face of a failing economy and crumbling infrastructure. It is an appropriate ending for Slotkin's trilogy, a two-thousand-page narrative journey that always had Vietnam as its center.

DAVID M. WROBEL
Hartwick College

MARY W. M. HARGREAVES. *Dry Farming in the Northern Great Plains: Years of Readjustment, 1920-1990*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. xiii, 386. \$45.00.

This fact-laden book by Mary W. M. Hargreaves is a comprehensive agricultural history of the northern Great Plains from 1920 to 1990. It is a fitting sequel to her earlier book dealing with the same area from 1900 to 1925 (*Dry Farming in the Northern Great Plains, 1900-1925* [1957]). Together, these studies comprise a detailed account of how the interaction of climate, topology, politics, federal policies, economies, technology, and environmental concerns have affected the three-state region of Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

This book is divided into three major sections: "The Twenties: Local Initiatives for Revitalized Development," "The Thirties: Introduction of Federal Programs," and "Recovery Years: Realignment of Priorities." It is written from a sympathetic point of view relative to the hard-pressed commercial farmers who tilled the soil in an area where nature has not always smiled with good fortune.

Hargreaves describes the massive federal assistance that first came via the New Deal. All manner of programs brought economic relief to this rural region. Such aid helped alleviate the distress caused by the prolonged drought of the 1930s. Through the mechanism of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the government sought to manage agriculture so as to reduce overall output (wheat was the primary concern of this region). Price supports were paid to farmers for complying with production control allotments, but this eventually became so politicized that many exemptions were provided by Congress. This factor, plus the inexorable advance of science and technology, did not abate the seemingly perpetual problem of surpluses while costing taxpayers huge sums.

When the Supreme Court struck down the AAA, emphasis was shifted to conservation. In time it came

to be part of the federal subsidy to farmers, although some conservation benefits did occur. Because of the confusion of government policy and lack of coordination of many federal agencies dealing with the Great Plains, a land utilization scheme was initiated. Local resistance soon ended its effective implementation, since farmers and townspeople of the northern Great Plains regarded it as a means of depriving them of their farmsteads and livelihood.

Beginning with the Dwight Eisenhower administration, there was a steady but slow shift (often delayed by members of Congress representing rural constituencies) toward reliance on free markets and overseas exports. This trend has continued despite the resistance of a declining rural population. Both budget and environmental concerns bring up the question of whether family farms in areas of uncertain weather patterns should continue to be subsidized or permanently retired as cropland. Those contending that the United States should feed the world's hungry and others who see the commercial benefits of exports regard unrestricted production as good land use policy. Environmentalists, however, view the despoiled northern Great Plains as a rightful sanctuary for wildlife.

The author's micro-examination reveals that a simple solution to this complex problem is not possible. Yet her scholarly narrative also reveals a long-standing confusion over what constitutes a truly effective farm policy, endless bureaucratic rivalry, political pressure brought by local interest groups, and the high cost of federal largess that offers only temporary solutions. The author concludes that farmers of this unique area "ought not now be sacrificed to hyperbole, myth, or politics" (p. 281).

This is a masterfully researched book. It contains helpful maps and tables, and its endnotes are a veritable storehouse of data. A useful bibliographical note is included. Unfortunately, the index is somewhat incomplete. This superb book is required reading for agricultural historians and those wanting to know how every president from 1920 to 1990 has dealt with farm problems. It contains a cornucopia of information and is truly enlightening.

EDWARD L. SCHAPSMEIER
Illinois State University

C. ELIZABETH RAYMOND. *George Wingfield: Owner and Operator of Nevada*. (Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities, number 34.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1993. Pp. x, 350. \$31.95.

George Wingfield is one of the amazing characters who built the state of Nevada. An Arkansas-born wandering cowboy, Wingfield made his way into Nevada near the turn of the twentieth century. A man of tremendous tenacity, he made a fortune in the central Nevada goldfields. Choosing to stay in Nevada, Wingfield bought a chain of banks, several

hotels, and invested in numerous other ventures. By the 1920s, Wingfield became the most powerful individual in Nevada. A political giant who never held office, he manipulated both parties. During the Great Depression, Wingfield promoted Nevada by spearheading the drive for legalized and controlled gambling as well as easily obtainable divorces.

According to C. Elizabeth Raymond, Wingfield symbolized both the history and the reputation of Nevada. Eventually, the Depression pushed him into personal bankruptcy. The collapse of his banking empire led many Nevadans to despise Wingfield. A hard-drinking, tough-living man, his personal life also epitomized a wide-open Nevada style. His first marriage, to Maude Murdoch, ended in bitter divorce. Roxy Thomas, his second wife, handled her situation with considerable finesse and became a major force in helping Wingfield survive during the 1930s. He made a remarkable comeback, and, by his death in 1959, was once again a millionaire.

This man moved in circles that included Bernard Baruch, Herbert Hoover, and Theodore Roosevelt. He handled a variety of Nevada politicians such as Pat McCarran and Key Pittman. His enemy list was long and many came to resent his political and economic power. Raymond has written a solid biography based on Wingfield's papers, which she also catalogued.

Wingfield's letters, his business records, Nevada newspapers, and oral histories of family and associates provide Raymond with ample material for an exceptional analysis of this man. Her thesis, that Wingfield's power in Nevada knew no limits, is documented sufficiently and succinctly. She also demonstrates how money and connections created a power broker extraordinaire. Wingfield's effectiveness in advising politicians proved more enjoyable than holding office. Raymond is adept at reconstructing fairly complex financial arrangements.

The volume desperately needs maps as well as a section of illustrations rather than dispersing photographs throughout the text. These are, however, minor points. There is no doubt that the Las Vegas strip, the Mustang Ranch, wedding chapels, and the Lake Tahoe and Laughlin casinos would all make Wingfield most happy. His vision for Nevada has come to pass, and its hedonism surpassed the loftiest dreams of the prophet.

F. ROSS PETERSON

Mountain West Center for Regional Studies
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WILLIAM G. SCOTT. *Chester I. Barnard and the Guardians of the Managerial State*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. xvii, 233. \$27.50.

Chester I. Barnard (1886–1961), who presided over the New Jersey Bell Telephone subsidiary of American Telephone and Telegraph from the mid-1920s through the mid-1940s, was a philosopher-king. So

argues William G. Scott, who uses this biography to explore moral issues in management theory and practice.

Scott's primary contribution is his analysis of connections between Barnard's professional career and intellectual life. He portrays Barnard as an archetypal corporate progressive. Barnard's goal was to maximize the power and legitimacy of corporate executives, whom he believed would promote progress. He opposed the New Deal, unions, and government regulation of business. He endorsed Herbert Hoover's corporatism, implemented paternalistic labor policies, and championed business direction of government. Practicing what he preached, Barnard served on the War Industries Board and headed the USO, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the National Science Foundation.

Scott argues that Barnard's ideology of management was similar to Platonic guardianship. Managerial guardians would emerge from corporate competition and their benevolent expertise justified their government of irrational wards.

Scott attributes Barnard's organization theory to the influence of Harvard scholars and Vilfredo Pareto's sociology. Like Pareto, Barnard believed that the masses were incapable of self-government, and that elites maintained order and civilization. Big business managers were the modern elite, but they depended on workers doing unsatisfying, low-paid jobs. Accordingly, Barnard showed managers how to manufacture consent without empowering workers or raising wages. Scott concludes that Barnard's ideas on corporate culture and its manipulation shaped the paradigm of contemporary management.

Scott finds Barnard's ideas contradictory and corrupt. Guardianship depended on managerial autonomy and virtue, but unchecked power left managers free to serve themselves. Moreover, by directing managers to treat people as instruments and never as ends, Barnard reversed the Kantian categorical imperative and prevented managers from being moral. Scott shows that Barnard sometimes failed as a guardian because his entrepreneurial decisions sought short-term corporate profits rather than long-term community investments. His leadership style was imperious and caused him to promote sycophants. Finally, Scott observes that the business community accepted Barnard's theory of manipulation in the 1970s and 1980s when American managers were acting less like guardians and more like robber barons. Even so, Scott cannot decide whether corporate misconduct, as manifested in deindustrialization and fraud, resulted from managers ignoring Barnard's ideology of guardianship or learning his theory of manipulation.

Scott's book is a model for biographies of managerial practitioner-theorists, but it has ambivalence in spots and excessive claims in others. He skips over the moral and political implications of the failure of Platonic guardianship and the success of Pareton

machination. In addition, he suggests with little evidence that American managerial competence and morality have declined in recent decades and that formal theory is responsible. Finally, he exaggerates Barnard's influence by slighting other thinkers, such as Elton Mayo and the human relations school. Still, Scott has written a thought-provoking book that helps portray the shift from despotic to hegemonic management.

STEPHEN P. WARING
University of Alabama,
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RICHARD L. PACELLE, JR. *The Transformation of the Supreme Court's Agenda: From the New Deal to the Reagan Administration.* (Transforming American Politics.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1991. Pp. xv, 264. \$39.95.

Richard L. Pacelle, Jr., tells the story of how the Supreme Court fundamentally transformed its institutional role between 1938 and 1988 and, in so doing, redefined the relationship between the individual and the state and modified the role of the Bill of Rights in the American political system. The cause and effect were an alteration in the Court's "agenda": its choices about the issues to which it allocates its limited resources. Pacelle describes the agenda as bifurcated: an "exigent" agenda, imposed on the Court by the presence in society of issues that both demand attention and frequently are resolved in conflicting manners by lower courts, and a "volitional" agenda, which suits the goals of individual justices and reflects repeated demands by litigating groups. Sooner or later, the Court must accept the first agenda; sooner or later, it chooses to follow the second.

Dividing virtually all the Court's cases from 1938 to 1988 into fourteen broad policy areas, Pacelle demonstrates that the changing nature of its agenda initially is obscured by being cast in terms of more traditional cases. Both justices with their own policy predilections and groups that concentrate on litigation as a major method of affecting public policy are crucial actors in the transformation process. Pacelle argues that the literature on the Court has given inadequate acknowledgement to the dynamics of the institutional framework within which specific decisions are made as against analyses of individual cases and justices. He fails to mention scholars such as Herman Pritchett and Walter Murphy who have examined the Court as an institution. Pacelle nonetheless adds significantly to this literature by examining an important historical era, using vocabulary (such as "agenda") that highlights the Court's innately active role, demonstrating the way the Court's agenda during any given era reflects the justices's thinking about the meaning of constitutional democracy, and discussing the relationship between the justices and other players in the political-litigative process.

Pacelle describes Justice Harlan Stone's famous

"Footnote 4" in *United States v. Carolene Products* (1938) as the beginning of a process that would move the Court's agenda from a concentration on economic cases through a concern with those involving government regulation and finally to an emphasis on protection of civil liberties. One signal of a new agenda can be a landmark case such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which communicates the Court's new priorities and its willingness to increase the attention it will allocate to a particular issue. Agenda-setting is a gradual process, affected by the Court's inheritance of the policies and doctrines of its predecessors and its need to inform other actors in the litigation process that its own interests have changed. Pacelle pinpoints the gradualist nature of the process as the explanation of why the Nixon-Reagan-Bush justices were limited in their ability to refashion the Court's civil liberties agenda. Cases reflecting the complexities of doctrines articulated by the Warren Court continued to be generated from below, particularly by groups that had become accustomed to turning to the Court. In addition, the Burger Court's own inconsistencies as it wrestled with these cases and attempted to alter Warren Court doctrines kept alive issues that it might have preferred to avoid.

The volume, balancing quantitative analysis with accessible prose, should prove useful to anyone interested in the history and workings of the Supreme Court.

PHILIPPA STRUM
City University of New York

ANN M. PESCATELLO. *Charles Seeger: A Life in American Music.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1992. Pp. xli, 346. \$34.95.

Charles Seeger, whose life spanned nearly a century, was a composer, an educator, a critic, a musicologist, a bureaucrat, an inventor, but first and foremost a philosopher. A product of an established New England family, Seeger spent his formative years in New York and Mexico, graduated from Harvard, then began a teaching career at the University of California at Berkeley, where he created the music department. He later returned to New York, taught at the New School for Social Research, and deepened his social awareness. In 1935 Seeger accepted an appointment in the federal Resettlement Administration, assigned the duty of organizing rural music programs. His respect for folk music grew during the Depression years, as did his interest in rural and working-class culture. In 1937 he was named deputy director of the Federal Music Project; after World War II he worked with UNESCO and became a target for the red baiters of the McCarthy era. (His son, folk musician Pete Seeger, was blacklisted.) In his later years the elder Seeger became vitally interested in ethnomusicology and immersed himself in the schol-

arly aspects of that field, writing articles and theoretical discourses for scholarly publications.

Seeger favored musical experimentation, and his own compositions sounded avant garde for their time. Eventually he felt a conflict between composing and academic life. His contact in California with Alfred Kroeber and Robert Lowie, however, resulted in an abiding interest in anthropology, and he became absorbed with the social function of music and the role of the arts in fostering social harmony. Gradually he came to view folk songs as the backbone of America's musical heritage, as well as an untapped source for American composers. Eclectic though his interests were, Seeger remained consistent in his belief that music should be studied in its cultural context.

Ann M. Pescatello, a historian rather than a musicologist, knew Charles Seeger for many years; the two intended to write this book together. Seeger wanted his thesis to revolve around the effect of society on the creative individual and the effect of the creative individual on society. "The crux of the matter," he informed his collaborator, is "the interplay of the two" (p. ix).

Midway through the book Pescatello shifts from writing a biography to a detailed, often labored summary and analysis of her subject's scholarly writing. Although she had hoped to balance his ideas and personality, Seeger the man and the historical figure get sacrificed. The author's treatment loses momentum and becomes repetitious. Worse yet, it does not serve Seeger well; his ideas appear more quaint than important. What started out as an engaging portrait is reduced to pedantry. Although she rarely soars as a stylist, Pescatello's writing in the early chapters is clear and concise; the background she paints places Seeger firmly in his historical context. Then all goes awry, and the reader is left viewing intellectual tangles through a murky lens. Pescatello admits that she temporarily abandoned the book on Seeger's death. Perhaps it is his hand that is missing in the concluding pages; possibly Seeger grew too reclusive as an elder statesman for a more rounded account. Whatever the explanation, a vibrant life suddenly shrinks to talk.

RONALD L. DAVIS
Southern Methodist University

STEVEN M. AVELLA. *This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago, 1940–1965*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 410. \$29.95.

Steven M. Avella here takes up the challenge of describing and analyzing the development of Roman Catholic life in the Archdiocese of Chicago under the leadership of cardinals Samuel A. Stritch (1940–58) and Albert G. Meyer (1958–65). Stritch's cautious tolerance and Meyer's growing progressivism paralleled the approaches of popes Pius XII and John

XXIII. Difficult challenges—the migration of Catholics to the suburbs, liturgical reform, social justice, the influx of blacks and Hispanics, schools, and personality clashes—regularly tested their management capacity and their patience, but Chicago Catholicism, with its confident, generally liberal approach to liturgical and social issues, thrived under their leadership, even after the first movements of Vatican II initiated a period of institutional transition.

Outsiders when they arrived, Stritch and Meyer had to accommodate themselves to prominent local clerics whose spheres of influence were well established. Bishop Bernard Sheil, friend of presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, directed the Catholic Youth Organization and a variety of social action programs and adult education schools, and was a popular speaker on racial justice and anti-Semitism. But his independent, authoritarian streak and his tendency to accumulate large debts gradually eroded his position. Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand, rector of Chicago's major Catholic seminary from 1936 to 1944, promoted liturgical reform and Catholic social teaching. He influenced a group of prominent "disciples," especially John Egan, an indefatigable worker with married and engaged couples who later collaborated with Saul Alinski in community organizing and became head of the activity archdiocesan Office of Urban Affairs, and Daniel Cantwell, who promoted the Catholic Labor Alliance and public housing and crusaded against restrictive neighborhood covenants. Prominent lay Catholics, including Catherine De Hueck, Edward Marciniak, and Patrick Crowley and Patty Crowley also contributed to a corporate enterprise that, despite inevitable human conflicts, brought Catholic influence to bear on major public issues.

Avella succeeds in explaining Chicago Catholicism in those years, but only up to a point. His personal characterizations are full. His explanations of how Sheil and Hillenbrand simultaneously enhanced the public apostolate and complicated the problem of leadership are persuasive. And his insights about how the two cardinals and their principal associates used their human resources and political influence to address contemporary problems are excellent. But there are problems. The organization, which moves from a general history centered on Stritch and Meyer, to discussions of Sheil and Hillenbrand, to topical chapters on urban development, racism, and Vatican II, is somewhat choppy and weakens the chronological focus. Some detail could have been eliminated in the interest of a crisper, leaner account. The experience of ordinary Catholics-in-the-pew is generally neglected, except when racism becomes an issue. Consistent attention to statistical data as evidence of change over time would have strengthened the book; the four pages of graphs are not well connected with the text. Finally, the writing sometimes falls short of academic standards: Avella, for instance, writes that Francis McIntyre "went ballistic"

when he received unwelcome news (p. 140), and that Bernard Sheil "figured the game was over" at the time he resigned as head of the CYO (p. 145). These shortcomings are unfortunate, but the book's topic and its strengths make it an important contribution to the study of American Catholicism.

ANTHONY J. KUZNIEWSKI
College of the Holy Cross

BILL ROBIE. *For the Greatest Achievement: A History of the Aero Club of America and the National Aeronautic Association*. Foreword by CHUCK YEAGER. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1993. Pp. xix, 378. \$35.00.

For Bill Robie, aviation has been a lifelong avocation, and this book is clearly a labor of love. Well researched and attractively published, it seems at times a bit defensive as he justifies the continuing existence of a body whose mission is far more limited than it was earlier in the century.

Certainly in its early years the Aero Club of America was, as Chuck Yeager says in the foreword, "the story of the development of American aviation" (p. xi). That body died out in 1922 and gave way to the National Aeronautics Association (NAA), whose primary purposes were to stimulate federal regulation and development of aviation (realized in large part by the Air Commerce Act of 1926) and to promote commercial, military, and sport aviation. The first two areas reached maturity after World War II, leaving sport aviation as the primary focus of NAA attention. Various forms of sport aviation have developed and created their own organizations, such as the Balloon Federation of America and the U.S. Hang Gliding Association. Robie suggests that the NAA no longer serves as a parent organization but instead more as a grandparent, recording the achievements of fully grown and independent children and grandchildren. The resultant fragmentation makes for a rather choppy narrative in the later parts of the book.

Sweeping through almost a century of aviation developments precludes much opportunity to become well acquainted with its leading personalities. Jackie Cochran is probably most fully developed. A "tough cookie" as a record-setting pilot, she served as president of the NAA in 1961 and 1962 and was the only woman ever to serve as head of the affiliated Federation Aeronautique Internationale.

The narrative provides a number of interesting insights. Robie sets the record straight about why the Wright brothers did not have pilot licenses numbered one and two. The early NAA actively supported military pilots who, in 1923 alone, set new world records in thirty-three of forty-two flight categories. Amelia Earhart played a key role in the 1930s as an NAA vice president and, along with Cochran and other women, overcame gender discrimination to fly in Powder Puff Derbies that earned as much publicity

as men's activities. In the 1940s, the NAA evolved from a rich man's club with strong industrial and military ties to a constituent group, although management lagged behind the reality, causing some dislocation. Disputes between homeowners and airports led to dramatic declines in the number of airfields: Los Angeles dropped from sixty-four to eleven from 1941 to 1962. The book culminates with the dramatic nonstop, nine-day *Voyager* flight around the world in 1986.

Although the text runs 225 pages, the book also includes ninety-five pages of appendixes. Robie deserves credit for pulling together information that will fascinate aviation buffs: winners of the Collier Trophy, the Gordon Bennett Cup, the Wright Trophy, the Brewer Trophy, and the Elder Statesmen of Aviation Award, the founding members of the Aero Club of America, the Pioneers of American Aviation (all license holders from 1905 to 1919), Aero Club presidents, NAA officers, and so forth. The volume will likely get a good deal of use as a reference work.

The book's title derives from the 525-pound Collier Trophy, "awarded annually by the National Aeronautic Association for the greatest achievement in aviation in America the value of which has been thoroughly demonstrated by actual use during the preceding year" (p. ii). Robie focuses attention on these winners in frequent sidebars as well as in the appendix, providing a narrative theme that is frequently very revealing. Who would have guessed that the personnel of Linebacker II, Richard Nixon's Christmas bombing of Hanoi in 1972, would have merited the Collier Trophy?

JOHN R. M. WILSON
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SAMUEL R. WILLIAMSON, JR., and STEVEN L. REARDON. *The Origins of U.S. Nuclear Strategy*. (The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History, number 4.) New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 224. \$45.00.

Samuel R. Williamson, Jr., and Steven L. Reardon's small volume, a solidly researched, admirable synthesis, charts the American transition to a nuclear weapons-based defense orientation. Originally drafted in 1975 as part of a large Department of Defense-sponsored project on the Soviet-American arms competition, and evidently sensitive to the best American intelligence information available for the time period covered by the study, it concludes that growing American reliance on atomic weapons was not dictated by perceptions of the Soviet Union (which lagged behind in atomic matters) but by domestic political and economic realities. In particular, President Harry Truman, whose behavior and attitude are said to have been "crucial, perhaps decisive" (p. 191), is shown to have had a distaste for nuclear weapons

but was so committed to fiscal and budgetary conservatism that he had little practical room for choice.

Even in the most notable decision during this early period for conventional force build-up—Truman's approval of NSC-68 following the outbreak of the Korean War—nuclear weapons were still regarded by policy makers and planners as playing a leading role until the conventional build-up could be completed. Later the perceived urgency of this build-up declined, and the conventional force expansion was stretched out to avoid deficits, whereupon, the authors note, "the allure of air power, built around the awesome power of the nuclear arsenal, reasserted itself" (p. 149).

Of special interest here is discussion of intelligence-driven crisis, not widely discussed in the literature thus far, and also of how pieces of information about a poorly understood foreign opponent are factored into sharply defined domestic political priorities. These developments require further study.

The book also has shortcomings. First, it never establishes whether the trend described was to an actual strategy or merely to a growing reliance on nuclear weapons in strategic planning. Although the authors are sensitive to the difficulties of implementing a nuclear strategy, they do not adequately take into account that massive delivery of nuclear weapons might not in fact suffice to end a war. Second, in giving special weight to Truman, the authors appear not to give sufficient attention to the likelihood that in this instance, as Leslie Gelb has written of a different case (Vietnam), the "system worked," with the president merely being a gatekeeper struggling for consensus but not in control of developments. Truman, who has been characterized by William A. Hyland as a "pre-atomic statesman," would have lacked the ability to decide about military strategy in any case. (To be sure, few if any presidents have had such ability, but this only increases the difficulty of viewing any single individual as decisive in the defense decision-making process.) An astute politician, Truman was probably oblivious to the defense problems placed on him by the political system. We are fortunate that, because of the mutual military restraint of the superpowers, the full potential of this problem was not experienced, as it was in the subsequent American involvement in Vietnam.

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MATTHEW GLASS. *Citizens against the MX: Public Languages in the Nuclear Age*. Foreword by ROBERT N. BELLAH. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 188. \$29.95.

In this book, Matthew Glass describes the grass-roots campaign against basing the most powerful American missile ever made in the Great Basin of Utah and

Nevada. Jimmy Carter's decision approving the new weapons system in late 1979 sparked tremendous opposition among ranchers, environmentalists, Mormons, and western Shoshones. Glass provides a fascinating account of how this coalition came together and offers a cogent analysis of why it was able to derail the project.

The first part of the book focuses directly on the campaign. Working from newspapers, letters and other documents, and interviews with participants, Glass tells the story of initial citizen frustration that culminated in an intensive effort to stymie the military at every turn. The account is clear and crisp, and gives us a good overview of the protagonists and their various goals. Glass is particularly good at articulating how Native Americans in the region viewed the land as the source of life. He is also perceptive in describing how the Mormon church drew on its own notion of stewardship to become actively involved in the campaign.

In the second part of the study, Glass is even more creative. This book is really an inquiry into the nature of citizenship, an exploration of how different groups view such issues as loyalty and national responsibility. This particular episode, Glass writes, "is a graphic case study in the rhetoric of loyalty and consensus in the nuclear age. It illustrates how we evaluate the status of local ties and commitments in an age where large-scale bureaucracies and arcane technologies shape more of our common life than we want to admit" (p. 83).

Glass first outlines Max Weber's pessimistic analysis of the possibilities for effective citizen action in the modern bureaucratic state. He then suggests that the arguments of social theorist Jürgen Habermas may be more telling in explaining how ethical concerns can play a role as citizens involve themselves in the shaping of public policy.

Glass argues national security has served as something of a civil religion in the nuclear age. It has, he claims, "functioned as a rhetorical vehicle for national consensus in the aftermath of traditional religious appeals to national destiny" (p. 152). Using Habermas's framework, he then suggests that opponents of the MX succeeded because they were able to raise arguments that undermined the "language of national consensus" and to use those to frame the issues in different terms (p. 156). Had opponents simply attacked the Pentagon on its own terms, they would never have won.

Their victory, Glass acknowledges, was a fragile one. It was not at all assured at the outset. Experts initially seemed to have all the answers, and only by shifting the terms of the debate did the disparate elements of the opposition coalition succeed.

Sociologist Robert N. Bellah is correct when he declares in the book's foreword that "Matthew Glass's cautionary tale is still very relevant to life in these United States" (p. vii). Glass's volume is a thoughtful

and imaginative account that adds to our understanding of the impact of the nuclear age.

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HOWARD E. MCCURDY. *Inside NASA: High Technology and Organizational Change in the U.S. Space Program*. (New Series in NASA History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 215. \$32.95.

This volume by Howard E. McCurdy flies under false colors. It is not history, although it appears in the "New Series in NASA History" published by Johns Hopkins University Press. Like his earlier entry in the Johns Hopkins series, *The Space Station Decision: Incremental Politics and Technological Choice* (1990), McCurdy's book belongs to the flourishing genre of works by political and social scientists that use historical materials to demonstrate a thesis about some aspect of social organization. Nothing in this approach precludes serious historical research, at least in the form of a case study, but McCurdy opts to use NASA history simply to illustrate his thesis.

That thesis is typical of the genre: high-performance organizations (in this instance, NASA) follow a predictable trajectory, from a first generation notable for the programmatic success it achieves and the widespread admiration it evokes, to a second generation wrapped in red tape and seemingly unable to do anything right. He explains this pattern chiefly by appeal to social-science formulations of culture change and organizational life cycle, a first-generation corporate culture that vigorously promotes innovation and risk-taking almost inevitably being transformed into a second-generation culture more concerned with maintenance and reliability.

To make his argument, McCurdy relies chiefly on a series of interviews (inexplicably anonymous) and a NASA culture survey conducted by mailed questionnaire (also anonymous, but understandably so), the results of which are summarized in an appendix. In the quest for culture, he also makes modest use of NASA archives, congressional hearings, and the contemporary trade press. All of this is illustrated with material drawn from the standard NASA histories and framed with references to academic and popular works on organization and administration. This structure leaves much to be desired, but the book's flaws as social science are likely to be less interesting to readers of this journal than its shortcomings as history.

McCurdy's focus is not the process of change, but the results. Basically, he describes what a substantial number of former and present NASA engineers, scientists, and managers think happened in the 1960s and what they think NASA is like now. Instead of a connected historical narrative, McCurdy juxtaposes static pictures of NASA at two points in time sepa-

rated by a generation. The problem lies in how he constructs these pictures. The paucity of historical research combined with the use of interviews and questionnaires overprivileges memory and opinion.

McCurdy is not careful enough in distinguishing what his subjects recall about the past from what actually happened, nor what his respondents believe about current practice from the actual organizational structure. The opinions of old timers recounting events long past or newcomers observing complex situations from narrow vantage points need to be carefully cross-checked against other, less subjective data; neither memory nor opinion ought to be accepted as fact. This does not mean McCurdy's findings have no value; he provides an illuminating late-1980s glimpse into the thinking of current and former NASA professionals about the past and present workings of their organization. It just is not history.

BARTON C. HACKER
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THOMAS H. O'CONNOR. *Building a New Boston: Politics and Urban Renewal, 1950–1970*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 351. \$24.95.

If there is a case to be made that the age of urban renewal was a golden age in American urban history, it is made here. Thomas H. O'Connor looks at Boston in 1950—when the city displayed dismaying signs of dilapidation and politically debilitating ethno-religious rivalries (particularly between Irish Catholics and the old Protestant elite)—and again in 1970 and concludes that, by the latter year, Boston had not only been physically rebuilt but also had moved "back into the ranks of vibrant and livable cities" (p. xii).

O'Connor's intent is to move beyond structural hypotheses and economic foundations to deal with events in a revealing narrative. In placing human agency at center stage, O'Connor has certainly performed a service, and his extensive reliance on interviews lends his story intimacy. Both the approach and circumstances produce a tight political focus that centers primarily on the administrations of John B. Hynes (1949–59) and John F. Collins (1960–68), with some brief attention reserved for Kevin H. White's early years in office.

In Hynes, O'Connor finds both a "new breed" post-World War II mayor and a new kind of Boston Irish politician. In living down the flamboyant James Michael Curley's legacies of corruption, ethnic confrontation, and neighborhood/business district conflict, Hynes displayed a different vision and the integrity necessary to nurture a budding public-private relationship between Boston's elected and economic elites. In the end, Hynes started several projects, finished few (one exception being the acknowledged ruthless demolition of the West End),

and served as a transitional figure between the Curley era and modern Boston.

Collins exhibited greater political and managerial skills than did Hynes and saved Boston's redevelopment program from oblivion after the West End debacle. He brought in the energetic Edward J. Logue to head the Boston Redevelopment Authority and saw Hynes's projects through to completion while professionalizing government and adding a more integrated vision to what had been a piecemeal process. The mutual courtship of developer James Rouse and White in the renovation of Fanueil Hall Marketplace provides a footnote to the period.

O'Connor recognizes that urban renewal "created an even deeper chasm" between the "two Bostons" (p. 295) than existed and notes insightfully that the primary social cleavage in the city had shifted from one rooted in ethnicity and religion at the beginning of the period to another grounded in race and class at its close. But his overall assessment is still positive, and he laments the loss of the "clear sense of purpose" and the "tangible evidence of a collective energy" (p. 298) that animated Boston's leadership between 1950 and 1970.

O'Connor perhaps goes a bit too far in eschewing the structural and economic framework that served as the foundation for the events he describes, and the heavy reliance on the press and interviews imparts an almost serendipitous quality to some parts of the narrative. It also would have been helpful to place Boston's events in the larger context now made available by an extensive literature. Finally, even though O'Connor notes in passing that urban renewal "caused damaging racial and economic vibrations throughout the entire city" (p. xii), these issues could have used more attention.

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University of New Orleans

THOMAS CRIPPS. *Making Movies Black: The Hollywood Message Movie from World War II to the Civil Rights Era*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 382. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

In this, the second volume of a proposed trilogy on blacks in American film, Thomas Cripps continues the dialectic between filmmakers, popular culture, and audience that marked his seminal *Slow Fade to Black* (1977), which documented the emergence in Hollywood films of a subtle shift from blackface to black sensibility, amid reels of old stereotypes, from the days of nickelodeon shorts to *Casablanca*. In the present work World War II takes center stage as setting and circumstance in which and whereby blacks came to be seen as sympathetic and even heroic, if stoic, figures in film. Message movies attacking both fascism and racism during and after the war, Cripps argues, smoothed the way for a national consensus for integration before the *Brown v. Board of Education*

school-desegregation decision supposedly awakened a nation's conscience.

By going behind the camera where few historians have gone before, working in personal and studio archives (even evaluating the give-and-take of rewrites revealed in the notes screenwriters left in the margins of working scripts), and by viewing the films themselves (as too few historians have done), Cripps unravels the often tangled ways film "concepts" became "products." Moreover, he discovers a "conscience liberalism" premised on equality and fair play that infused Hollywood during the war, survived a restructuring of the film industry and a short retreat to political conservatism after the war, and came to define both film offerings and audience expectations by 1960. If Cripps's encyclopedic knowledge of movies and the history of their making sometimes obscures his principal message with thick overlays of detail on studio politics, screen personalities, and plot summaries, the strength of his argument remains undiluted in the end, for Cripps understands that changing images on screen and interests off screen was an accretive process. Making movies black did not just happen. It occurred because the national interest and Hollywood's self-interest converged at critical points, most especially during the war, and because people inside and outside the film business came to believe that movies were more than mere entertainment.

Before the war Hollywood largely dealt with black issues and interests by avoiding them. Race movies made by independents catered to black audiences, and Hollywood contented itself with a few nods to blacks' singing and dancing. World War II changed all that. So, too, did several individuals, most especially Walter White of the NAACP, who recognized film's potential for influencing social change and the need to affect filmmaking at its source. White went to Hollywood to lobby for new and better film roles for blacks, much to the dismay of the small, resident black actors who had made a precarious but comfortable living in B-movies playing mammies, maids and manservants, and minstrels.

A war against fascism in Europe soon became a war against racism in America, a linkage marked by the "double V" symbol blacks and conscience liberals traded on thereafter. Spurred by the Office of War Information that wanted films emphasizing the unity of American interests, the NAACP that wanted films to show blacks as real people, and sympathetic Hollywood writers and filmmakers who wanted films that mattered, a strongly liberal film culture developed. Liberalism was a way to win the war. And blacks in such government-made films as *The Negro Soldier* (1944), a stunning cinematic and political achievement, and in major-release movies such as *Bataan* (1943), *Sahara* (1943), and *Lifeboat* (1943), became part of the action rather than the scenery.

In the films blacks fought with and for their white American buddies, who in turn shared the values of

antifascism and antiracism. The war movie genre provided the basic strategy for whites' understanding of integration thereafter: a strong black character stood up for principle while never threatening to cross social boundaries of neighborhood, church, or family. Such a figure served as an anchor or metaphor that allowed whites to set their own moral compass. All Americans benefited from such a presence, or so the logic of such films went. This basic function of blacks in film both anticipated and later gained credibility from the themes of common good preached by Martin Luther King, Jr., and the southern phase of the civil rights movement.

The message faded for a while after the war because it lacked a genre, such as the war movie, wherein it could profitably be used. Educational films and documentaries kept it alive and gave it a currency in classrooms and among students of film, making conscience liberalism and black images an accepted part of film culture. Then several Hollywood message films, such as *Body and Soul* (1948) on the corruption of boxing, delivered box-office receipts that revived studio courage for movies in which blacks (or Indians) might stand as moral pivots or, as in *Blackboard Jungle* (1954), victims of a hostile social environment who might be redeemed. In all this, the black figure(s) acted, often as protagonists, in ways that demanded moral resolution. This kind of message and black image reached its apotheosis on screen in the film personae of Sidney Poitier. It did not become irrelevant in popular culture or consciousness until the flames of Watts and the violent realities of the civil rights struggle viewed on television screens demanded new messages. But that, as Cripps says, is another story.

Cripps reminds us that, whatever the gains in liberal consciousness and conscience, making movies black had its costs. Hollywood's message movies killed the old-style "race movie" that had been made on the cheap for black audiences. More seriously, they bred a false sense of security about America's oneness by denying or muting the "twoness" of African-American identity. Unlike music, especially rock-and-roll, which young whites accepted on black terms despite efforts of promoters to broaden the audience by "whitening" the sound, movies remained white even as (perhaps because) they became partly black. Integration in film, as in society generally, was allowed on the dominant group's terms or not at all. Thus, those few interracial love affairs written into scripts almost invariably ended up on the cutting room floor.

We know all this because Cripps points the way. Cripps's genius lies as much as in what he shows us about what is not seen on the screen as what is. For that reason alone, every student of twentieth-century American culture would learn much from reading this important, vital book.

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KIM LACY ROGERS. *Righteous Lives: Narratives of the New Orleans Civil Rights Movement*. New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 254. \$35.00.

Kim Lacy Rogers has used oral history to create an innovative history of the civil rights movement in New Orleans. During 1979 and 1988, Rogers interviewed twenty-five Crescent City civil rights leaders, black and white. From these interviews, the author has fashioned a lively narrative of the struggle for desegregation in a unique southern city. Rogers has provided striking insight into the traumatic and exhilarating experiences of those who were on the movement's front lines.

Rogers, however, has fortified her narrative with strong analysis. She begins with a division of the leaders into generational groups. In her opinion, age often determined individuals' approaches, goals, and reactions to the movement's achievements. Members of the first generation, born between 1897 and 1924, were racial negotiators who sought integration and took pride in their accomplishments. Those of the second generation, born between 1925 and 1935, pursued political solutions and measured their successes in the acquisition of political power. For some, including Ernest "Dutch" Morial, the city's first black mayor, civil rights led to high office. For others, notably white attorney John P. Nelson, Jr., involvement undermined their political careers. Leaders from the protest generation, born between 1935 and 1945, used activism to advance their cause. Although the movement was commonly a defining, often dangerous, point in their lives, their memories mixed frustration with achievement. These individuals commonly advocated racial separatism and, after 1970, turned to social and cultural pursuits. They believed that the legal and political successes that others applauded were hollow in the face of continuing black economic deprivation.

Rogers's focus on only twenty-five leaders, however, leads her to draw unwarranted conclusions about the nature of her generational groups. Although she contends that white civil rights leaders were middle-class professionals whose class and moral focus led them to oppose predominantly rural and lower-class urban whites, she ignores numerous other white professionals of similar class and morality who favored segregation. Economics and the law, not enlightenment, ultimately moved some of the individuals to support integration.

Rogers, moreover, idealizes the civil rights leaders. Although all faced danger and made real sacrifices, these were still people with flaws who acted within the realities of their times. Moon Landrieu, for instance, did resist legislative efforts to close integrated schools in 1960, but he also succumbed to the political necessity of publicly proclaiming his belief in segregation while he fought school closure, a point that Rogers apparently neglects. Some of the successful politicians

sought power for power's sake and engaged in corruption.

Rogers nonetheless has crafted an excellent book that delves beneath the surface of the civil rights movement in New Orleans. Her understanding of class distinctions within the local black community is both outstanding and unusual. She has used oral history in a manner that enhances understanding of the civil rights era and also of the people who participated in the struggle. Her introduction of generational groups additionally raises possibilities for a broader study of New Orleans as well as for the examination of the movement in other southern communities.

EDWARD F. HAAS
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RICKEY HENDRICKS. *A Model for National Health Care: The History of Kaiser Permanente*. (Health and Medicine in American Society.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 265. \$50.00.

This is an extremely timely book that should attract the interest of both historians and policy makers. Rickey Hendricks traces the development of the nation's most extensive and perhaps most comprehensive systems of health care delivery: the Kaiser-Permanente system of hospitals, clinics, physicians, and home-care services. As the debate over the creation of a national health-care system heats up, Kaiser-Permanente is being inspected as the premier example of a prepaid, comprehensive program of preventive, primary, and hospital care. Much of this book is a close administrative history of the plan itself, medical opposition to group insurance, and heated postwar politics over group practice. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Kaiser system was attacked by organized medicine as a form of socialized health care, and doctors participating in the plan were sometimes excluded and harassed by the local medical societies. Hendricks points out that Henry Kaiser himself participated in red-baiting, demanding loyalty oaths and investigating the political affiliations of his own employees.

As Hendricks makes clear, the Kaiser-Permanente health system is rooted in American industrial and labor history. In 1938, Kaiser, an industrialist who had made a fortune in shipbuilding, steel, and construction, contracted with a physician, Sidney Garfield, to provide health care to Kaiser workers then completing the Grand Coulee Dam. Following the end of World War II, the Kaiser system opened its doors to communities in Washington, Oregon, and California. By 1970, the Kaiser-Permanente system had over two million members.

Hendricks illustrates the centrality of labor in spurring the system's development. In the early 1900s, health and safety concerns were central to a variety of unions. The early struggles of the Western Federa-

tion of Miners, the Longshoremen, and other unions that organized in the heavy industries of shipping, shipbuilding, mining, and timber set the stage for a postwar alliance between organized labor and Kaiser. Kaiser industries, dependent on a rapidly changing labor force and on a relatively radical union culture, sought to both stabilize communities and provide care that would create a common bond between labor and capital. Kaiser sought a "partnership" of labor, industry, and government. Significantly, despite substantial help from Harry Bridges and Left labor leaders, Kaiser fought union attempts to gain representation on the Kaiser-Permanente board and sought to undermine labor attempts to have a greater voice in national health policy.

This is a useful and well-researched volume that deserves the attention of labor as well as health and welfare historians. Although it sometimes reads as a paean to Kaiser and his medical planners and never looks too deeply at the cultural and political meaning of health and safety for working-class communities, it is filled with information and insights. It is especially useful in reminding us that our national health system is a product of labor-management negotiation. This work makes it clear that without an understanding of the meaning of health and safety, historians miss central aspects of labor and medical history as well.

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MICHAEL B. KATZ. *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon. 1989. Pp. ix, 293. \$15.95.

Published more than five years ago, this book has had a major impact on scholarship related to the history of poverty. The volume completes Michael B. Katz's trilogy on America's response to poverty. What began as an exercise in social history becomes in this volume a discussion of ideas and policy trends. The central idea is that Americans have consistently made the poor strangers or outsiders. Whether discussing paupers at the end of the nineteenth century or the underclass at the end of the twentieth, influential Americans have referred to the poor as "them" rather than "us." Katz would prefer us to understand poverty as "not an unfortunate accident, a residue, an indication that the great American mobility machine missed a minority of the people," but rather as a "necessary result of America's distinctive political economy" (p. 237).

Best known as a social historian of the nineteenth century, Katz reports in this book on recent political and intellectual history. With the exception of a brief opening chapter, the book concentrates on the period between 1960 and 1989. Katz ably synthesizes the

available literature on such topics as the culture of poverty, the flap over the Moynihan report, the origins of the war on poverty, conservative critiques of the Great Society, and recent literature on illegitimacy and the underclass. With the exception of the excellent account of the war on poverty, the book relies almost exclusively on secondary literature. One can depend on Katz to summarize this literature accurately. Unlike most historians, Katz reports on statistical trends without losing the reader's attention. The only glitch I noticed was Katz's failure properly to identify the Supplemental Security Income program.

Federal income maintenance policy concerns Katz less than does the recent debate over the urban underclass. He concludes an important discussion of adolescent pregnancy and families headed by women by noting that a new family form may be emerging. Instead of lamenting the rise of families headed by single women, we should instead direct our energies "toward ensuring young women with children a decent chance to avoid a life of poverty" (p. 223). In this instance, I think Katz does the poor a disservice. It seems to me that policy does need to concentrate on restoring the two-parent family and facilitating the two-wage-earner family.

Katz complains that the social-science literature on poverty depends too heavily on economic analysis. Perhaps the historical literature depends too heavily on endowing those groups disproportionately represented among the poor with an uplifting past. Too often this literature leaves us with no sense of how situations such as the rise in single-parent families have occurred. Unlike so many of his fellow historians, Katz at least engages the modern issues and realizes that the social history of this period is conditioned in a significant way by remote policy decisions made in Washington and ideas fashioned far away from the communities in which the poor people live. If nothing else, Katz paves the way for meaningful historical work on public policy.

EDWARD BERKOWITZ
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BURTON I. KAUFMAN. *The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr.* (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. ix, 245. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Burton I. Kaufman frequently takes strong stands on the issues involved in his research projects; this book is no exception. Jimmy Carter's presidency, sandwiched between the scandals of the Richard Nixon–Gerald Ford administrations and the excesses of the Ronald Reagan–George Bush years, increasingly has been viewed in a positive light. In this latest addition to the University Press of Kansas's "American Presidency Series," however, Kaufman dissents from that emerging revisionism. "In my view," he concludes, the "contemporary image of the Carter presidency

was, unfortunately, all too accurate and helped assure a mediocre, if not a failed, presidency" (p. 3). The precise meaning of this statement may be unclear, but the author's point of view is not.

This is the first book-length analysis of the Carter administration based on the resources of the Jimmy Carter Library. Besides those rich presidential papers, the author, whose previous books covered the 1950s, had access to a spate of memoirs and an extensive collection of exit interviews and oral histories. Unfortunately, the general editors of the series adopted a restrictive footnoting strategy that, in this instance, often leaves the reader confused about the authority being called on in any particular instance.

The book is effectively organized and developed along chronological lines with the analysis regularly switching between domestic and foreign affairs. In the process, interesting accounts of the major events of the Carter years emerge along with discussions of the roles played by the administration's major personalities. Unfortunately, research for the study ended before the staff at the Carter Library opened the President's Handwriting File. Almost everything that crossed his desk ended up in this massive file, often with Carter's remarks penned in the margins. More than any other source, these papers reveal the president's leadership style and the character of administration decision making.

Perhaps an examination of the papers in this collection would have added perspective to the author's interpretation of the complex issues that confronted Carter and his advisers. As it is, this relentlessly negative analysis often seems to exist in a vacuum. No Carter achievement remained undiminished as it emerges from Kaufman's critical pen: the Camp David Accords left too many problems unresolved in the Middle East; recognition of China damaged Soviet-American relations; the inconsistently applied human rights policy frequently offended friend and foe alike.

These and other similar observations are valid but pointless. Kaufman implies that the administration had considerable ability to control events at home and abroad, and its failure to do so undermined Carter's leadership. By largely ignoring circumstances prevalent before and after this troubled presidency, the author fails to place it into its proper historical context, thus losing a useful yardstick by which to measure presidential effectiveness. At a minimum, an effort to assess the Carter administration must include some analysis of the effects on the presidency of the Watergate crisis and the resurgent Congress and combative press corps it produced. Carter assumed an office with a sharply diminished ability to influence events at home and abroad. Meanwhile, such developments as the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, the Arab oil embargo of 1973, and subsequent price increases by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had created an unstable international environment beyond control of the United

States. The chaotic state of the national and international economy only added to the instability.

An assessment of presidential successes and failures, then, must address the question of what was possible. In an interesting and important book entitled *At the Margins* (1989), George C. Edwards argued that circumstances prevailing at the beginning and during the lifetime of a particular administration circumscribe and limit the ability of a president to influence events. The president, he suggested, operates at the margins of policy making, exploiting available opportunities rather than creating them. Such an appraisal would seem to have been particularly appropriate here and could have added meaning and depth to the analysis presented.

As it is, the study is one-dimensional. The perspective is from the inside out, meaning that the author often examines only one side of an issue. If conflicts arose between the president and the Congress, it was a product of administration bungling. Similarly, if Helmut Schmidt, the acerbic prime minister of Germany, was unhappy, it must have been the American president's fault. Too often Kaufman's methodology dictates the conclusions. Had the author responded to major revisionist arguments, he could have broadened his focus and therefore contributed more directly to the emerging scholarly dialogue on the Carter presidency.

GARY M. FINK
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W. MICHAEL WEIS. *Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat: Brazilian-American Relations, 1945-1964*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 262. \$37.50.

Contrary to its title, this book by W. Michael Weis tells us rather little (and scarcely anything that is new) about U.S. involvement in the various Brazilian coups of the Cold War period. Its subject instead is diplomatic estrangement: specifically the deterioration of historic U.S.-Brazilian friendship and cooperation in the two decades following World War II.

Weis's thesis is clearly stated and—in terms of the recent historiography of Cold War U.S.-Latin American relations—conventional: the incompatibility of U.S. and Brazilian postwar strategic interests eroded the two countries' traditional "unwritten alliance" and initiated a period of increasing contention. Whereas the Brazilians based their postwar foreign policy on the goal of rapid, U.S.-underwritten economic development, the United States was directing its international commitments toward the Eurasian fronts of an unfolding global power struggle with the communist bloc. "Globalization" of U.S. interests "meant the abandonment of Pan Americanism in a very real sense" (p. 2), causing U.S. officials to neglect their erstwhile hemispheric allies. Increasingly frustrated by U.S. unwillingness to provide massive funding for

Brazilian development programs and by U.S. officials' insistence on fiscally conservative, private-investment-based development models, Brazil's leaders reluctantly began to abandon their longstanding, but now unrewarded, "special relationship" with the United States in favor of an increasingly independent (read "neutralist") foreign policy founded on Third World solidarity and North-South confrontation. By the early 1960s, when the Cuban revolution suddenly presented the United States with an urgent need for cooperative Latin American allies, U.S.-Brazilian relations had degenerated into mutual mistrust and open hostility. The stage was set for covert U.S. intervention in Brazilian politics and the installation of a pro-American military dictatorship in 1964.

Although large portions of this story have been told in greater detail by others (for example, Gerald Haines for the immediate postwar decade; Phyllis Parker, Ruth Leacock, and others for the early 1960s), Weis provides a fresh interpretive overview, one that is especially commendable for its extensive use of Brazilian source materials, including papers of, and interviews with, key Brazilian participants. The book's most notable contribution may be its discussion of the foreign policy of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956–60), whose "Operation Pan America" initiative Weis views as the watershed in the emergence of an independent Brazilian foreign policy and strained U.S.-Brazilian relations.

A principal weakness of the book—apart from a misleading title, uneven editing, and haphazard proofreading—is its superficial analysis of U.S. policy motives. Vague imputations to a nonspecific anticommunism and occasional inferences of economic imperialism substitute for focused analysis of the causal forces that shaped U.S. perceptions and actions. Particularly disappointing is Weis's failure to explore U.S. attitudes toward Brazilian "neutralism," when a growing body of recent scholarship suggests that U.S. cold warriors viewed Third World nonalignment as a dangerous threat to the credibility of U.S. international leadership in the East-West balance of power, and that such balance-of-power concerns (as distinct from reflexive anticommunism) were decisive in shaping hegemonic U.S. policy behavior toward Latin America. Nor does the book fully examine the factors that caused U.S. officials to remain unresponsive to Brazilian appeals for large-scale U.S. foreign aid: domestic budgetary constraints, U.S. cynicism about Latin American governmental corruption and mismanagement, and other concerns that were perhaps equally as significant on U.S. aid decisions as ethnocentric "open door" proclivities or "neglect." Considering the fervor with which Latin American governments have recently abandoned their overprotected, noncompetitive state industries and nationalist development models in favor of neo-liberalism, the reader is left to wonder whether U.S. reluctance to fund the inflationary, statist, and supremely populist development programs of Brazilian regimes in the 1950s and

early 1960s was perhaps based as much on sound economics as on U.S. self-interest. In any event, studies of Cold War U.S.-Brazilian relations that fail to probe such fundamental analytical issues remain, in the end, only partially edifying.

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DAVID W. LESCH. *Syria and the United States: Eisenhower's Cold War in the Middle East*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xvii, 242. \$44.95.

This book is a case study of the U.S.-Syrian relationship in the 1950s and of the regional context within which that relationship took place. David W. Lesch argues that a geopolitical focus caused the United States to ignore the situation in Syria—which it saw as a potential base for Soviet operations in support of Egypt—and to misinterpret the political problems of the region. As a result, the Dwight Eisenhower administration denied the Syrians' legitimate concerns, gave them few options, and through resort to covert activities (the evidence concerning which is considerable, if circumstantial, and carefully analyzed), enhanced, rather than reduced, Soviet influence. By supporting the older class of conservatives in the face of political change, the United States also increased rather than reduced political tensions in the region.

Lesch is not particularly enlightening about either the United States or Soviet policy formulation, and relies on secondary works for much of his interpretive framework when explaining great power politics. The real strength of the book is its careful assessment of Syrian politics and its delineation of the complicated relationships among the states in the region, which clearly had as much to do with their actions and reactions as did the geopolitical issues on which the United States focused.

Lesch underscores the constraints on a close relationship between the United States and Syria: the U.S. commitment to Israel (the United States gave as much assistance to Israel as it did to all of the Arab and African states in the period 1945–53); and the fallout from such support, epitomized by Syria's reactions to the Arab-Israeli War of 1947–49, the Israeli attack on Lake Tiberias, and the Arab-Israeli War of 1956. These constraints, which undercut the requirements of constructing a regional defense against the Soviets, raise questions about what U.S. policy—variously described as a tightrope walk, a juggling act, or a chess match—should have been.

It is true that administration policies—to an extent—were self-defeating and that pursuit of non-democratic means (covert activities that reinforced repression and reaction) to contain the Soviets served primarily to open the door to them in the Arab heartland. As Lesch points out, however, resolving American dilemmas and contradictions may have

been nearly impossible. The containment policy, moreover, was flawed but not totally unsuccessful. If the Soviets circumvented the "Northern Tier," their adventurism in the Arab world was impeded by the denial of propinquity with Iraq and Syria.

Lesch is correct in arguing that Syria was not a side show, but important in its own right. The meeting in early 1994 between President Bill Clinton and President Hafiz al Assad in Geneva suggests that this is still the case. Lesch's book also makes a point that is even more important today than it was during the Cold War: local and regional issues must be understood at their own levels and on their own terms.

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GREGORY A. FOSSEDAL. *Our Finest Hour: Will Clayton, the Marshall Plan, and the Triumph of Democracy*. (Hoover Institution Press Publication, number 412.) Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 349. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$18.95.

Gregory A. Fossedal has made a solid contribution to American diplomatic history with his biography of Will Clayton. Written in clear and lively prose, the book outlines the major role Clayton played in American foreign policy, most notably in the discussions that led to the Marshall Plan. The one flaw of the book is the tendency to apply a narrow focus to Clayton without placing his efforts in the larger context of the early Cold War.

Two examples of this narrow vision stand out. During the economic warfare and stockpiling campaigns of World War II, Clayton's biggest challenge was the ambitious proposals of Vice President Henry A. Wallace. But Fossedal's introduction of Wallace is thin, one-dimensional, and does not indicate that Fossedal consulted many biographies of Wallace in order to provide a fuller portrait (pp. 83–84). Fossedal similarly gives a shadowy impression of George F. Kennan. He does an excellent job sorting out what Kennan and Clayton contributed to the Marshall Plan, but there is no sense of the broad vision that Kennan had developed for American diplomacy, a vision that focused on Britain and Western Europe as the key to American security. There are several citations from the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series to demonstrate Kennan's point of view, but no indication that Fossedal examined Kennan's unpublished writings from 1947 that reside in the same library as the Harry Dexter White Papers that he did consult.

These oversights are outweighed by Fossedal's clear grasp of complex economic issues and his commitment to fairness and balance when discussing the volatile disputes that occurred as part of the American war effort. This is a story many scholars have touched on, but Fossedal's thoroughness yields many valuable insights. The debate over the synthetic rub-

ber program is especially interesting as a forerunner to contemporary debates over policies to procure strategic raw materials. Clayton's pragmatic approach was highly effective, and it gave his advice on international economics greater value in high circles after the defeat of Germany and Japan.

In his concluding chapter, Fossedal falls a bit short of the high standard maintained throughout the rest of the book. There is little in the way of sober analysis of Clayton's important career. Instead, the author presents a sentimental celebration of Clayton and the democratic values and free market theories that guided him through his time of government service. Instead of comparing Clayton to Winston Churchill and Cordell Hull, Fossedal could have compared him to other businessmen-diplomats of his era.

Nevertheless, this is an important book, one crafted with eloquence and attention to detail and, for the most part, well researched. Some lengthier consideration of Cold War historiography and biography could have filled out the portrait of Clayton, but it is a first-class portrait as it stands, and is essential for any research library or scholar doing serious work in wartime or Cold War diplomacy.

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DAVID L. ANDERSON. *Trapped by Success: The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam, 1953–1961*. (Contemporary American History Series.) Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 276. \$16.50.

David L. Anderson's book is a well-researched and well-argued examination of the Eisenhower administration's policies in Vietnam. The author is a thoughtful and careful historian who seeks to reveal how and why American policy in Vietnam developed as it did in the 1950s. Anderson is no hanging judge, yet his measured tone only adds persuasive force to his strongly critical assessment of the policy pursued by Eisenhower. In Anderson's view "the Eisenhower years were a time of deepening American commitment to South Vietnam premised on superficial assumptions about the government in Saigon, its future prospects, and the importance of its survival to U.S. global strategic interests" (p. 200).

After a brief analysis of the legacy in Indochina left by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, Anderson provides a chronological treatment of the major elements and stages of American policy in Vietnam under the Republican administration that took office in 1953. He begins his sad litany with an examination of the unsuccessful American efforts to strengthen the French and follows this with a competent account of American policies concerning Dien-bienphu and the Geneva Conference. Anderson's more notable contribution to scholarship on Vietnam

comes, however, with his excellent exploration of American policy making after the conclusion of these more well-studied episodes. He demonstrates well the hesitant American embrace of Ngo Dinh Diem and notes that only in May 1955, after Diem's successful clash with the various sects and against the advice of Gen. J. Lawton Collins, did the Eisenhower administration bind itself "to a futile and tragic partnership" with him (p. 92). After that, there was no turning back.

The United States tied itself both to South Vietnam and, more especially, to Diem as its leader as it began a determined nation-building effort. For a time, it appeared as if its policies might meet success. Diem remained in power and South Vietnam took on some trappings of a viable nation. Appearances of success were quite deceiving, however. When Eisenhower left office, nation-building had floundered and Diem's reactionary regime confronted an armed insurrection without popular support. In Anderson's view, John F. Kennedy inherited a veritable "time-bomb" (p. 205) and it did not take long to explode.

Anderson convincingly presents America's commitment to Vietnam as a clear instance of containment misapplied. He argues, in a similar manner to George Herring, that the United States badly misjudged the internal dynamics of the conflict. He clarifies particularly well that the initial, illusory success involved in maintaining Diem in power trapped the United States into an ever-deepening and ultimately disastrous commitment to South Vietnam. In making this case, Anderson provides a perceptive account of policy making on the American side and captures insightfully the role of key players such as John Foster Dulles and Eisenhower and the dilemmas and constraints they faced.

Anderson tends to overstate the irrevocable nature of Eisenhower's commitment to Diem and South Vietnam. Undoubtedly the options available to Kennedy and then Lyndon Johnson were curtailed by earlier U.S. actions. Yet one should not absolve JFK and LBJ and their clever but unwise advisers of their own responsibility for vastly expanding the American military involvement in Vietnam and for transforming Vietnam into the primary issue of American foreign policy—something which, as Anderson admits, Eisenhower managed to avoid.

Undoubtedly there is more to learn about American actions in Vietnam under Eisenhower, particularly if the CIA releases files revealing its involvement in South Vietnam's political life. But for the moment Anderson's fine work stands as the essential account of American policies toward Vietnam during the 1950s.

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CANADA

ALBERT SCHRAUWERS. *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812–1889*.

Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1993. Pp. vii, 300. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

Led by the charismatic figure of David Willson, the Children of Peace broke away from a recently established Quaker community north of Toronto and set out to create a colony of heaven dedicated to the divine principles of equality and charity among the forests and fields of East Gwillimbury township. Near the village of Hope, the Children of Peace built a meeting house, a school, and, following divine revelations and a careful reading of scripture, they rebuilt the temple of Jerusalem so that they might worship God "Israel fashion." Although in many respects a separatist sect, the group took an active part in the Upper Canadian reform movement with its banners, band, and choir of virgins at the front of many political and religious processions. Some actually fought in the Rebellion of 1837 and were imprisoned for their efforts. But with the triumph of the reform coalition in the 1840s, Willson and the group acquired considerable influence, even enjoying the patronage that in the world of Canadian politics was virtue's highest reward.

The Children of Peace numbered over 300 in the 1850s but declined rapidly with the death of Willson in 1866. They have been remembered primarily for the charismatic qualities of their leader, for their distinctive forms of worship, and especially for their splendid temple that still casts its light over the fields the Children once farmed, without doubt one of the most remarkable examples of ecclesiastical architecture in North America.

Albert Schrauwers's fine book shifts the focus away from these traditional concerns and situates the history of the group in a broader social, religious, and economic context. He treats the beliefs and practices of the Children of Peace not as the manifestations of some esoteric ideology but as the strivings of ordinary people trying to grapple with the tensions and contradictions that arose out of the specific position they occupied in Canadian society. The Children of Peace, he argues, formed a "part culture" that at once sought to separate itself through language, dress, and religious beliefs from the outside world while continuing to live within the primary social and economic forces of nineteenth-century life.

This position created a series of major crises. How, for example, could they resolve the tension between their religious commitment to a moral economy that valued the needs of all the members of the community and the fact that more and more of their members were being drawn into the individualistic and profit-centered dynamics of a market economy? According to Schrauwers the history of the group—their beliefs, rituals, and seemingly endless debates over authority—should be read as an ongoing attempt to resolve these crises. The building of the temple, to cite one example, tried to reaffirm architecturally the principles of charity and equality while

these very values were being undermined by the economic course that many of the farmers were actually following.

The great strength of this book lies in the author's sensitivity to both the internal life of the group and how their experience relates to the external dynamics of Canadian society and culture. Schrauwers is an anthropologist, and this book clearly benefits from the importance his discipline attaches to ritual, mythology, and kinship relations in understanding the formation and behavior of social groups. Although some anthropological terms may be problematic—I am not convinced the community was a "peasant" culture—both the approach and the result are impressive. The author skillfully examines the religious and social traditions of the group, reconstructs the family connections that bound them together, and then analyzes the social and economic relations of the group over time. A number of years ago Canadian social scientists led by S. D. Clark examined the relationship between the forms of religious organization and the process of social change. This book returns to this theme, albeit at a much deeper level of social and theoretical analysis. Schrauwers presents a fascinating account of a group of deeply religious plain folk trying to cope with the social and economic changes that were shaping the modern world.

Although the strength of this book stems from its ability to relate the history of the Children of Peace to larger patterns of social and cultural change, a number of questions remain about the relationship between the group and the world around it. As Schrauwers points out, the tensions they faced were not unique; other religious groups—such as the Hicksite Quakers, the Universal Friends, and the Shakers—also tried to build moral economies within a larger capitalist environment. They too were trying to preserve in their frontier communities older religious values and traditional patterns of community relations. Did this crisis, however, also affect non-religious groups? Historians of rural Ontario, for example, have suggested that the most conservative farmers often moved to the frontier, that many of those young men going west were trying to preserve a tradition of agriculture that was being undermined by the changing demands of the market economy. From this perspective the Children of Peace may have been even more closely related to their more secular neighbors who were also devising their own strategies for protecting a domestic economy in the face of an encroaching capitalist world.

Although the interplay between moral and market forces may link this group more closely to the larger society, it is also important to acknowledge more fully some of elements that set this group apart. When outsiders attacked the Children of Peace they often framed their attacks in sexual terms, charging the group—and especially Willson himself—with licentious behavior. Although Willson and the group denied these charges, the accusations nonetheless

raise important questions about gender relations within the community. For example, the prophetic "visions" that Willson recorded, the iconography of the banners the group carried, and the architecture of their worship strongly suggest that the Children of Peace espoused what J. F. C. Harrison has described as a form of millennial feminism that opened space for women and challenged many of the dominant religious and social assumptions of the age. How did this feminism relate to Quaker traditions? How deeply was it expressed in the life and social structure of the community? And if capitalist economic relations cannot be understood apart from the way power is divided between men and women, how was the interplay between moral and market economies worked out in terms of the relationships between men and women?

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FRANCES SWYRIPA. *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891-1991*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 330. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Frances Swyripa's book can be read as a companion study to Orest T. Martynowych's *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (1991). Whereas Martynowych's work is a comprehensive account of the early years of Ukrainian-Canadian history, Swyripa's interpretive study focuses on one segment of the Ukrainian-Canadian community—women—during its entire century-long history.

Swyripa's work "deals primarily with ideas, specifically those of the 'official' Ukrainian community" (p. ix). In her view, in defining women's relationship to Ukrainian-Canadian concerns, the "official" community, dominated by the perspective and organizations of the nationalist majority, subordinated women's issues to the interest of Ukrainian nationalism. From their inception, according to the author, the Ukrainian-Canadian women's organizations aimed to rally women behind either the nationalist or class struggle, with the ideological publicity of the organizations being the chief link between the elite and the rank and file. Although a vast majority of women never joined any women's organizations, they nevertheless consciously identified with nationalist or class-struggle goals of the competing organizations. Because questions of ethnicity and class have overshadowed questions of "women's rights" during the entire history of Ukrainian-Canadian women, the underlying theme of Swyripa's work are the issues that formed the collective consciousness of Ukrainian Canadians rather than "female" issues (p. 19).

Swyripa first examines the stereotyped characterizations of Ukrainian-Canadian women from the pioneer period through the post-World War II years

held by the various community factions and their organizations, as well as by Anglo Canadians. She then surveys the Ukrainian community's retrospective idealization of the early peasant immigrant woman. In Swyripa's view, the arrival of Ukrainian immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century, during Canada's crucial period of nation-building, generated an important aspect of the Ukrainian Canadian's ethnic consciousness: a feeling of being a "founding people" of Canada (p. 5).

In my opinion, herein lies an important distinction between the impact made by the Ukrainian immigration on Canadian society and that of the earlier Ukrainian immigration on American society. Unlike the Ukrainian immigration in the United States, which was centered in the populous northeast where its influence on American life was minor, the Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, most of whom came from Austria's Galicia, settled in a series of blocks primarily in the unpopulated western prairie lands of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta at the height of Canada's expansion and growth. As homesteaders and laborers in railway, lumbering, and mining industries, they became key participants in the transformation of the Canadian prairies from fur-trading outposts into major grain-producing regions. In essence, the Ukrainian presence was an important factor in Canada's national development.

Swyripa has produced a book of significant worth, particularly because little attention has been given to women in Ukrainian-Canadian histories in the past. Her study is organized around themes and issues, occasionally difficult for me to grasp, rather than the more conventional chronological progression. The book is enhanced by numerous illustrations and extensive notes.

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LATIN AMERICA

RUTH M. VORNEFELD. *Spanische Geldpolitik in Hispanoamerika 1750-1808: Konzepte und Massnahmen im Rahmen der bourbonischen Reformpolitik*. (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, number 102.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1992. Pp. 300. DM 96.

This study of Spain's monetary policy for its American colonies in the late eighteenth century confronts the fact that the reform-minded ministers and enlightened thinkers of Bourbon Spain did not conceive of their policies in monetary terms. Undaunted, Ruth M. Vornefeld identifies tacit monetary policies in the late Bourbon reforms and their often unintended results.

Vornefeld begins by surveying the sources and state of the literature and tracing monetary theory from the sixteenth-century Spanish scholastic school of Salamanca through the eighteenth-century theo-

retical writings. We learn that few Spanish officials had absorbed current physiocratic or classical economic theory, much less developed their own monetary theory in which to frame policies. In another section she sketches the legal and institutional framework, monetary conditions, and the evolution of the money supply prior to 1750.

Vornefeld confirms that the purpose (and result) of Bourbon reform—opening Spanish America to “free trade” with Spanish ports and stimulating mining and precious metal production—was to increase state revenues and better exploit colonial wealth. The Bourbons first brought the several privately run colonial mints under direct royal administration, and the mints’ income began flowing into the royal treasury. The avowed goal of state administration of mints was to provide a uniform silver currency, minted to a high quality that discouraged “clipping” and falsification. Although uniformity of currency was never fully achieved, the crown earned considerable profits from secret debasements of the newly minted silver and gold currencies. Calls from Spanish officials in the Americas for the minting and the broad circulation of small denomination silver or copper coin produced no tangible results, as the conservative regime in Madrid saw no fiscal advantages for Spain in the innovation.

Vornefeld doubts as well that the successful efforts to increase mining and minting output in the latter eighteenth century increased the money supply in New Spain or South America, although her sources do not yield the quantitative data on which to base an estimate. Partial data suggest that the exodus of precious metals from the colonies to pay for the greater stream of imported manufactures from Europe outpaced the increased volume of minting. Spain’s experiment with issuing paper currency, the *vales reales*, also worked to Spanish America’s disadvantage. Beginning in 1805, debtors of ecclesiastical institutions in the colonies were forced to pay off their mortgages at once; the proceeds indemnified holders of the *vales* in Spain. The measure cost the colonial economies an estimated 14 million pesos, and in New Spain alone some 10,000 properties were sold to pay the owners’ debts. Finally, neither the newly founded “banks” that funded mining operations nor the *montes de piedad* that lent small sums to humble folk materially increased the availability of credit or the money supply.

In this well-written volume Vornefeld calls attention to an important and neglected aspect of Spanish American economic history and provides a useful analysis of Bourbon policy. This is a significant contribution in itself, but the paucity of quantitative data hampers her assessment of the effects of the policies. Vornefeld uses the *Gobierno* collection from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville to advantage. Otherwise, she relies mainly on printed sources and the secondary literature. A definitive study must

attend the results of more extensive explorations of archival material in Spain and the Americas.

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EVA ALEXANDRA UCHMANY. *La vida entre el judaísmo y el cristianismo en la Nueva España 1580–1606*. (Sección de obras de historia.) Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación or Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1992. Pp. 477.

In the thirty years since Seymour Liebman published *A Guide to Jewish References in the Mexican Colonial Era, 1521–1821* (1964), the materials he catalogued have not been fully exploited. Several historians, including Eva Alexandra Uchmany, have published articles about particular individuals. Stanley Hordes’s “The Crypto-Jewish Community of New Spain, 1620–1649” provided an able “collective biography” of one mid-seventeenth-century generation, but it is available in dissertation form only.

Uchmany has done what Liebman did not. She has written a magisterial history of the lives of crypto-Jews suspended between Judaism and Christianity in sixteenth-century New Spain. The focus of the book is the family Díaz Nieto, but Uchmany’s research and narrative skill bring to life the entire contemporary world of the *judaizantes* and their inquisitors.

The book divides neatly into two parts. The second consists of the verbatim text of the second criminal trial of Diego Díaz Nieto for judaizing, pieced together from documents in a number of archives and orthographically modernized for ease of comprehension. The first part consists of the author’s narrative of the circumstances surrounding the trial, including the shifting political configurations in Spain, Portugal, and Rome; the conditions imposed on Jews and New Christians at home and abroad; and the way of life followed by these two groups inside and outside prison.

The historical account commences with Don Manuel of Portugal’s edict of 1497 that forced the baptism of all Jews residing in the country. Coerced conversion had multiple effects: it created a class of *novos cristãos* who were not accepted by the majority society, which suspected them of being false Christians, and it forced those who remained true to Judaism to go underground. The policy succeeded in that it retained the talents and the trade connections of the former Jews for the service of Portugal; it backfired in that the majority society closed ranks against the converts, extending earlier hatred of Jews to the newly converted New Christians and creating a multilevel society within which the Holy Office was able to manipulate ancient hatreds in the service of executing its own agenda. Uchmany’s investigation ends with the papal pardon of 1604 (not proclaimed in New Spain until 1606) following which surviving

prisoners were freed (on payment of a "fine" of 2.5 million pesos).

The research represented here is impressive, as is its seamless integration into the narrative. The author, not content with relaying ancient verities, uncovers the reality behind such accepted banalities as the lunacy of Mariana de Carvajal (pp. 92–94), the right of the Holy Office to sequester property at the moment of arrest (p. 133), life under sentence of *cárcel perpetua*, and the fate of *reconciliados* (p. 161). She creates and maintains intellectual distinctions overlooked by other historians, particularly that between genuine converts to Christianity and converts who continued secretly to judaize. Failure to grasp this distinction marred the work of Liebman, who shared with the inquisitors an unwillingness to accept the idea that there could be genuine conversions.

Lavishly produced and illustrated, the volume is a tribute to the awakening consciousness of Mexicans to their problematic history. Fault might be found with the indexes, which are not as complete as could be desired; and with some illustrations, drawn from the imaginings of nineteenth-century artists. But gems are also to be found here: the façade and historical plaque off the *Cárcel Perpetua*, and pages from a sixteenth-century book of devotions, for example. The crypto-Jews themselves left almost no documents; these were burned along with their authors at the *autos de fe*. What we have is the testimony elicited under torture and recorded by scribes who did not always understand what the prisoner was saying. Scattered by the vagaries of history and acquisitive researchers, these archives have been intelligently and intelligibly salvaged by Uchmany, who has added considerable depth to our understanding of Mexican, church, and Jewish history.

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JONATHAN C. BROWN. *Oil and Revolution in Mexico*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 453. \$40.00.

Jonathan C. Brown has jumped into the labyrinth of the Mexican Revolution and the foreign-controlled oil industry. Among the strengths of Brown's book is its treatment of the inner workings of the oil business and the synthesis of archival materials, with autobiographical and secondary literature offered by Edward L. Doheny and Weetman Pearson, the founder of the *Compañía Mexicana del Petróleo*. Brown combines business and political history with a neo-liberal thesis. He presents the picture of a languid Mexican Gulf Coast as symbolic of Mexico before the oil industry arrived and records the frenetic events that followed.

Brown argues that the oil industry, although bringing racially segregated housing and work, also introduced a more fluid and open capitalist society. He

sees Mexico as rigid and racially hierarchical, where a state leviathan governed in the colonial period, "authoritarianism functioned at all levels of society" (p. 76), and corruption was an absolute condition (pp. 70–76). Brown's view of Mexican "rigidity" is the basis for his dissent from other neo-liberals who argue that capitalism will inevitably uplift the underdeveloped world.

The revolution of 1910, rather than a cleansing action, unleashed "moral degeneracy" (p. 210). Brown does not discuss the emphasis of Mexican working-class organizations and the middle sector during the revolution on moral *regeneración*, or the protests against American "corruption." Mexican scholars will be surprised to learn that their society, including the working classes, was at least as racist as the United States. The author does not explain how the "rigidity" and "hierarchical" stratification of the working class merits emphasis over the miscegenation that assimilated a sizeable Afro-Mexican population. Brown mentions North American racism, but says its role was marginal compared to the liberating force of capitalism. The depth of North America's racism as argued by Richard Slotkin and Reginald Horsman does not fit into the author's economically based vision.

Brown notes the grass-roots nature of Mexican nationalism, but he claims that the Venustiano Carranza government was largely responsible for its growth in the oil region, not the workers. He sees the creation of unions at Tampico as derivative, brought on by outsiders, yet he dismisses the influence of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) despite company reports to the contrary, and he stresses the loyalty of workers to the companies. In this context, Brown criticizes Harry Braverman, Raul Prebisch, Immanuel Wallerstein, and "Latin American intellectuals and politicians" for rendering an inaccurate portrait of the effect of foreign capital in the underdeveloped world and the creation of "gray proletarians" (pp. 2, 154, 307). He is wrong in rejecting the Latin Americans' conclusion that the companies sought power and monopoly. The *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Petroleum Industry, Part III* supports their position. In projecting the neo-liberal argument, Brown rejects the notion of the "periphery giving up its wealth," the idea of "power for the few and poverty for the many," or of a world system in which local elites "sold out" and workers were "oppressed" (p. 2).

Brown offers us oil field experiences, daring entrepreneurs, business infighting, and political violence. The readability that he brings to Doheny, Pearson, and the oil business will be valued. There are, however, surprising lacunae in his research. Brown reports that the Texas Oil Company entered Mexico much later than it did and fails to discuss it. The papers of Joseph Cullinan and James Autry record how the directors used affiliate companies to enter Mexico contemporaneously with Doheny and Pear-

son. Another gap is the omission of the critically important Decimal Files 312 and 412 of the U.S. Department of State, which focus on the personal and corporate property interests of Americans in Mexico.

If Brown's strength is the oil business, his depiction of the revolution is less secure. He defends Manuel Pelaez, the military leader who received cash from the companies, from Mexican scholars and political leaders who have pointed to barbarities and alleged treason against him. In rejecting the argument that the companies supported Pelaez, Brown notes their security and satisfaction with "the Carranza Regime" in November 1914. But at that point they were being threatened by the advance of the Villaistas toward El Ebano and the oil zone. The Carranzistas looked beaten, holed up in the port of Veracruz. Finally, Brown describes the rise of populism, but he sees attempts to regulate the foreigners as only a struggle between bureaucrats and entrepreneurs.

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PETER WADE. *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 415. \$58.00.

Studies of Colombia have long ignored the presence of a substantial population of African descent in the nation's make-up. At last, Peter Wade's book, which focuses on the blacks of the Chocó province, brings Colombia into the flourishing field of research on racial identity, discrimination, and ideology in the Western Hemisphere.

Wade attempts to analyze the implications of the Colombian elites' project for *mestizo* nationhood. He argues that the Colombian racial order produces two interdependent "double dynamics": the first one, pertaining to blacks, consists of individual adaptation (both cultural and physical, through marriage to a lighter-skinned person) and autonomy; the second one, pertaining to nonblacks, consists of acceptance of and racism against blacks. To him, the occurrence of one dynamic rather than the other is the result of economic and political relations and, to a lesser extent, of cultural constructions.

Drawing on secondary works and anthropological fieldwork, Wade examines these dynamics as they take place among Chocoanos living in three different social contexts: in the Chocó, the unequivocally "black" region of Colombia; in Unguá, a small town in a frontier area of recent colonization; and in Medellín, the capital of the central, heavily "whitened" Antioquia region. He analyzes the interplay of these dynamics in the domains of politics, marriage, housing, and music.

Wade's book is required reading for students of Colombia and race in the Western Hemisphere. It sheds new light on the debate on race and class and

aptly criticizes the concept of the "mulatto escape hatch" put forward by Carl Degler for Brazil. It further undermines the myth of racial democracy in Latin American societies. Wade's analysis of the regionalization of race in Colombia (chap. 3) is particularly illuminating, as is his innovative and refreshing discussion of "whitening" through marriage (chap. 16).

Yet by situating the Colombian case within the broad hemispheric debate on race, Wade sometimes overlooks some processes specific to Colombia. In particular, the Violencia, the complex civil war that disrupted the country from 1946 to 1964, is only briefly mentioned once despite its links to several social changes examined in the book. Moreover, the regionalization of the Violencia, which was endemic in central (mestizo and white) Colombia but largely spared the Chocó and the Caribbean coast characterized by a population of African descent, puzzled the elites by questioning racial stereotypes and the nation's racial order. No doubt specialists on Colombia would have been interested in an analysis of the concepts of blackness and *mestizaje* in the abundant literature on the Violencia. Also, although Wade is generally sensitive to the issue of class, his chapter "Images of Blackness: The View from Above" tends to omit the fact that in the highly class-stratified Colombian society, several stereotypes he ascribes to blacks also permeate Colombian elite views of lower-class people regardless of race.

Finally, it is regrettable that such an important study was not made more accessible to the general reader. Its length—357 pages of dense text—could have been reduced considerably by eliminating repetitions in several extensive theoretical discussions and in the presentation of the data. The text could have been further reduced by using notes, in particular for the long methodological expositions with autobiographical anecdotes that introduce each chapter.

Despite these minor criticisms, this book is a provocative and innovative contribution to the ongoing debate on blackness and racial democracy in the Americas.

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ANTONIO CUSSEN. *Bello and Bolívar: Poetry and Politics in the Spanish American Revolution*. (Cambridge Studies in Latin American and Iberian Literature, number 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 208.

Antonio Cussen's book originated as a doctoral dissertation, "Andrés Bello and Spanish American Independence" (1986), and the dissertation's title is the more accurate. Andrés Bello (1781–1865) spent his first twenty-nine years in his native Caracas as an up-and-coming royal bureaucrat of great promise

and enormous intellectual talent. The revolt against Spain brought him to London in 1810, where he remained until 1829, when he began his long service on behalf of Chile, which only ended with his death. Bello's contributions to Chile alone would have assured him lasting honor. He created and directed its first university, taught generations of Chileans (and other Spanish Americans) correct Spanish grammatical usage through his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1847), and wrote treatises on aspects of Spanish linguistics and literary history. Through his *Principios de Derecho Internacional* (1844 and later), he was also the founder of Latin American international law, and he was the creator of Chile's *Código Civil* (1852), again a model for other Spanish American republics. This is but a bare-bones listing of some of this polymath's accomplishments: he also explored philosophy, wrote history, was a journalist, an editor, and a poet.

Bello's contribution to Spanish American culture in the early republic period has spawned a large body of scholarship, at first in Chile, then in Venezuela, Colombia, Spain, Britain, and, most recently, in the United States. Cussen enters this well-ploughed field attempting to use Bello's verse as a key to explaining the educator's perceptions of Simón Bolívar and, through Bolívar, of the larger Spanish American independence struggle. This period covers the years 1810–1829, during which the independence movement saw its gestation, maturity, and triumph. Those years he spent in London were perilous for Bello: he was frequently without money and hard-pressed to make ends meet for his growing family. His personal insecurity may have reinforced Bello's fondness for Roman poetic models in his verse, and Cussen provides numerous examples from Bello's London poetic corpus to buttress this thesis. Bello's poetic voice is seen as Augustan, and the author deftly and convincingly expounds that contention.

One can, however, question Cussen's grasp of the historical dimensions of the late colonial and independence periods of South America. The highly charged impressionistic generalizations that (unfortunately) have marred so much of Spanish American historical writing about this period are echoed in Cussen's book. There is little new for the historian here, as far as the narrative of events is concerned, but Cussen's efforts do reveal further facets of Bello's poetic evolution, which, taken with his other written corpus, enlarge our understanding of that great humanist.

That a work about Bello, the Europeanizer of early republican Spanish America, has its dust jacket graced by a Quetzalcoat design from pre-conquest Mexico might well strike some as incongruous.

J. LEÓN HELGUERA
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HERBERT S. KLEIN. *Haciendas and Ayllus: Rural Society in the Bolivian Andes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth*

Centuries. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 230. \$39.50.

Over the past thirty years or so, a large number of researchers from Europe, the United States, and, more recently, from Latin America itself have worked to describe and explain the long-term development of rural economy, society, and politics. This modern academic interest in the Latin American countryside coincided with the U.S. State Department's belief, in the years following the Cuban revolution, that "agrarian reform" was necessary to undercut the enthusiasm that Marxist cadres were thought to have for rural insurrection. Thus was created the need for study and analysis, the consequent establishment of area studies programs (which meant the reinvention of "Latin America"), all fueled by abundant grants for research on rural history. At the same time, other scholars were drawn to the study of landowners, slaves, and peasants in order to lay bare the mechanisms of colonial domination and oppression. This activity has now slackened, as the present generation of Latin Americanists follows, somewhat belatedly, the fashion of discourse analysis and cultural studies.

All of this varied research on rural history has served to modify the previously unexamined notion that Latin America was a land of languid, baronial estates—romantic or repugnant according to one's politics—and picturesque, timeless Indian peasants. Now everyone agrees that *hacendados* across the board were keen for profit and that "peasants" were not a quaint, uniform rural people but rather a variegated lot that included prosperous village entrepreneurs, various categories of hacienda workers, and ordinary peons. And, it turns out, there were women as well as men. Peasants as well as landlords participated in local and regional markets and learned to defend themselves through the courts and insurrection. Herbert S. Klein's new book adds much quantitative material drawn from unpublished colonial and republican censuses to this picture.

As the foremost American scholar of Bolivia—his recent one-volume history of the country (*Bolivia* [1992]) is completely satisfying—and the author of seemingly countless books and articles on other Latin American subjects, Klein brings context and insight to this specialized monograph on Bolivian rural society. We are given a detailed statistical picture of the landowning class at the end of the Spanish colonial regime and again in the 1880s, as well as a close-in, chapter-long account of a single *hacendado* and his enterprise. The peasantry is disaggregated into the three categories of villagers, hacienda workers, and "outsiders," or *forasteros*, and their changing fortune is analyzed as a function of market demand and demographic change.

Klein believes his analysis points to a number of important conclusions. Colonial as well as modern landowners, he writes, were motivated by economic return "rather than for any special social status that

landownership might confer" (p. 161). This is an ancient debate in the field that goes back to the "feudal-capitalist" wrangle of the 1960s and obscures the fact that colonial landowners as well as modern industrialists want both. Even such a cold-eyed capitalist as Lee Iacocca fell over himself to buy status in a Grosse Pointe house and absolutely cherished his key to the executive bathroom.

The *hacendado* whom Klein singles out and presents as an exemplary entrepreneur in fact calls into question the argument that landowners were entirely devoted to profit maximizing. Don Tadeo Diez de Medina held fifteen estates with some 1,500 resident workers by the end of the eighteenth century. Yet 95 percent of his rural revenue came from only three small, fully commercial estates in the subtropical valleys to the east. The cash crop, profitable then as now, was the coca leaf. The other twelve estates, scattered across the *altiplano*, with a total of 1,100 workers, produced an annual yield of only 650 pesos; hardly, it would seem, a rational investment in the conventional sense. The detail on the Diez de Medina estates raises another question. In his profile of the late-colonial landowning class, Klein writes that because he has no general information on acreage, crop production, or monetary worth, the number of resident workers (or *yanacunas*) can stand as a proxy for wealth and size of estates. Yet among the private records of the Diez de Medina holdings where monetary value is available, one hacienda worth \$65,000 has 184 residents, while another valued at only \$10,140 has far more, at 229.

Klein's "fundamental finding" is that the Indian peasant communities "successfully responded to the market economy in a number of ways" (pp. 162, 112-32). This is now widely accepted, but one can argue over degree. Even so, the absence of price and production figures means that market participation in this study can only be inferred through indirect census data rather than clearly demonstrated.

It is true, as Klein claims, that he has given us the most complete statistical profile of landowners and peasants presently available for any Latin American country. This is accompanied by shrewd insight and intelligent speculation. Yet when he squares off against his imagined proponents of "feudalism," "peonage," and the "closed peasant community," he wrestles where none contendeth.

The dogs bark and the caravan moves on; in his book Klein chooses to stay behind to gather valuable new evidence on older questions rather than strike into the historiographical unknown.

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JEFFREY KLAIBER. *The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821-1985: A Social History*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 417. \$49.95.

The Catholic church was a key element in the conquest society that the Spanish imposed on Peru in the sixteenth century, and the depth of the church's roots can be measured by the fact that it had official status until the adoption of the 1979 constitution. Jeffrey Klaiber sees Peruvian identity as resulting from an evangelization that provided the first common symbol shared by all the cultures and social groups of the Andean country.

His book is the first general history of the Peruvian church covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He begins with an overview of the colonial church's characteristics that influenced later history and then analyzes its evolution from independence to Pope John Paul II's visit in 1985. The book is social history in that it emphasizes the active and changing relationship between the institutional church and society, with special attention to the association between the church and the popular classes. Klaiber discusses past tendencies and movements that were important for the church's passage into the era of the Second Vatican Council and the Latin American bishops' conferences at Medellín (1968) and Puebla (1979).

As elsewhere in Latin America, the church's protected and privileged colonial status did not prepare it for the trials of independence. To be Peruvian was to be Catholic, but by birth and not by "a personally internalized conviction" (p. 361). The kind of militancy found in post-Reformation Europe was absent. The determined effort to create a "militant church" beginning in the 1850s was handicapped by the chronic shortage of priests due to a social system and the church's Western European culture that kept Indians out of the seminaries.

The challenge of the twentieth century, and certainly of the post-Medellín era, was to turn popular religiosity, with its devotions drawn from Catholicism yet devoid of theological content, into an ecclesiastical faith. That goal, as Klaiber notes, motivates the writing of Peruvian Gustavo Gutiérrez, whose book, *A Theology of Liberation* (1971), pointed the way to a just society by way of "liberation" from unjust social and economic structures, and by helping the oppressed assume control of their own destinies. The shift of the church from its nineteenth-century defensive mentality, which saw itself as the bulwark of tradition and conservatism rooted in the Europeanized upper and middle classes, to what Klaiber terms the "social-pastoral church" seeking to root itself in the religious but unchurched masses, is the major focus of the last two enlightening and stimulating chapters.

The book is based on extensive research in Peruvian church archives, newspapers, and research centers, as well as on numerous interviews with members of religious orders and key actors in the story he is telling. Moreover, since 1963 Klaiber has been a participant-observer in the historical process he analyzed. This is an excellent book that should be read by

all those interested in Latin America and/or the comparative history of religion.

FRANK D. McCANN
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ALFONSO W. QUIROZ. *Domestic and Foreign Finance in Modern Peru, 1850–1950: Financing Visions of Development*. (Pitt Latin America Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 297. \$39.95.

This book is more than a meticulous study of the development of Peru's formal and informal institutions of private capitalist finance. Its larger aim is to describe and document the formation of the country's former agro-export/financial elite, the "oligarchy." In so doing it fills a major gap in Peruvian historiography; for despite general acknowledgment that finance was one of the oligarchy's mainstays, previous works have concentrated almost exclusively on its agro-export activities.

The conventional view, embodied, for example, in François Bourricaud's well-known writings of the late 1960s, held that the oligarchy was far more interested in acquiring and monopolizing the control of wealth created by others than in risky entrepreneurial endeavors. Having captured the state during the early years of this century, it used its monopoly of political and economic power to put down revolutionary challenges from the urban middle class and to impose a "liberal" development model heavily reliant on foreign investment, which threatened its dominance less than a growing, increasingly diverse national bourgeoisie would have done.

Quiroz's position is revisionist, but his revisionism is partial and nuanced. He starts from the realization that in countries where capitalist industrialization became entrenched early on, "financial revolutions" limited the state's discretion in fiscal and monetary matters, promoted private confidence in the management of the currency and public debt, and cleared the way for the rise of national capital markets. Once their ability to accumulate and invest capital had been secured by these institutional developments and legitimized by a liberal state, capitalists were able to accommodate to a gradual widening of the social bases of the economic and political order. Peru, however, inherited a Spanish imperial-absolutist political tradition that regarded expropriation, overborrowing, and default as acceptable ways of meeting the state's fiscal crises. Attempting to protect itself against such depredations, private finance "became selfish, highly informal as opposed to institutional, and bitterly opposed to taxation or to any form of income distribution that might interfere with its own strategies for accumulation and diversification" (p. 7).

The resulting absence of economic collaboration between the state and the capitalist elite weakened both and facilitated foreign penetration. The infor-

mal organization of private finance around *grupos financieros*, whose members were linked by family ties, common values, and a common socioeconomic outlook, kept the elite small and inbred. Yet the oligarchy, Quiroz shows, was entrepreneurial, and its activities did produce growth, industrialization, and economic diversification, particularly during the period 1900–40. Its development strategies, to be sure, were less than fully successful, inasmuch as they were limited by the prevailing doctrines of a time when the unique problems facing late-industrializing countries had scarcely been defined. Nonetheless, "Peruvian elite groups demonstrated distinguishable managerial and financial abilities in their capitalist quests" (p. 94). And although "Peruvian national integration did not overcome regional inequalities the way the modernizing European states did in the nineteenth century," the elite deserves credit for the fact that "regional development in Peru overcame regional isolation, separation and dismemberment" (p. 119).

Peruvianists now have in hand an important supplement and corrective to Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram's magisterial study of economic development, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (1978). Although Quiroz neither addresses Peru's poverty and inequality nor explains the ineffectiveness of its political institutions, he has greatly facilitated the efforts of others who hope to do so. His book should be read by anyone interested in the prewar development of Latin American capitalism.

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ROBERT M. LEVINE. *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893–1897*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 353. \$45.00.

Robert M. Levine leaves no stone unturned in his search for evidence about Antônio Conselheiro's holy city and its social context, arguing that Canudos threatened above all the labor supply of local landowners and that the state government began its campaign against the settlement primarily for this reason. Levine shows how the use of official force against the settlement escalated as a consequence of attempts by the state and federal governments to escape the embarrassment of repeated defeats at the hands of people portrayed in the press as racially degenerate fanatics. In this book, however, the founders of Canudos are not fanatics at all, but rather ordinary people, products of their time and place, whose only contribution to the holocaust that consumed perhaps 15,000 lives was their resolute resistance to government attack.

Levine has done extensive, versatile research for this book. This could be no narrow excavation of a fat cache of archival documentation, for none exists. In addition to the available archives, Levine combed a

huge variety of published and unpublished materials and roamed Brazil collecting information. As a result, his study has a panoramic breadth of view, and its wealth of detail is deployed usefully and enjoyably over a wide variety of topics. The book surveys the local, state, and national settings, provides a quick tour of social relations in different Brazilian regions, and narrates the holy city's explosive growth and fiery destruction. Obviously, this is a book that many will want to read, and scholars in a variety of fields will find much of interest.

Still, Levine's impressive research and important message deserve a more carefully crafted book. Most of the rich detail in this volume is never harnessed systematically to the interpretation, which emerges instead through a gradual accretion of partially tangential information. Most chapters lack effective internal organization. For example, the section title "The Conflict" subdivides a chapter also entitled "The Conflict," and the rubric "Culture of Silence" introduces a section in which that subject hardly arises. Many paragraphs lack topic sentences and "segue" into one another following the logic of the moment more than any clear, larger plan. In addition, the use of footnotes is frequently confusing, and some paragraphs containing specific information have no clear citation (see, for example, pp. 116–18).

These difficulties notwithstanding, the chapters on

the national context, the sertão, the creation of the holy city, and the government's campaign against it accomplish their purpose. Once we are persuaded that Conselheiro was an unexceptional figure in backlands society and that his followers were responding to pervasive social pressures, however, we need a good explanation of the specificity of Canudos. Why were there not hundreds of such communities in the sertão? Neither the chapter on "Conselheiro's Vision" nor the long conclusion convincingly explains why people flocked around this particular soft-spoken and theologically unadventurous holy man. Instead, the final chapters continue the emphasis on "The Larger Context," chronicle "Analysis by Others," survey various millenarian movements in Brazilian history (without making any comparative reference to them), and conclude (amid a number of rather unhelpful theoretical flourishes) that the people of Canudos were "Defensive Reactors," leaving the riddle of Conselheiro's power mostly unsolved. One suspects that Conselheiro's two handwritten collections of commentaries, prayers, and homilies must offer more insights in this regard than could possibly fit in the single brief paragraph Levine devotes to an analysis of these texts.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

DAVID COPP *et al.*, editors. *The Idea of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 449. \$59.95.

STEPHEN HOLMES, Tocqueville and Democracy. DEBRA SATZ, Tocqueville, Commerce, and Democracy. DAVID ESTLUND, Making Truth Safe for Democracy. DAVID COPP, Could Political Truth be a Hazard for Democracy? RICHARD J. ARNESON, Democratic Rights at National and Workplace Levels. ROBERT SUGDEN, Justified to Whom? RUSSELL HARDIN, Public Choice versus Democracy. THOMAS CHRISTIANO, Social Choice and Democracy. CASS R. SUNSTEIN, Democracy and Shifting Preferences. JOHN FEREJOHN, Must Preferences Be Respected in a Democracy? JOHN RAWLS, The Domain of the Political and Overlapping Consensus. JOSHUA COHEN, Moral Pluralism and Political Consensus. JEAN HAMPTON, The Moral Commitments of Liberalism. DAVID GAUTHIER, Constituting Democracy. CHRISTOPHER W. MORRIS, On Contractarian Constitutional Democracy. JOHN E. ROEMER, The Possibility of Market Socialism. MICHAEL S. MCPHERSON, Alternative Conceptions of Feasibility. SAMUEL BOWLES and HERBERT GINTIS, A Political and Economic Case for the Democratic Enterprise. KARL OVE MOENE, Contested Power. JOHN D. STEPHENS, Capitalist Development and Democracy: Empirical Research on the Social Origins of Democracy. PRANAB BARDHAN, Comments on John D. Stephens, "Capitalist Development and Democracy."

DOUGLAS GREENBERG *et al.*, editors. *Constitutionalism and Democracy: Transitions in the Contemporary World*. (The American Council of Learned Societies Comparative Constitutionalism Papers.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 391. \$55.00.

WALTER F. MURPHY, Constitutions, Constitutionalism, and Democracy. NEVIL JOHNSON, Constitutionalism in Europe since 1945: Reconstruction and Reappraisal. CARLOS SANTIAGO NINO, Transition to Democracy, Corporatism, and Presidentialism with Special Reference to Latin America. H. W. O. OKOTH-OGENDO, Constitutions without Constitutionalism: Reflections on an African Political Paradox. HUGO E. FRÜHLING, Human Rights in Constitutional Order and in

Political Practice in Latin America. ABDULLAH AN-NA'IM, The National Question, Secession, and Constitutionalism: The Mediation of Competing Claims to Self-Determination. LUDGER KÜHNHARDT, European Courts and Human Rights. DANIEL S. LEV, Social Movements, Constitutionalism, and Human Rights: Comments from the Malaysian and Indonesian Experiences. RADHIKA COOMERASWAMY, Uses and Usurpation of Constitutional Ideology. MAHMOOD MAMDANI, Social Movements and Constitutionalism: The African Context. YASH GHAI, The Theory of the State in the Third World and the Problematics of Constitutionalism. TAPAN RAYCHAUDHURI, Constitutionalism and the Nationalist Discourse: The Indian Experience. EBOE HUTCHFUL, Reconstructing Political Space: Militarism and Constitutionalism in Africa. JUAN RIAL, Providing for the Common Defense: What Latin American Constitutions Have to Say about the Region's Armed Forces. JOSEPH H. H. WEILER, Parliamentary Democracy in Europe 1992: Tentative Questions and Answers. JON ELSTER, The Necessity and Impossibility of Simultaneous Economic and Political Reform. KLAUS VON BEYME, Parliamentary Crisis and How to Strengthen Democracy. JORDI SOLÉ TURA, Iberian Case Study: The Constitutionalism of Democratization. LENA KOLARSKA-BOBINSKA, The Role of the State: Contradictions in the Transition to Democracy. WIKTOR OSIATYNSKI, Perspectives on the Current Constitutional Situation in Poland. ANDRÁS SAJÓ and VERA LOSONCI, Rule by Law in East Central Europe: Is the Emperor's New Suit a Straightjacket? ATILIO A. BORÓN, Latin America: Constitutionalism and the Political Traditions of Liberalism and Socialism. JULIO FAUNDEZ, Constitutionalism: A Timely Revival. NEELAN TIRUGHELVAM, The Crisis of Constitutionalism: South Asian Perspectives. SAMUEL C. NOLUTSHUNGU, Constitutionalism in Africa: Some Conclusions.

JEFFREY N. COX and LARRY J. REYNOLDS, editors. *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 337. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$14.95.

JEFFREY N. COX and LARRY J. REYNOLDS, The Historicist Enterprise. RALPH COHEN, Generating Literary Histories. KATHERINE O'BRIEN O'KEEFE, Texts and Works: Some Historical Questions on the Editing of Old English Verse. LEE PATTERSON, Making Identities in Fifteenth-Century England: Henry V and John Lydgate. STEPHEN GREENBLATT, Shakespeare Bewitched. MARGARET J. M. EZELL, Re-visioning the Restoration: Or, How to Stop Obscuring Early Women Writers. JANET E. AIKINS, Re-presenting the Body in *Pamela II*. TERENCE ALLAN HOAGWOOD, Fictions and Free-

dom: Wordsworth and the Ideology of Romanticism. JEROME J. MCGANN, Beyond the Valley of Production, or, *De factorum natura*: A Dialogue. LAWRENCE BUELL, Literary History as a Hybrid Genre. MICHAEL ROGIN, Blackface, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice. HORTENSE J. SPILLERS, Black, White, and in Color, or Learning How to Paint: Toward an Intramural Protocol of Reading. ROBERT D. NEWMAN, Exiling History: Hysterical Transgression in Historical Narrative. EDWARD W. SAID, Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations.

ELLEN MESSER-DAVIDOW *et al.*, editors. *Knowledges: Historical and Critical Studies in Disciplinarity*. (Knowledge: Disciplinarity and Beyond.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1993. Pp. viii, 466. Cloth \$67.50, paper \$19.95.

ELLEN MESSER-DAVIDOW, DAVID R. SHUMWAY, and DAVID J. SYLVAN, Introduction: Disciplinary Ways of Knowing. KEITH W. HOSKIN and RICHARD H. MACVE, Accounting as Discipline: The Overlooked Supplement. EVELYN FOX KELLER, Fractured Images of Science, Language, and Power: A Postmodern Optic or Just Bad Eyesight? TIMOTHY LENOIR, The Discipline of Nature and the Nature of Disciplines. ANDREW PICKERING, Anti-Discipline or Narratives of Illusion. STEVE FULLER, Disciplinary Boundaries and the Rhetoric of the Social Sciences. JACK AMARIGLIO *et al.*, Division and Difference in the "Discipline" of Economics. JULIE THOMPSON KLEIN, Blurring, Cracking, and Crossing: Permeation and the Fracturing of Discipline. DONALD PREZIOSI, Seeing through Art History. DAVID ARMSTRONG, The Medical Division of Labor. V. SPIKE PETERSON, Disciplining Practiced/Practices: Gendered States and Politics. KEITH W. HOSKIN, Education and the Genesis of Disciplinarity: The Unexpected Reversal. JAMES J. SOSNOSKI, Examining Exams. GREG MYERS, The Social Construction of Two Biologists' Articles. ERIC LIVINGSTON, The Disciplinarity of Knowledge at the Mathematics-Physics Interface. ED COHEN, Are We (Not) What Were Are Becoming? Gay "Identity," "Gay Studies," and the Disciplining of Knowledge. DAVID KENNEDY, Spring Break.

EUGENIO GUCCIONE, editor. *Strumenti, didattici, e orientamenti metodologici per la storia del pensiero politico*. (Il pensiero politico, Biblioteca, number 17; Atti del Seminario internazionale, 1991.) Florence: Olschki. 1992. Pp. xiii, 296. L. 52,000.

ANGELO CAPITUMMINO, Discorso d'apertura del seminario. SALVO MASTELLONE, Per una storia del pensiero politico europeo. ETTORE A. ALBERTONI, Una storia delle dottrine politiche in Italia. GIAN MARIO BRAVO, Una storia del pensiero politico contemporaneo. VITTOR IVO COMPARATO, Una storia dei modelli politici. GIORGIO NEGRELLI, Il pensiero politico in un manuale di storia. NICOLA MATTEUCCI, Una storiografia senza frontiere. ANTONIO ALVAREZ DE MORALES, La metodologia de los "manuales" del Profesor Mastellone. FÉLIX ORTEGA, "Il Pensiero Politico": Orientaciones teoricas y utilidad sociologica. GIUSEPPE ANTONIO ARENA, Brevi considerazioni sul metodo e l'oggetto della storia delle dottrine politiche. JAVIER FERNANDEZ SEBASTIAN, Metodologia e ricerca nella storia del pensiero politico: Qualche riflessione intorno al dibattito Skinner. CORRADO MALANDRINO, Tra "pensiero-discorso" e "nuovo retorica": Un metodo e un possibile risultato per la storia del pensiero politico. JOSÉ

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-war Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence" [AHR, 98 (October 1993): 1017-49], J. Arch Getty and Gábor T. Rittersporn have in effect extended and commented on figures Viktor Zemskov has published over the past few years. There is little here that is new, for these tables have of course been known for some time to, and considered by, a number of Western and Russian scholars, whose general conclusion is that their gross totals per annum may well be correct, but they are certainly incomplete in important ways. In fact, as has been pointed out, full information cannot be deduced from them: such assessments (by, for example, E. Bacon in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, nos. 2-3, 1992) are here simply not taken into account.

Getty and Rittersporn emerge as more moderate and more responsible than in their previous writings on Stalinism. Their (not wholly accurate) table of excessive figures by myself and others might indeed have included Getty's own estimate (1985) that Stalin killed "thousands" and imprisoned "many thousands"—an underestimate by a factor of several thousand being surely more striking than a supposed overestimate by a factor of five or six! And there are others, not quite so minimalist, that are also illustrative: Jerry Hough's, for example.

This table does indeed genuinely indicate one exaggeration made earlier: this was our acceptance of a figure of *circa* 5 million in NKVD custody at the beginning of 1937, a fairly rough guess, perhaps deriving from registration figures into which, the 1937 Census Board complained, the NKVD had

omitted to report 1 to 1.5 million dead in custody. A correction of some 2 to 2.5 million on our gross totals over the 1937-1938 period is thus needed (in fact, I have long since made it—*Soviet Studies*, no. 5, 1991). Not unimportant but also not much affecting the substantial "high" figure: our estimate for arrests in 1937-1938. (And while the "table" quotes me for an estimate of 12 million in camps etc. in 1952, in fact I merely refer to it as a figure "now given in Moscow." The real total of GULAG and labor settlements was in fact 5 million; and the Moscow figure includes the perhaps 3 to 4 million prisoners of war and exiles in general.)

On a crucial point, though, the table truly shows major gaps in your contributors' reasoning. Roy Medvedev's and my figures were indeed outsiders' "estimates," but the application of this term to those of Olga Shatunovskaia and Dmitri Volkogonov is untenable. Shatunovskaia was a member of the Party Control Commission and, in that capacity, of Khrushchev's Rehabilitation Commission, and reports her high figures as those then given to the Politburo by the KGB (these figures are, moreover, independently supported by others, including Sergo Mikoyan, who obtained them in his Politburo father's papers). That is, they are from a responsible official, on a documentary basis. It is possible to argue that, for example, the dates are misplaced (the table, in fact, in any case mistates these), but simple dismissal is excluded. Similarly, Dmitri Volkogonov was head of Moscow's governmental commission on rehabilitation and also bases his conclusions on documents—he has lately noted that these include *not* merely NKVD archives but also other material (including Stalin's own archive). He has also advanced a figure not quoted in your article, "from 1929 to 1953 . . . 21.5 million people were repressed. Of these a third were shot, the rest sentenced to imprisonment, where many also died" (*Kuranty*, May 9, 1991). In this connection, your contributors might also have cited Colonel Nikolai Grashoven, head of the Russian Security Ministry's own rehabilitation team, who similarly tells us that between 1935 and 1945, 18 million were arrested and 7 million shot (*Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe Press Report*, vol. 1, no. 18, May 1, 1992).

From their title, your contributors' main concern is

with the pre-war purges. Here they cite in their table as excessive my own early estimate of 7 million arrests in 1937–1938, mentioned above. The evidence for a figure in this general range was good. Such a total is also suggested by the provincial archives of Kursk (*Agitator*, no. 18, 1988), which proportionately imply just over 4 million arrests in 1934–1937—that is, with 1938 still to come. Volkogonov, more recently than his estimate in your article, and again on the basis of NKVD and other documents, writes (*Trotskii*, vol. 2, p. 323) of 5 to 5.5 million repressed “in 1937 (incomplete) to 1939, of whom a third were shot”—that is to say, 1.75 million executions (*higher* than my figure). A security general, recently giving a lower figure (of 3.5 million) over a shorter period than cited above for executions as a whole, also says that half of these took place in 1937–1938 (General A. Karbainov, quoted in *Report on the USSR*, vol. 2, no. 18, May 1990). Generally speaking, over the whole period, Western “high” estimates overestimated camp populations partly because we underestimated executions and other deaths. In part, this may be because under the NKVD’s system of double bookkeeping, most executions were officially communicated to relatives as “ten years without the right of correspondence.”

In addition, it is worth noting that many executions took place without even the minimal forms of the NKVD troikas. Even individuals as important as the deputy head of GULAG, two army commissars, two former members of the Central Committee, and the deputy chairman of the NKVD are now listed as shot by administrative decision. Others died under interrogation, such as Marshal Bliukher, various Georgians, and others. Others were simply murdered in their offices, such as the Armenian first secretary, or in the streets, as was the leading Yiddish actor manager, Solomon Mikhoels.

A key figure for the crucial period not given by Zemskov and his sponsors is of the number in prison in 1937–1938. They note, indeed (of Turkmenistan), that there was an unprecedentedly large intake. There are in fact scores of accounts of overcrowding by from six to sixteen or more times the cells’ capacities and, in addition, of the taking over of children’s homes, transport garages, barges, and so on, and even the construction of roofed pits to cope with the intake. If my (possibly too low) estimate of about 1 million as an average in jail over most of 1937 and 1938 is correct, and the average time spent there—as reported—was about three months, we have *circa* 6 million to account for.

A further major note on 1937–1938 is the particularly refractory problem of the 1939 census. The figures published at the time, of 170 million plus, though credited by “revisionists” until quite recently, are now known to be about 3 million higher than those sent in by the Census Board. However, this does not mean that even the census figure (of *circa* 167 million plus) is veridical. The previous Census Board, of 1937, had been shot (and their census suppressed)

for having, as a “serpents’ nest of spies,” worked to lower the population; there was therefore a strong incentive for their successors to procure results as high as was feasible. We have evidence from one *krai* that double counting was implicitly encouraged, to the degree of 3 to 3.5 percent. At any rate, the 167 million figure cannot be relied on.

If taken in proper perspective, the Zemskov *et al.* GULAG grand totals are not incompatible with the Shatunovskaia-Volkogonov-Grashoven figures just discussed. After all, they record around 19 million entries into GULAG camps from other places of detention, and the figure for labor colonies, though not directly deducible, seems to run to another 4 or 5 million.

But important reservations remain. First, GULAG did not cover the whole penal system—as can be seen in this very article from the millions listed as entering it from, or leaving it for, other “NKVD camps.” Some 4.5 million leave in this manner. It has been suggested (Bacon above) that these movements were, in general, to camps of the First Special Department of the NKVD: that is, execution camps.

Nor should we merely accept the various subcategorizations such as “escaped” or “freed.” Robert Davies and Stephen Wheatcroft (both very restrained on such issues), in their forthcoming work on Soviet population, note that “escape” from NKVD “settlements” may well be a euphemism for death. More definitely, Volkogonov (*Trotskii*, vol. 2, p. 371 n) quotes a document given the Politburo by then MVD chief Kruglov in March 1947 on camp statistics, with one category “losses through discharge,” and he states that this in fact meant “deaths” (100,000 in the first quarter of 1947).

The other set of figures quoted in the article is that given by Kruglov to the Politburo on another occasion of the total sentenced to imprisonment or to death over the whole postrevolutionary period (this latter even appearing in your table in “documented”). The head of the Archival Administration of the Security Ministry, Major-General Anatolii Kraiushkin, stated clearly (*Rossiiskaia gazeta*, April 17, 1993: 13) of these figures that they were only “true” under the most limited definition, and the real figures were “far bigger.”

General Kraiushkin also notes that the word “political” of an offense or offender is used far too formally. Even in Cheka times, the police were instructed to arrest Mensheviks and others as “speculators, counter-revolutionaries, persons misusing their authority,” etc. In 1937, too, the categories are to some extent random, although those charged under the “political” rubric were less likely to survive and go to camp. Again, Kraiushkin implies that the charge “Wife of an Enemy of the People,” a large category, did not formally count as “political.” In fact, the whole operation was more random than the tables imply.

There are other matters on which your contribu-

tors lay themselves open to criticism: their treatment of "exile," for example—a major matter when one recalls that this was the main penalty inflicted on Lenin, Stalin, and others in tyrannical tsarist times. It appears to have been common as a sentence in the early and mid-1930s, but thereafter mainly in that most sentences to imprisonment were to eight, ten, or twenty years' imprisonment "followed by five years exile," so that survivors of GULAG mostly became exiles. Exiles under penal control were in most cases ill paid, given menial work, treated as criminals. This on a mass scale is yet to be properly investigated.

In general, the material presented in the article is of interest and a partial contribution to our knowledge. But there is much to consider outside the contributors' limited documentation, and their work does not warrant the claims implied.

ROBERT CONQUEST

Hoover Institution on War, Peace and Revolution

THE AUTHORS REPLY:

Robert Conquest's remarks signal an acceptance of some of the new evidence and an attempt on his part to discover numerous additional prisoners and places of detention and execution outside our documentation. Although Conquest is not familiar with the Soviet-era archival sources in question (which has not prevented him from lecturing the field on their proper uses in this and other forums), he has presented a familiar menu of press articles with sensational assertions from unverifiable sources. We would be glad to see a single exact citation from such sources, whose nature we apparently should trust because a small number of post-Soviet officials claim to have seen them. Nothing should prevent the Russian government from putting such data—if they exist—at the disposal of researchers. Still, the only precise figures quoted from archives that are still secret are in the range of what we have established on victims of political repression in the Soviet sense of the term (see *Izvestiia*, August 3, 1992; *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, April 13, 1993). Similarly, the number of people sentenced in cases initiated or investigated by the secret police that are quoted from closed archives of post-Soviet security agencies is exactly the same as that we found in the archives and reproduced in our article (*Istochnik*, no. 4 [1993]: 62).

We can say little about supposedly concealed places of detention or execution not counted in our sources, especially in the proportions Conquest proposes, except to advise him to study the documents in question. Thus, for instance, he would discover immediately that the administration he believes operated mysterious "execution camps," the First Special Department of the NKVD/MVD, actually dealt directly with accounting; most of the reports we cited came from there. In the same way, the provenance and texts of these documents make it highly unlikely that the NKVD would have concealed executed exiles

under the category of escapees. Aside from the fact that it compiled reports for its own and the Kremlin's use and not for the public, it was itself responsible for capturing and returning escapees, and such a system of accounting based on lying to itself would make this work impossible.

One must seriously doubt Conquest's interpretation of the data when he notices that Shatunovskaia, Volkogonov, and Grashoven refer to different dates in their estimates but misses the fact that if any one of them is correct, then we must inevitably dismiss the others. Their estimates, which Conquest presents as a unified revelation, are manifestly incompatible with one another.

Conquest cites post-Soviet writers who had access to Stalin's own archive and who claim to have found there material on the scale of repression in documents other than those of the NKVD. But it was the NKVD that was in charge of penal repression (and of accounting for it), and it would be interesting to know which agencies might produce more reliable data for Stalin. Sadly but predictably, we are not told. It is similarly curious that Conquest relies on Volkogonov for the assertion that there were camps not controlled by the NKVD, since Volkogonov quotes word for word a document showing that the so-called special camps were under the control of the security agencies whose records we used. (See Dmitri Volkogonov, *Trotskii*, vol. 2 [Moscow, 1992], 204. For the fact that the populations of such camps were indeed included in the GULAG materials we used, see State Archive of the Russian Federation [GARF], f. 9414, op. 1, d. 1319, ll. 1–20). Conquest's search for hidden camps is not supported by a shred of evidence.

His quest for hidden inmates is also impossible to document. The relevant archival materials (in GARF, f. 9414, op. 1) make it crystal clear that people entering and leaving the GULAG system, on whom Conquest depends so much as inmates of phantom camps, were simply being transferred to labor colonies or work sites (and back) and are thus included within our totals. These documents, which were kept secret for so many years, were not compiled to satisfy the curiosity of historians or to confuse them decades later. They were not prepared by secret police officials for the purpose of lying to themselves or deceiving Stalin and the Kremlin leadership. They were not deliberately made incomplete. They were written to keep track of a penal population whose precise size had to be known if it were to be transported, housed, fed, encircled by precise amounts of barbed wire and guarded by exact numbers of security troops. Invoices and accounting documents on all these questions are among the sources we used, and it is a desperate and silly conjecture to imagine that their compilers sought to hide data from themselves.

Historians study primary sources in order to make their understanding of the past as independent as possible from collective representations of their own times. Although the unsubstantiated press statements

Conquest cites reveal a lot about the imagery today's Russian citizens have of their own country's past, they constitute sources on the history of mentalities and indicate nothing about penal repression in the USSR beyond its impact on people's minds. Times are changing, but the nature of Conquest's sources and the way he employs them make him a prisoner of the self-image of the society he seeks to describe. Indeed, one scholar has recently shown how Conquest's discourse incorporates essential elements of Soviet official mythology (Dina Khapaeva, "La mythologie commune des Soviétiques et des soviétologues," *Revue des études slaves*, no. 4 [1993]: 707–14).

It is astonishing that at the moment when we finally have massive internal documentation—more detailed than anything the Nazis left—scholars would continue to speculate on alternative realities and not occupy themselves with the existing voluminous records. Specialists of the French Revolution waste little time arguing with writers who limit themselves to quoting what respectable politicians and journalists pretend to know about the subject. It is testimony to the sad state of their trade that students of Soviet history are not in a position to follow the example of their colleagues in other fields.

GÁBOR T. RITTERSPORN

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

J. ARCH GETTY

University of California, Riverside

(It was impossible to solicit a response from Dr. Viktor Zemskov in the time available.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I refer to Richard Wolin's review [of *Martin Heidegger*] in the *AHR*, 98 (October 1993): 1277 and following.

Wolin accuses me of "justifying" not only Heidegger but National Socialism, not least by "relativizing" the significance of Nazi atrocities. My principal aim in this book as in my former works was, indeed, not to accuse but to comprehend. Yet the attempt to comprehend a complex reality includes many conceptual differentiations, and it does not exclude moral judgments, which should, however, not take a prominent place, being self-understood. If Wolin were willing to think about distinctions such as "verstehbar," "verständlich," and "gerechtfertigt" (comprehensible, understandable, justified) or "nationaler Sozialismus," "Sozialnationalismus," and "Radikalfaschismus," he would probably avoid vituperative clichés such as "cynical exercise in German neonational exoneration." An accusation resulting from the artificial isolation of a single phenomenon

from the epochal connection seems to me unworthy of a genuine historian.

ERNST NOLTE

Freie Universität Berlin

RICHARD WOLIN REPLIES:

Ernst Nolte claims (somewhat disingenuously) that his primary aim in his book on Heidegger, as well as in his other work pertaining to the ideological origins of National Socialism, is not to "relativize" but merely to "comprehend." But to comprehend toward what end? Nolte would like to steer clear of the problem of so-called revisionist interpretations of the Third Reich, with which his work bears distinct affinities. By seeking to discount the extent and reality of Nazi atrocities, these, too, presumably merely seek to "comprehend." He would, moreover, like to deny (also disingenuously) that there might in any respect be a political agenda behind some of his more controversial claims—for example, his ceaseless polemics against what he calls "the liberal system" and his tenuous justification of Christian anti-Semitism. Then there is his tasteless thought experiment in "Between Myth and Revisionism" (in H. W. Koch, *Aspects of the Third Reich*, 1985), in which he contemplates what the history of the State of Israel would look like today were it written by victorious PLO conquerors. The analogy Nolte intends here pertains to the purported rewriting of German history (to the detriment of the national honor) by the Allied conquerors. But do such specious comparisons constitute sound historical argumentation? If Nolte is telling us the truth about his desire merely to "comprehend" (and I have my doubts), I fear that he can no longer hear the ideological resonances of his own rhetoric. And, in this respect, all I tried to do in my review was to point these out to a more credulous readership.

RICHARD WOLIN

Rice University

TO THE EDITOR:

Courtney Vaughn's review of my book, *Schoolwomen of the Prairies and Plains: Personal Narratives from Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, 1860s to 1920s* (1992), is inadequate [*AHR*, 98 (December 1993): 1691–92].

Vaughn contends that I ignored the literature on frontier women. Because the lives of the schoolwomen of the early settlement days intersect with the history of education in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, I used research in the history of education as well as the literature on regional history, western women's history, and on perceiving women's lives and documents. My fourteen-page bibliography and 726 footnotes indicate the application of the narratives and primary documents of ninety-six schoolwomen, numerous other archival documents including photographs, and works on women's history and lives

by Armitage, Bateson, Bernard, Degler, Griswold, Grumet, Hampsten, Hoffman, Jensen, Kaufman, Schissel, Personal Narratives Group, Riley, West, and others.

Vaughn contends through citing Julie Jeffrey (1979) that coeducation, suffrage, and higher education for women were "ideological conservative ventures" favoring male political control. I maintain that, in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, these "ventures" were seen as progressive accomplishments that brought women expanded education, employment, and selfhood. My research and that of Tyack and Hansot indicate that there is little evidence that instruction and discipline were gender-specific in the one-room schools (*Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools*, 1990). The schoolwomen's documents attest to the positive value and purpose of their education and employment (pp. 12–17, 27–39, Chapter 2, "Educating the Schoolwomen," and chaps. 5–9).

Vaughn's comparison of suffrage in Idaho with my study is inappropriate because of the differing populations and histories. Sandra Myres observed that the Western suffrage movement is yet to be fully documented and understood (*Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1865–1895*, 1982). Western suffrage was interwoven with temperance, economics, legal reform and was strongly involved in local politics, including school elections. (See my pages 96–102, 179, 196, and chaps. 5–9 on schoolwomen's involvement in suffrage and school politics.)

I extensively applied research on the history of education such as the American Educational Research Association's *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, Donald Warren, editor (1989), especially in Part I, "The Educational and Historical Setting." Vaughn neglects to indicate that my book is organized into two parts, with Part II containing the narratives of five schoolwomen whose lives illustrate various conditions of life cycles, teaching, education, and the social and environmental milieu.

Vaughn found my inclusion of schoolwomen's narratives about the physical environment to be purposeless. As rural working women, their lives and work were profoundly affected by weather and the seasons (pp. 83–96). They observed that "the wind was part of being home" and found a sense of pleasure and personal freedom in the spaciousness of the open land (pp. 83–84). The biographical chapters, 5, 6, and 8, also include this theme emphasizing that the schoolwomen were at home in this region; they did not find it a foreign, malevolent place. These assessments from the period of community development differ from the accounts of white women's struggles on the westward journey and the frontier. I applied

recent research and literature on this theme found in numerous articles in *The Great Plains Quarterly* from the 1980s; Michael Malone and Richard Etulain, *The American West: A Twentieth-Century History* (1989); James H. Madison, ed., *Heartland: Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States* (1988); Elliott West, *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier* (1989); Elizabeth Hampsten, *Settlers' Children: Growing Up on the Great Plains* (1991); and others.

Vaughn erroneously applies Kathryn Kish Sklar's term "invalidism" to schoolwoman Sarah Gillespie Huftalen after she quit teaching to care for her bedridden dying mother and became exhausted. Since Huftalen was the principal caretaker, her exhaustion was not based on a dichotomy of selflessness and ambition. Huftalen was a teacher, administrator, and teacher-educator for another thirty-two years after her mother died.

Vaughn concludes that historians "rewrite the past in their own image." Through the schoolwomen's documents, I present a unique historical perspective of schoolwomen's lives *from their viewpoint*, combined with my endeavors at reasoned interpretations based on their testimony.

MARY HURLBUT CORDIER
Western Michigan University

Courtney Vaughn does not wish to reply.

THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR:

In her otherwise most perceptive review of Carol K. Coburn's *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868–1945* (*AHR*, 99 [February 1994]: 306–07), Betty A. DeBerg makes a small but meaningful error. DeBerg writes, "These German Lutherans were shunned even by other Germans and other Lutherans." Coburn's narrative makes it clear (p. 6) that the Missouri Synod group itself did the shunning. The synod's hierarchy actively discouraged contact with people outside the synod.

ROBERT W. FRIZZELL
Bailey Library,
Hendrix College

Betty A. DeBerg wrote to say that she had meant to write, "These German Lutherans shunned even other Germans and other Lutherans" but actually wrote, "these German Lutherans were shun even other . . ." Our editors understood her to mean "were shunned by . . ." and so altered her text. DeBerg, unfortunately, did not catch the change in the galley proofs.

THE EDITOR

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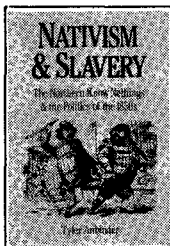
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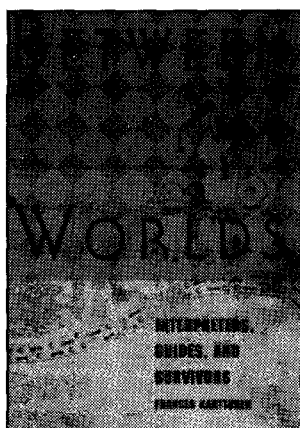
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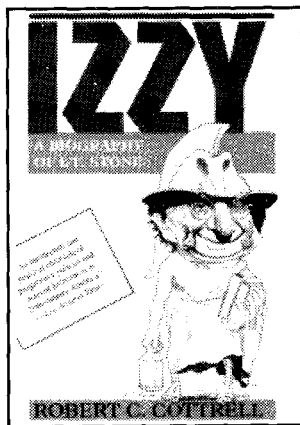
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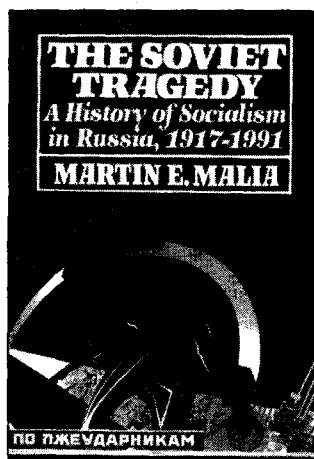
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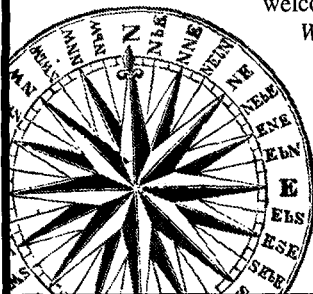
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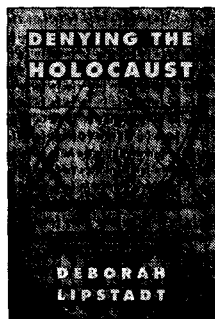
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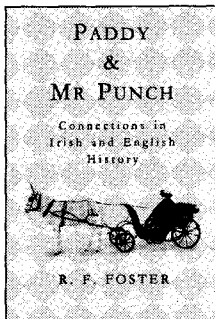
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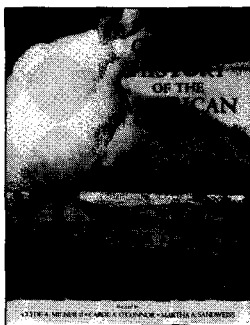
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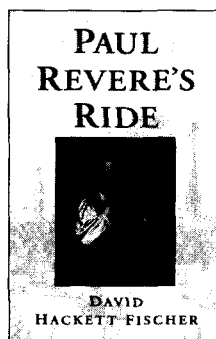
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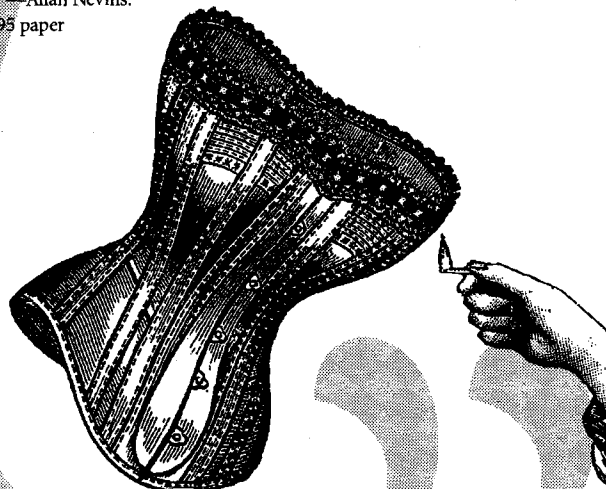
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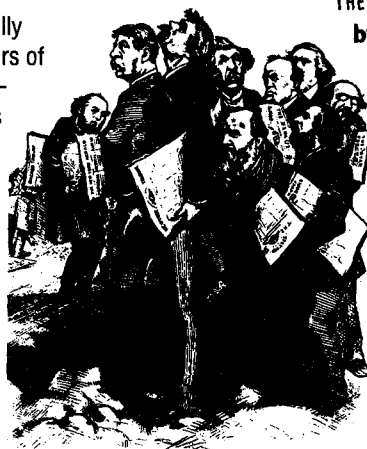
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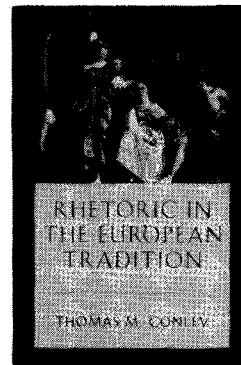
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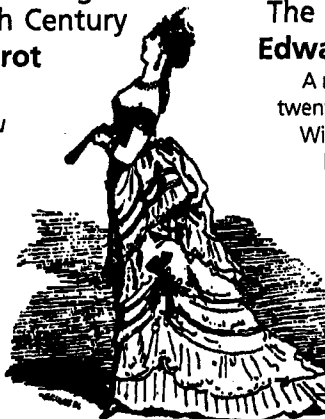
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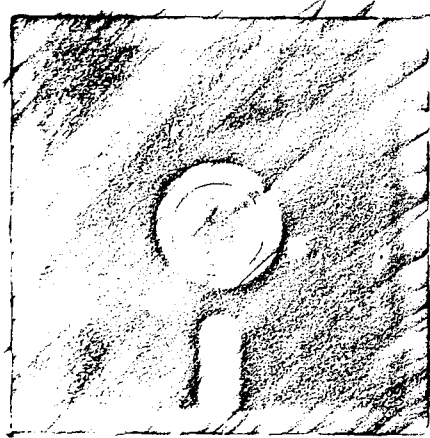
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